# POPULAR ROMANCES:

CONSISTING OF

## IMAGINARY VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

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CONTAINING

GULLIVER'S TRAVELS,

JOURNEY TO THE WORLD UNDER GROUND,

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF PETER WILKINS,

THE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE,

AND

THE HISTORY OF AUTOMATHES.

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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION,

BY

HENRY WEBER, Esq.

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## THE HISTORY OF AUTOMATHES.

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# INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS the most legitimate and useful subject for a preface to a collection of this kind, is to trace the history of the works contained in it; but there are so few materials for such a purpose, that the reader must rest content with a very meagre detail of such facts as have come within our knowledge. As the history of what the French term *Voyages Imaginaires,* is so minutely connected with that of the belles lettres in general, and romance in particular, it seems reasonable to prefix a few hasty remarks on that subject, in order to enable the reader to obtain a more accurate view of what has appeared to have produced that comparatively modern species of romance. Perhaps the "True History of Lucian" may be adduced as a previous specimen; but the nature of that work differs essentially from the romances included in this volume.

Few subjects of general literature are so extensively interesting, as the history of that portion which has been commonly denominated the belles lettres; and accordingly this division of literary history has employed a great number of pens, particularly among the French, who have produced numberless dissertations of the kind, more distinguished by a certain vapid and superficial declamation, intended to be philosophical, than by any accurate research or strictly historical inquiry; and yet there can be no doubt that the latter is the only means for furnishing a proper and solid foundation for the subsequent speculations of philosophy. The history of their own early literature has been detailed with less presumption, but frequently with far more research and perspicuity, by scholars of the neighbour-

ing countries; and while their own antiquarians have employed their pages in long disquisitions on the superiority of the Trouveurs, or the Troubadours, on the greater antiquity of their early romance, on the pure latinity of their language, or on similar subjects, but too often founded on arguments utterly untenable and easy to be refuted, they have left the far more interesting general view to the literati of other nations. The innate inclination of the inhabitants of every climate to furnish and obtain amusement, must have been gratified in all ages; and the degree of civilization was nearly equal among the nations north of Italy in the middle ages. The knights, the courtiers, and the lower ranks of France, England, Germany, and Scandinavia, stood equally in need of minstrels and reciters, to banish the tedium of their leisure hours; and minstrels, of various degrees of merit, were readily to be found in all these countries to amuse them. The question of the superior antiquity of romances and minstrels of one country over those of another, which has given rise to such a variety of opinions, and such a multitude of disquisitions, accordingly vanishes on a more accurate investigation, and a more extended view into a series of private hypotheses, which have only proved useful to detect and bring to light facts which would have remained in obscurity, had not the discoverers been stimulated by a love for their own theories, or an attachment for the antiquity of their country.

The universal inclination for the marvellous, which prevailed during the period of chivalry, was by no means confined to the fictitious narratives, or embellished histories, intended for recital before audiences of all ranks, from the prince down to the peasant; it pervaded almost every department of literature and science. The theology of these times, their medicine, their legal proceedings, their chemistry, astronomy, and geography, all partook of this general bent of mind prevalent during these centuries. The lives of saints and martyrs were overstocked with fictions, generally absurd, though occasionally exhibiting great brilliancy of fancy, and rivalling the wild, but attractive imagery of profane romance; their most popular sermons were interlarded with marvellous, and often very absurd and irreverent stories; physic was involved in obscurity, and its professors were fond of encouraging the ridiculous notion of a universal medicine;

the ordeals, and the supposed miraculous interference of the Deity, or of a patron-saint, in judicial trials, may be ascribed to the same source, as well as their chemistry and astronomy, which were enveloped in the supernatural clouds of alchemy and astrology. This led to a similar style in the relations of travellers, and the descriptions of remote countries. A simple and true narrative of Sir John Mandeville's peregrinations would not have obtained very extensive popularity; it required the addition of marvellous incidents, descriptions of wonderful nations, which the writings of Pliny readily furnished, magnetic mountains, and almost superhuman works of art, such as the Caucasian wall, which enclosed the lost tribes of the Jews, to excite the attention of readers, and render the travels attractive.

It might have been presumed, that the more general diffusion of literature and science in the sixteenth century, when the curiosity of the learned was kindled, and became more and more alive to learn the actual state of foreign countries, particularly those whose manners differed greatly from those of the Europeans, would have banished such notions, contrary to common sense, for ever. Still, however, the romantic and demi-chivalrous expeditions of the Spaniards, and of Sir Walter Raleigh, in search of El Dorado, and the reports of the latter traveller, credited by Shakspeare and most of his contemporaries,

> ——Of the cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi; and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders,*—

prove to what a degree of absurdity the public belief in the extravagant reports of travellers still extended, in an age comparatively enlightened.

The transition from travels and voyages actually performed, and detailed with the usual embellishments, in order to render them more amusing and acceptable, to such as were merely performed in the author's study, was easy; and it is rather surprising that this ready mode of diverting and instructing a public, which seemed eager for such amusement, was not sooner discovered and adopted. A man of

* Othello.

lively fancy might be supposed to be led very naturally by a perusal of real travels, particularly such as related the wonderful reports we have just mentioned, to let his mind range through realms formed and fashioned by his own imagination, and to embody them in the obvious shape of an imaginary adventurer, who visits them. The liberty he might take on such an occasion was boundless and uncontrolled; the remote parts of our globe, the interior of it, the planets and the sky, stood open to the eye of his imagination. The moral use which such a work might be made the vehicle of, was too obvious to escape observation. It has been said, that while history paints men as they are, romance paints them as they should be; and though this axiom is not applicable in every instance, and in every point of view, it is so, to an equal extent, to the difference between travels actually performed, and such as are the work of mere fancy. The latter species is eminently qualified for the perusal of youth, as it may be employed to teach the vanity and absurdity of many of our prejudices, and of our inclination to consider our own manners alone civilized and unexceptionable, and disdainfully to pity the inhabitants of other portions of the globe, as blinded with utter ignorance and stupidity. Again, works of this kind may be used to convey the most refined satire on the imperfections of our own constitution of society, and to exhibit the author's ideas of that state, which, in his opinion, might prove the most conducive to the happiness of individuals, and of society in general. Others (and those perhaps the most useful, and proportionably the most popular,) exhibit the extent to which the exertions of man, under the pressure of the most discouraging situations, may be brought to develope themselves, and how independent he may become of his fellow creatures. What can be more delightful, particularly to a youthful mind, unincumbered by the unavoidable cares and vicissitudes of actual life, and as yet happily ignorant of what he has to learn but too soon, by his own experience, than to be conducted into the bright regions pictured by fancy? And what means are so likely to instil into his mind the necessity of self-command, and a due confidence in the real powers inherent in our bodily frame, unless enervated by indulgence, caprice, and effeminate fashion? With the hero of the tale, he will enter into

all his difficulties and enjoyments, and listen with delight to the various vicissitudes he is imagined to undergo. The more matured observer will trace with no less interest, the talents exhibited by the author in unfolding the secret springs of the mind, and in conducting the hero of his own imagination through the various perils and difficulties which he encounters. Certainly no works are better calculated to display and exemplify the philosophy of the human mind; and De Foe, who first traced out this path to his successors, by none of whom he has been exceeded, deserves credit, not merely as an agreeable narrator, but as a profound observer of human nature.

In the works of this description, where no bounds are set to fancy, and where the choice of countries and nations, entirely removed out of our sphere of observation, enables the author to embody all the extravagant phantoms of his mind, the judicious reader will not confine his admiration, if they are well executed, to the richness of the imagery, the exhaustless fund of new and marvellous fictions and adventures, but will find great amusement, pleasure, and instruction, in following the author's secret allusions, and tracing the real objects he wishes to effect, or satirize, the maxims he proposes to inculcate, and the conclusions he shadows forth under his airy disguise.

Setting aside the humorous work of Lucian, mentioned above, as well as the fabulous voyages of Mandeville, together with those of Sinbad, in the "Arabian Nights," as not being strictly comprehended under the title of "Imaginary Voyages and Travels," the most ancient works of the kind are the "State of the Sun and Moon," written by Cyrano de Bergerac, a French author, who flourished in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, and the "History of the Sevarambes," produced anonymously, about the year 1670, in France. The latter was intended to delineate a state governed on absolutely philosophical principles, and, as well as the former, it obtained extensive, and, in a great measure, well-deserved popularity. But though France preceded in point of antiquity, the merit of having produced the most excellent and universally popular works, in the two classes into which these productions of fancy naturally separate, indubitably appertains to the English. Of all those which belong to the marvellous class, unconfined by the laws of probability or actual experience,

"Gulliver's Travels" bears away the palm; and the same eminent distinction is due to "Robinson Crusoe," among those which do not exceed the bounds of possibility. The noise which these two romances occasioned throughout Europe, produced a great bustle among the literati to emulate their excellency, and equal the fame which they bestowed on the authors. They met, as may be naturally inferred, with various degrees of success, but none equalled that of their illustrious prototypes.

An extensive collection of these classes of romantic voyages, combined with the more celebrated dreams, visions, and cabalistic romances, was published at Amsterdam, in 35 volumes, in 1787; it has been reprinted since, and has become a standard work. The intention of the present volume is far more limited, as it includes only five romances of the former description, all, excepting the second, of English growth. Several others, chiefly written in France, possess very considerable excellence, but have been excluded, on account of the limited extent of this collection.

The remainder of these introductory pages will be devoted to an account of the several works offered to the reader in the present volume. It happens, that two of these, Gulliver and Crusoe, are written by authors who have been frequently the subjects of biography, and whose circumstances of life are well known to the public; while those who produced the remainder are either utterly unknown, or very imperfectly. In the former case, it was necessary, for the sake of uniformity, to say something, and to accompany their writings with a short sketch of their lives; in the latter, there was no alternative, but to state what has come to the knowledge of the present writer, and fairly to confess his ignorance of the remainder. We cannot sufficiently regret, that we are unacquainted even with the name of the author of the "Adventures of Peter Wilkins," and that all we know is the date of the first appearance of that work. Fortunately, the connection between the great historian of the "Decline of the Roman Empire," and the author of "Automathes," has furnished us with some account, however meagre, of the latter. With respect to the original Danish author of the "Travels of Klimius," the unfortunate state of the continent has prevented any queries or investigations respecting the author or his work.

## I.—The Travels of Gulliver.

The name of Swift is so familiar to every reader, that nothing but the laudable custom of prefixing some account of his life to each successive reprint of his whole works, or any portion of them, can excuse the following short sketch of the principal events of his life, gathered from his most authentic biographers.

Jonathan Swift was descended from an ancient family in Yorkshire, according to his own account; by which it would seem that he was by no means indifferent to record his descent. His father died seven months previous to his birth, which happened on the 30th of November, 1667, at Dublin. His nurse, who had the usual affection of Irish nurses for their foster children, carried him to Whitehaven, apparently in a clandestine manner, and there he remained for three years. At the age of six, he was sent to the public school at Kilkenny, and in 1682, admitted into the university at Dublin, where he made no progress in scholastic attainments, and only obtained his degree by the influence of his friends. However, he discovered his prodigious talents in this situation, by writing the first sketch of his immortal "Tale of a Tub." When the resources he received from his uncles failed, he repaired to England, where he found an asylum in the house of the celebrated statesman and author, Sir William Temple. Finding his health in a bad state, he returned to Ireland, but with so little benefit, that he soon went back to Moor-Park, the seat of Sir William, from whence he repaired to Oxford, and there took his master's degree in 1692. For some time he continued with his patron, but thinking himself neglected, he left him and returned to Ireland, where he obtained the small prebend of Kilroot, in Connor. Sir William Temple, however, finding his old age uncomfortable without such a companion as Swift, invited him to return to his house, with the promise of speedy preferment. On his death, which happened in 1699, Swift found himself disappointed, as King William forgot the promise obtained by Temple, to bestow the first vacant prebend at Westminster or Canterbury upon him. The Earl of Berkeley invited Swift to accompany him as private secretary to

Dublin, where he again experienced the fallacy of great men's promises, as he was not only disappointed in the secretaryship, but in several other preferments, and his pretensions were merely rewarded with a couple of poor livings. However, he performed his parochial duties with exemplary diligence. He now invited the celebrated Mrs Johnson to Ireland, who is well known by his writings under the name of Stella. His connection with her has given rise to much discussion among his biographers, but still is involved in great obscurity. He continued, however, for several years, to pay an annual visit to England, in the hope to succeed at last in obtaining the preferment which he justly thought he merited.

The first work of Swift did not appear till 1701, when he was in his thirty-fourth year. Three years afterwards, he published the celebrated "Tale of a Tub," like almost all his writings, without prefixing his name. It was followed by a great number of pamphlets, chiefly of a political kind, in which he uniformly supported the Tories, though he had been educated in the principles of the opposite party, and had written his first pamphlet in support of them. In the year 1710, he became connected with Mr Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, and employed a great portion of his time in writing tracts in favour of the ministry, which met with prodigious popularity; but the neglect he had experienced from their opponents was not contrasted by any brilliant advancement from his new friends, though he was treated with the utmost respect by them, and considered as one of the chief pillars of their cause. The summit of his preferments was the deanery of St Patrick, which he obtained in the year 1713. On the dismissal of the Tory ministry, he returned to Ireland, and took possession of the deanery. As he had now no connection with English politics, he turned his attention to those of his native country. In 1716, he is said to have been married to Mrs Johnson, and he continued to live a private life for some years. An unfortunate connection he had formed with Mrs Van-Homrigh, whom he celebrated under the name of Vanessa, and whom, it is to be feared, he inspired with a passion he could not, and never intended to gratify, terminated in her death, which happened in 1723. The ensuing year, the well-known patent of Wood, to coin copper money for

Ireland, offered an opportunity to Swift to raise himself to the utmost pitch of popularity among his countrymen. Every nerve was strained against the exertions of the Drapier, under which name he attacked the patent and patentee with unparalleled wit and eloquence; his bookseller was imprisoned, and a large reward offered for the discovery of the author. All this only served to increase his popularity, and, in the words of Dr Johnson, "he was honoured by the populace as a champion, patron, and protector of Ireland; and gained such power, as, considered both in its extent and duration, scarcely any man has ever enjoyed, without greater wealth or higher station."

In 1726, he published three volumes of Miscellanies with the assistance of Pope, and the "Travels of Gulliver," which are the occasion of the present slight sketch of his life, and which will be noticed more at large after the painful task of recording its conclusion. On the news of Mrs Johnson's illness, he hastened to Ireland; and her death, which happened on the 28th of January, seems to have accelerated the progress of his own disease, a dangerous giddiness, which had first attacked him early in life. He still continued occasionally to mix in Irish politics, and to amuse his friends with humorous trifles in prose and verse; but his disorder continued to increase, till he sunk into a state the most melancholy which human nature is liable to, and he expired on the 19th of October, 1745, without a struggle.

The excellency of most of Swift's writings is well established, and universally acknowledged. Those, however, to which he is indebted for the most general popularity, are the "Tale of a Tub," and the "Travels of Gulliver." The reception which the latter met with was the most flattering which can be imagined. It was immediately in the hand of readers of every rank. As Dr Johnson observed, "it was a work so new and strange, that it filled the reader with a mingled emotion of merriment and amazement. It was received with such avidity, that the price of the first edition was raised before the second could be made; it was read by the high and the low, the learned and illiterate. Criticism was for a while lost in wonder; no rules of judgment were applied to a book written in open defiance

of truth and regularity. But when distinctions came to be made, the part which gave the least pleasure, was that which describes the Flying Island, and that which gave the most disgust, must be the history of the Houyhnhnms." Swift had composed the work at Quilca, the house of Dr Sheridan, one of his firmest friends, and attached to him by the ties of gratitude, in the year 1725. The publication was as usual anonymous, and he seems to have amused himself and gratified his love of fame, as Sheridan observes, by hearing the various opinions of different persons, and by listening to the general talk it occasioned. His feelings, for instance, must have been highly gratified by the following observations of his friend Gay: "About ten days ago, a book was published here of the Travels of one Gulliver, which has been the conversation of the whole town ever since; the whole impression sold in a week; and nothing is more diverting than to hear the different opinions people give of it, though all agree in liking it extremely. 'Tis generally said, that you are the author; but I am told the bookseller declares he knows not from what hand it came. From the highest to the lowest, it is universally read; from the cabinet council to the nursery. You may see by this, that you are not much injured by being supposed the author of this piece. If you are, you have disobliged us, and your best friends, in not giving us the least hint of it. Perhaps I may all this time be talking to you of a book you have never seen, and which has not yet reached Ireland; if it have not, I believe what we have said will be sufficient to recommend it to your reading, and that you will order me to send it to you." Swift himself, in a letter to Pope, mentions, that an Irish bishop said seriously, that the book was full of improbable lies, and that for his part, he hardly believed a word of it. The first edition was much mutilated by the printer, but the work was restored to its original state in those which succeeded.

The popularity of these Travels very soon extended to foreign countries. It was highly praised and recommended by Voltaire, then in England, in a letter to a friend at Paris. The Abbe Desfontaines conceived the design of translating it into French; but he long hesitated, fearing that his countrymen would not understand the real drift of the work, or be disgusted with the indelicacy of some parts of

it. He, however, ventured to publish a translation somewhat altered; but prefixed a preface, in which he inserted a passage offensive to the original author, but afterwards retracted it. The translator's fears respecting his countrymen's acceptation of the work proved completely groundless; the book underwent three editions in a few months; two theatrical pieces were founded upon it, and it was read as generally as in England. The abbè was even tempted by the success of his version to continue the work; but his "Nouveau Gulliver" is but a faint copy of the inimitable original. Translators of other nations vied with the French in imparting the work to their countrymen; and at this day it is nearly as well known, and as generally diffused on the continent, as in the country where it was originally produced.

Lord Orrery, in his Remarks on the Life of Swift, defines these voyages to be "considered as a mere political romance,—to correct Vice, by showing its deformity in opposition to Virtue, and to amend the false systems of philosophy, by pointing out the errors, and applying salutary means to amend them." Though the principal portion of the satire is levelled against the defects of society, considered in a collective state, and though a part is devoted to expose the politics of the time, and the government of England, which was then conducted by the opponents of the party to which Swift had attached himself, the object of the satire was equally directed against the moral errors and the prejudices of mankind, chiefly their foolish pride and conceit, both of dignity in the state and affectation of superiority of knowledge. Some parts of the work, and particularly the fourth part, are perhaps too darkly coloured, and were, no doubt, influenced by the unfavourable view of his fellow creatures, which obscured the latter part of Swift's life, when, after a long gleam of hope, he beheld all the promises made to him vanish, and when his domestic misfortunes had embittered his recollections of the manner how he had been treated by his superiors in rank. The decided disapprobation of Swift's description of the Yahoos, expressed by Mr Harris in his "Philological Enquiries," and by Dr Young in his "Centaur," though general opinion seems to be with them, induced his biographer, Mr Sheridan, who was certainly led by the friendship of his father, and his

own sense of gratitude towards the author, to conceal, or rather gloss over every thing which might seem unfavourable to him, to set up a defence of this part of "Gulliver's Travels," which he considered as perfectly satisfactory, and as obviating every possible objection. There are, however, but few readers who will rise with equal pleasure from a perusal of this part, as what they received while reading those preceding it. Dr Arbuthnot expressed his dislike of the island of projectors; and it has been hinted, that his connection with the Royal Society occasioned this disapprobation. But surely the absurd speculations of projectors, even in our own days, cannot be deemed unworthy of the gentle chastisement of satire; and when the South-sea scheme, in Swift's time, is recollected, which ruined so many individuals, while it enriched a few sharping peculators, Swift will stand in need of no apology. Dr Hawkesworth, who, as an editor of Swift, was naturally induced to palliate his defects, thus sums up what he considers the general scope of the author: "To mortify pride, which indeed was not made for man, and not only produces the most ridiculous follies, but the most extensive calamity, appears to have been one general view of the author in every part of these travels. Personal strength and beauty, the wisdom and the virtue of mankind, become objects not of pride, but of humility, in the diminutive stature and contemptible weakness of the Lilliputians; in the horrid deformity of the Brobdingnagians, in the learned folly of the Laputians, and in the parallel drawn between our manners and those of the Houyhnhnms."

Mr Nichols mentions Swift's obligations for some hints in his Voyage to Laputa, to a novel written by Dr Francis Godwin, Bishop of Landaff, and entitled "The Man in the Moon, or a Discourse of a Voyage thither, by Domingo Gonzalez," printed in 1638, and several times since. Dr Warton observes, that the "True History of Lucian" was the evident prototype of Gulliver; but that elegant critic, at the same time, asserts, that the latter work as evidently excels the former.

## II.—Journey to the World under Ground, by Nicholas Klimius.

This romance is generally acknowledged to be the work of Louis, Baron de Holberg, who was born at Bergen, in Norway, in the year 1684. Though of noble descent, the poverty of his family obliged him to depend on his own exertions for support. Having pursued a diligent course of study, he employed his talents for the education of young men of rank and wealth, by which means he was enabled to visit Holland, Germany, Italy, France, and England. On his return to Denmark, he obtained a place in the consistory at Copenhagen, where he pursued his studies, and employed his leisure hours in indulging his taste for literature, and particularly for the belles lettres. Denmark could at that time boast of little poetry of any value, since the time of their old romances and ballads. Holberg began his literary course with satire, and the "Journey of Nicholas Klimius" was one of his earliest efforts; but as the lucubrations of a satirist, in a country so despotic as Denmark, are very dangerous, he applied himself to writing for the Danish stage, which at that time had to boast of but little excellence. He soon exceeded all his predecessors in this branch, and continued for a long time to furnish dramatic compositions of every kind for the theatre at Copenhagen. His peculiar excellence consists in his comic afterpieces, which have obtained success, not only in his native country, but in Germany, and some of them in France. Towards the close of his life, he exchanged his dramatic exertions for the more serious occupations of history, and compiled a very voluminous one of Denmark, in three quarto volumes, which, to this day, is acknowledged to be the most complete and most elegantly written extant respecting that country. He also published two volumes of moral thoughts, which have been translated into foreign languages. Having acquired a high reputation in his native country, and placed himself at the head of its drama and history, he died in the year 1754, in his 71st year. He had acquired considerable riches by his writings, and left the sum of

about 3000l. to the academy of Zealand, destined for the education of young noblemen.

The "Journey of Klimius" was soon translated from the Danish into the Latin tongue, and from thence versions were made in French, English, and other European languages, which obtained a portion of popularity, though not a very extensive one. There is something repelling and harsh in the fiction of animated and reasoning trees, and occasional absurdities occur, which are too obvious to escape an attentive reader. The satire being directed chiefly against the abuses of the government, and the magistracy of Denmark, which nearly coincide with those of Germany, was more likely to meet with success in those countries, than where the constitution is so widely different as in England. The French translator, Mauvillon, accordingly, adapted the allusions to his own country; and had the English version been formed on similar principles, the work would probably have attained more general circulation in this country, where the reader cannot be supposed to be so intimately acquainted with the chicanery, the ludicrous pomp, and the vexatious and tedious sloth of Danish and German burgo-masters and aldermen. The other parts of the work are more general, and therefore more calculated to please in other countries. It must also be observed, that the English translation has a remarkable harshness and poverty of style, whereas that of the Danish original, as well as of the Latin version, are allowed to be very excellent.

The general scope of the satire, as well as some of the descriptions and incidents, certainly remind the reader of the "Travels of Gulliver," from which, however, those of Klimius are widely removed, in point of merit. It is very possible that each of these works was written by its respective author without a knowledge of that of the other. Still it is an interesting point to ascertain which preceded in point of time. The writer of these introductory observations has not been able to ascertain in what year the work of Holberg first appeared. As it is, however, known to have been composed soon after his return from travel, and before he attached himself to dramatic composition, it may be presumed that it was published before the work of Swift. The latter appeared in 1726, when Holberg was forty-

three years old, therefore considerably advanced beyond the age of youth. His remaining works are extremely voluminous, and certainly required a longer period to produce them than that between 1726 and 1754, the year of his death. Swift's reputation is little, if at all, affected by this supposed precedence of the work of Holberg in point of time. Should he even have been acquainted with the latter, he so infinitely exceeded its merit, that any comparison between their productions is almost out of the question.

## III.—The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins.

After the perusal of any work of real genius, we naturally wish to obtain some information of the author and his life, and are accordingly greatly disappointed at being told, that nothing is known respecting him, not even his name. This is the case with the "Life of Peter Wilkins;" the initials R. S. on the title-page, are probably those of the author, but it has never been ascertained to whom they belong, at least to the knowledge of the editor. From the lists of new publications in the "Gentlemen's Magazine," the work seems to have originally appeared in November, 1750, in two small volumes.

There are few romances which exhibit so many proofs of poetical imagination, and yet there are few which have met with so much neglect as the present. The simplicity of style is peculiarly adapted to the adventurer's station in life, and a certain air of calm tranquillity, not much interrupted by scenes of misfortune and terror, is kept up throughout the work with peculiar felicity of composition. A modern poet of the first rank, has pronounced the winged people of this romance to be the most beautiful creatures of imagination that ever were devised, and acknowledges to have borrowed from thence his description of the Glendoveers:

> The loveliest race of all of heavenly birth,
> Hovering with gentle motion o'er the earth,
> Amid the moonlight air,
> In sportive flight still floating round and round.
>
> *Curse of Kehama*, Book vi.

The "Adventures of Robinson Crusoe" probably suggested the first idea of the work to the author. In both, the heroes are sailors, who, after undergoing various calamities at sea, are thrown upon distant uninhabited shores; in both, they are furnished with stores, utensils, and provisions from the wreck of the ships in which they had sailed; but the subsequent parts of these delightful compositions are very different. De Foe confines himself to what is within the reach of possibility; while the author of "Peter Wilkins" created a new species of beings in his own imagination; and so happily has he described their shape, the disposition of their minds, their manners and customs, that we are far from feeling the repugnance generally inspired by those creatures of imagination which are commonly presented to our view in works of this kind The union of Wilkins and his fair Youwarkee becomes as interesting to the reader, and he feels as much for their happiness and misfortunes, as for that of any hero or heroine of romances of common life. The agreeable serenity of the fiction, and the pure morality inculated throughout, render it a work peculiarly proper for the perusal of youth.

The excellence of the fiction was acknowledged by foreign nations, into whose languages it has been translated. The French version of M. de Paisieux appeared in 1763, and has been several times reprinted.

## IV.—The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.

If we were to estimate the excellence of a work by the number of its readers, by its universal diffusion throughout civilized nations, or by the multitude of attempts to imitate it, there are few which could be placed on a par with "Robinson Crusoe." The author was Daniel De Foe, a very multifarious writer of poems, novels, and political tracts, whose reputation, however, rests almost entirely on the present work. His father was James Foe, a butcher in the parish of St Giles's, London, where he was born in the year 1663. As well as the rest of his family, he was a dissenter. The singular affectation of prefixing the French mark of nobility to his name, has given rise to much disquisition; but the opinion of his learned biographer, that he

thought thus to conceal the obscurity of his birth and origin, seems to be most conformable to truth. At twelve years of age, he was sent to the Newington-Green Dissenting Academy, where, under the tuition of Mr Morton, he remained four years, and received all the education he ever could boast of. At the expiration of that time he was put apprentice to some trade, the nature of which has not been fully ascertained. His opponent, Tutchin, author of "The Observator," asserts, he was bred a hosier, which De Foe flatly contradicts, admitting, at the same time, that he had been a trader. In the year 1685 he enlisted under the banners of the Duke of Monmouth, and was so fortunate as to escape without punishment. He continued a steady Whig, and in 1688, when he was admitted of the Livery of London, witnessed the triumph of his party at the Revolution. On the 29th of October, the following year, at a feast given by the Lord Mayor of London to King William, he appeared amongst the troopers commanded by Lord Peterborough, who attended their majesties from Whitehall to the Mansion-house. His politics proved, however, of no farther use to him, and, like most of those whom the triumph of their party had inspired with the hopes of golden rewards, he met only with disappointment, and remained in what he himself certainly considered as an ignoble employ, that of a tradesman. The genius and talents, however, which he undoubtedly possessed, were but ill calculated for the plodding sobriety requisite to succeed in his occupation; and, instead of closely attending to his business, he connected himself with other wits, who formed a society for the cultivation of polite learning; and his affairs got into so bad a condition, that he deemed it prudent to abscond from his creditors in the year 1692. However, those to whom he was principally indebted, in spite of one individual of a harsher disposition, who had taken out a commission of bankruptcy against him, agreed to accept a composition, which he accurately paid; and it is related, much to his honour, that he afterwards paid the full amount of his debts to some of his creditors, who experienced the fickleness of Fortune in their turn. He now turned projector; but found the fallacy of that occupation, like many of those who have employed their talents in the same way. He was engaged in tile-works, but was accused of not paying his labourers;

and published proposals for a variety of other public works and enactments. At last his writings procured him the preferment of one of the commissioners for managing the duties on glass; but on the abolition of that tax, three years after, he was again cast upon the world without a situation.

However, towards the close of 1699, an opportunity occurred to obtain, not only a handsome reward, but even royal favour. Tutchin had published a Tory poem, entitled "The Foreigners," of mean merit, but filled with the most violent and unbounded abuse of King William and his countrymen. De Foe took up their cause; and his poetical defence of the king and the Dutch nation, called "The True-Born Englishman," not only met with unexampled popularity, but procured him a personal interview with the sovereign. This pamphlet was followed up with various others on the same side of politics, till the death of William and the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, changed the principles of the court, and reduced our author again to live on the produce of his wits. His adherence to the party he had espoused brought him to the very brink of ruin. A pamphlet, which he now reprinted, entitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," was complained of in the House of Commons, and all his previous attacks on the triumphant Tories were brought forward to incense the house against him. He secreted himself; but, in consequence of a proclamation, dated January 10, 1710, he was taken, fined, pilloried, and imprisoned; and, according to his own account, the affair cost him above 3500 l. In the proclamation, he is described as "a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig, a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a mole near his mouth."

During his imprisonment in Newgate, he put forth a collection of his writings, and began one of the periodical papers so fashionable at the time, called "The Review," which he continued till May 1713. He besides published several other works, which the shortness of the present sketch of his life does not permit us to detail. The minister, Sir Robert Harley, fully aware of what use De Foe's talents might be to him if enlisted under the banners of his party, induced the queen to liberate him, by sending him a sufficient sum to pay his

fine and discharge. He retired to St Edmund's Bury; but the persecutions of his enemies did not suffer him to remain quiet, and he asserts, that projects were formed to crimp him into the army, to apprehend him as a vagabond, and to imprison him for fictitious debts.

In 1706, he was employed by Lord Godolphin in an important mission to Edinburgh, where he was to promote, by every means in his power, the Union with England. He conducted himself there in a manner very honourable to himself, and satisfactory to the ministry which employed him; but, though he published a poem in honour of the nation, the unpopularity of that measure was such, that even his life was occasionally threatened. In 1707, he returned to London, and was rewarded with a pension, which he did not long enjoy, for on the dismissal of his patrons from the ministry it was discontinued, and he was again involved in vexatious persecutions, fined 800 l. and imprisoned in Newgate, where he continued till November, 1713. After the accession of the House of Brunswick, his political writings still procured him so much persecution and vexation, that, after a fit of apoplexy, he discontinued them, and applied himself to more general literature.

"The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe" appeared in 1719, and the sale of the work was astonishingly rapid. Shortly after, he published "Serious Reflections during the Life of Robinson Crusoe, with his Vision of the Angelic World," which were well received; but their popularity has by no means kept pace with that of the previous work. He continued to publish a variety of works of amusement, such as, "The Life of Captain Singleton," "The History of Duncan Campbell," "The Life of Colonel Jack," "Moll Flanders," "Roxana," and "The New Voyage round the World," which were very generally read. His profits were so considerable, that on his death, which took place in 1731, at the age of 68, in Cripplegate, he left his widow and numerous children with a tolerable provision.

Of all the writings of De Foe, which the vicissitudes and misfortunes of his life induced him to offer to the world in astonishing numbers, that which bids fairest for immortality, and which has extended his fame amongst other nations, is, undoubtedly, "Robinson Crusoe." The favourable reception of that novel in his own country

was fully equalled by its success on the continent of Europe. Several translations appeared in France, amongst which that of Themiseul de Saint Hyacinthe is the most esteemed, and a great number of imitations followed. But the influence it had upon the imitative German literature, is one of the most curious instances of enthusiastic admiration. Within the space of forty years after the appearance of the original work, no less than forty-one different Robinsons appeared, besides fifteen other imitations, where that imposing title was not used. Every country of Europe, and almost every province of Germany, as well as the different ranks of life, had their own Robinson; and the number of islands they discovered and inhabited was quite unbounded. Indeed, the rage for imitating the romance among the Germans has something ludicrous in it.

This widely-diffused popularity was certainly deserved to the full by the great merit and excellence of the work. It was calculated, perhaps, beyond any other book of the kind, to be put into the hands of youth; and hence Rousseau suffers no book in the apartment of his Emilius, during the first part of his education, with the single exception of "Robinson Crusoe." Nor does a re-perusal at a more advanced age at all impair the favourable impression caused by reading it during the age of childhood. The adventures come so much home to every man's feelings, the nature of the incidents is so little removed beyond the bounds of probability, and the language and style of observation and reflection accord so admirably with the character of the adventurer, and his station of life, that it is very improbable that a time should ever arrive when its popularity will be diminished.

The first idea of the work was certainly suggested by a passage in Captain Woodes Rogers's "Voyage round the World," after his return in the year 1711. On the island of Juan Fernandez he found Alexander Selkirk, the lonely inhabitant of this remote spot of the globe. Selkirk was a native of Largo, in Fife, in 1676, and inherited some trifling landed property in that parish. In 1704, he entered on board the Cinque-Ports, Captain Stradling, as mate, on a trading voyage round the world. Some difference occurred during the voyage, which, together with the leaky state of the vessel, induced Selkirk to insist

upon being left on the island of Fernandez. On his return with Captain Rogers, he entered on board the Weymouth, a king's ship, of which he was appointed mate. He died on board in the year 1723, and in his will left his property to several "loving female friends," who had become intimate with him during his voyages. His descendants at Largo have preserved his drinking cup, made of a cocoa shell, as well as his gun and his chest. From the relation of Captain Rogers, De Foe certainly borrowed the original notion of writing the present work. The following extract will enable the reader to appreciate how far De Foe was indebted to the matter of fact, and what an admirable superstructure he has raised upon such slight materials: "He had with him his clothes and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco; a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a Bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments, and some books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could; but for the first eight months had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place. He built two huts with pimento trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound; and that being almost spent, he got fire, by rubbing two sticks of pimento-wood together upon his knee. In the lesser hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals: in the larger, he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying; so that he said he was a better Christian while in this solitude than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

"At first, he never ate any thing till hunger constrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt; nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer. The pimento wood, which burned very clear, served him both for fire and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but would not eat them for want of salt, because that occasioned a looseness; except craw-fish, which are there as large as our lobsters, and very good: These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goats-flesh, of which he made very good broth, for they are

not so rank as ours. He kept an account of five hundred that he killed there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let go. When his powder failed, he took them by speed of foot; for his way of living, and continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours; so that he ran with wonderful swiftness through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived when we employed him to catch goats for us: We had a bull-dog, which we sent, with several of our nimblest runners, to help him in catching goats; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men, catched the goats, and brought them to us on his back.

"He told us, that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life. He pursued it with so much eagerness, that he catched hold of it at the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes hiding it from him; so that he fell with the goat down the said precipice a great height, and was so stunned and bruised by the fall, that he narrowly escaped with his life; and when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him: he lay there about twenty-four hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days.

"He came at last to relish his meat well enough without salt or bread; and in the season had plenty of good turnips, which had been sowed there by Captain Dampier's men, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from the cabbage trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the pimento trees, which is the same as the Jamaica pepper, and smells deliciously. He found also a black pepper, called Malagita, which was very good to expel wind, and against griping in the guts.

"He soon wore out all his shoes and clothes by running in the woods; and at last, being forced to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he run everywhere without annoyance, and it was some time before he could wear shoes after we found him; for, not being used to any so long, his feet swelled when he came first to wear them again.

"After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself with cutting his name on the trees, and the time of his being left

and continuance there. He was at first much pestered with cats and rats, that bred in great numbers from some of each species that got ashore from ships that put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and clothes whilst asleep, which obliged him to cherish the cats with his goats-flesh, by which many of them became so tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed some kids, and to divert himself would now and then sing and dance with them and his cats; so that, by the favour of Providence and vigour of his youth, being now but thirty years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be very easy.

"When his clothes were worn out, he made himself a coat and cap of goat-skins, which he stitched together with little thongs of the same that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail; and when his knife was wore to the back, he made others, as well as he could, of some iron hoops which were left on shore, which he beat thin, and ground upon stones. Having some linen cloth with him, he sewed himself shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him on the island.

"At his first coming on board us, he had so much forgot his language, for want of use, that we could scarce understand him; for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there; and it was some time before he could relish our victuals. He could give us an account of no other product of the island than what we have mentioned, except some small black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. Pimento trees are plenty here; and we saw some of sixty feet high, and about two yards thick; and cotton trees higher, and near four fathoms in the stock. The climate is so good, that the trees and grass are verdant all the year. The winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe, there being only a small frost and a little hail, but sometimes great rains. The heat of the summer is equally moderate; and there is

not much thunder, or tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage creatures on the island, nor any other sort of beasts but goats, &c. as above mentioned; the first of which had been put ashore here, on purpose for a breed, by Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard, who settled there with some families for a time, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this island, which is capable of maintaining a good number of people, and being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged."—*Voyage of Captain Woodes Rogers*, Lond. 1712, 8vo. p. 120.*

This extract makes it evident that De Foe borrowed from it the description of his uninhabited island; the portion of European necessaries for life, though he has considerably increased the comforts of his adventurer; the two huts; the abundance of goats and fruit: again, his gradually being accustomed to this mode of solitary life, and his rising disposition towards religion, evidently originate from the narrative of Selkirk. The turnips of the latter seem to have given

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* Captain Rogers, having mentioned some other stories of the kind, thus proceeds to authenticate his own, and to make some reflections, which, though homely and plain, are exactly such as are felt on perusing the more extensive and fictitious narrative of De Foe: "Whatever there is in these stories, this of Mr Selkirk I know to be true; and his behaviour afterwards gives me reason to believe the account he gave me how he spent his time, and bore up under such an affliction, in which nothing but the divine Providence could have preserved any man. By this, one may see that solitude and retirement from the world is not such an insufferable state of life as most men imagine, especially when people are fairly called or thrown into it unavoidably, as this man was; who, in all probability, must otherwise have perished in the seas, the ship which left him being cast away not long after, and few of the company escaped. We may perceive by this story the truth of the maxim, that necessity is the mother of invention, since he found means to supply his wants in a very natural manner, so as to maintain his life, though not so conveniently, yet as effectually, as we are able to do with the help of all our arts and society. It may likewise instruct us how much a plain and temperate way of living conduces to the health of the body and the vigour of the mind, both which we are apt to destroy by excess and plenty, especially of strong liquor, and the variety, as well as the nature of our meat and drink; for this man, when he came to our ordinary method of diet and life, though he was sober enough, lost much of his strength and agility. But I must quit these reflections, which are more proper for a philosopher and divine, than a mariner."—*Ibid*, p. 130.

rise to the corn of Crusoe; his clothing himself, after the wreck of his European habits, and two or three other circumstances of smaller moment, are evidently derived from this authentic source. Every thing is, however, so much heightened, so many interesting incidents are added, and the whole so admirably composed, that this portion of the work, certainly by far the most attractive, loses little by being traced to an older source.

## V.—The History of Automathes.

The following interesting account of this romance, and its author, is written by the admirable historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," and is the only one that has occurred to the present editor. Gibbon is giving an account of his own education.

"After this previous institution at home, or at a day-school at Putney, I was delivered, at the age of seven, into the hands of Mr John Kirkby, who exercised about eighteen months the office of my domestic tutor. His own words, which I shall transcribe, inspire in his favour a sentiment of pity and esteem:—'During my abode in my native county of Cumberland, in quality of an indigent curate, I used now and then in summer, when the pleasantness of the season invited, to take a solitary walk to the sea-shore, which lies about two miles from the town where I lived. Here I would amuse myself one while with viewing at large the agreeable prospect which surrounded me, and another while confining myself to nearer objects, in admiring the vast variety of beautiful shells thrown upon the beach, some of the choicest of which I always picked up to divert my little ones upon my return. One time, among the rest, taking such a journey in my head, I sate down upon the declivity of the beach, with my face to the sea, which was now come up within a few yards of my feet; when immediately the sad thoughts of the wretched condition of my family, and the unsuccessfulness of all endeavours to amend it, came crowding into my mind, which drove me into a deep melancholy, and ever and anon forced tears from my eyes.' Distress at last

forced him to leave the country. His learning and virtue introduced him to my father; and at Putney he might have found at least a temporary shelter, had not an act of indiscretion again driven him into the world. One day, reading prayers in the parish-church, he most unluckily forgot the name of King George: his patron, a loyal subject, dismissed him with some reluctance, and a decent reward; and how the poor man ended his days, I have never been able to learn. Mr John Kirkby is author of two small volumes; "The Life of Automathes," (London, 1745,) and an English and Latin Grammar, (London, 1746,) which, as a testimony of gratitude, he dedicated (Nov. 5th, 1745) to my father. The books are before me: from them the pupil may judge the preceptor; and upon the whole his judgment will not be unfavourable. The Grammar is executed with accuracy and skill, and I know not whether any better existed at the time in our language; but the "Life of Automathes" aspires to the honours of a philosophical fiction. It is the story of a youth, the son of a shipwrecked exile, who lives alone on a desart island, from infancy to the age of manhood. A hind is his nurse; he inherits a cottage with many useful and curious instruments; some ideas remain of the education of his two first years; some arts are borrowed from the beavers of a neighbouring lake; some truths are revealed in supernatural visions. With these helps, and his own industry, Automathes becomes a self-taught, though speechless philosopher, who had investigated with success his own mind, the natural world, the abstract sciences, and the great principles of morality and religion. The author is not entitled to the merit of invention, since he has blended the English story of "Robinson Crusoe" with the Arabian romance of "Hai Ebn Yokhdan," which he might have read in the Latin version of Pocock. In the "Life of Automathes," I cannot praise either the depth of thought or elegance of style: but the book is not devoid of entertainment or instruction; and, among several interesting passages, I would select the discovery of fire, which produces, by accidental mischief, the discovery of conscience."—GIBBON's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, apud *Miscellaneous Works*, Lond. 1796, Vol. I. p. 20.

The "History of Automathes" has not met with very extensive popularity, nor has it ever been translated into any foreign language, to my knowledge. I am, however, informed by an intelligent friend, that he read a similar work in his youth, at that time very popular, entitled, "The Self-taught Philosopher," probably the same as Automathes, or borrowed from it.

# TRAVELS

## INTO SEVERAL REMOTE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

By LEMUEL GULLIVER,

FIRST A SURGEON, AND THEN A CAPTAIN OF SEVERAL SHIPS.

## IN FOUR PARTS.

I. A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.
II. A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG.
III. A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG, GLUBBDUBDRIB, AND JAPAN.
IV. A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE HOUYHNHNMS.

*Splendidè Mendax.* HOR.

# Popular Romances.

## GULLIVER'S TRAVELS.

### THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

The author of these travels, Mr Lemuel Gulliver, is my ancient and intimate friend; there is likewise some relation between us on the mother's side. About three years ago, Mr Gulliver, growing weary of the concourse of curious people coming to him at his house in Redriff, made a small purchase of land, with a convenient house, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire, his native country, where he now lives retired, yet in good esteem among his neighbours.

Although Mr Gulliver was born in Nottinghamshire, where his father dwelt, yet I have heard him say his family came from Oxfordshire; to confirm which, I have observed in the church-yard at Banbury, in that county, several tombs and monuments of the Gullivers.

Before he quitted Redriff, he left the custody of the following papers in my hands, with the liberty to dispose of them as I should think fit. I have carefully perused them three times. The style is very plain and simple; and the only fault I find is, that the author, after the manner of travellers, is a little too circumstantial. There is an air of truth apparent through the whole; and, indeed, the author was so distinguished for his veracity, that it became a sort of proverb among his neighbours at Redriff, when any one affirmed a thing, to say, it was as true as if Mr Gulliver had spoken it.

By the advice of several worthy persons, to whom, with the author's permission, I communicated these papers, I now venture to send them into the world, hoping they may be, at least for some time, a better entertainment to our young noblemen than the common scribbles of politics and party.

This volume would have been at least twice as large, if I had not made bold to strike out innumerable passages relating to the winds and tides, as well as to the variations and bearings in the several voyages, together with the minute descriptions of the management of the ship in storms, in the style of sailors; likewise the account of longitudes and latitudes; wherein I have reason to apprehend that Mr Gulliver may be a little dissatisfied: but I was resolved to fit the work as much as possible to the general capacity of readers. However, if my own ignorance in sea affairs shall have led me to commit some mistakes, I alone am answerable for them: And if any traveller has a curiosity to see the whole work at large, as it came from the hands of the author, I will be ready to gratify him.

As for any further particulars relating to the author, the reader will receive satisfaction from the first pages of the book.

Richard Sympson.

## A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN GULLIVER TO HIS COUSIN SYMPSON.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1727.

I HOPE you will be ready to own publicly, whenever you shall be called to it, that, by your great and frequent urgency, you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect account of my travels, with direction to hire some young gentleman of either university to put them in order, and correct the style, as my cousin Dampier did, by my advice, in his book called, A Voyage Round the World. But I do not remember I gave you power to consent that any thing should be omitted, and much less that any thing should be inserted: Therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that kind, particularly a paragraph about her majesty Queen Anne, of most pious and glorious memory, although I did reverence and esteem her more than any of human species. But you, or your interpolator, ought to have considered, that as it was not my inclination, so was it not decent to praise any animal of our composition before my master *Houyhnhnm*: and, besides, the fact was altogether false; for to my knowledge, being in England during some part of her majesty's reign, she did govern by a chief minister; nay, even by two successively; the first whereof was the lord of Godolphin, and the second the lord of Oxford; so that you have made me say the thing that was not. Likewise, in the account of the academy of projectors, and several passages of my discourse to my master *Houyhnhnm*, you have either omitted some material circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a manner, that I do hardly know my own work. When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a letter, you were pleased to answer, "That you were afraid of giving offence: that people in power were very watchful over the press, and apt not only to interpret, but to punish every thing which looked like an inuendo," (as I think you call it.) But, pray, how could that which I spoke so many years ago, and at above five thousand leagues distance, in another reign, be applied to any of the *Yahoos* who now are said to govern the herd; especially at a time when I little thought or feared the unhappiness of living under them? Have not I the most reason to complain, when I see these very *Yahoos* carried by *Houyhnhnms* in a vehicle, as if they were brutes, and those the rational creatures? And, indeed, to avoid so monstrous and detestable a sight was one principal motive of my retirement hither.

Thus much I thought proper to tell you in relation to yourself, and to the trust I reposed in you.

I do, in the next place, complain of my own great want of judgment, in being prevailed upon, by the entreaties and false reasonings of you and some others, very much against my own opinion, to suffer my travels to be published. Pray bring to your mind how often I desired you to consider, when you insisted on the motive of public good, that the *Yahoos* were a species of animals utterly incapable of amendment by precepts or example: and so it has proved; for, instead of seeing a full stop put to all abuses and corruptions, at least in this little island, as I had reason to expect,—behold, after above six months' warning, I cannot learn that my book has produced one single effect according to my intentions. I desired you would let me know, by a letter, when party and faction were extinguished; judges learned and upright; pleaders honest and modest, with some tincture of common sense, and Smithfield blazing with pyramids of law books; the young nobility's education entirely changed; the physicians banished; the female *Yahoos* abounding in virtue, honour, truth, and good sense; courts and levees of great ministers thoroughly weeded and swept; wit, merit, and learning rewarded; all disgracers of the press, in prose and verse, condemned to eat nothing but their own cotton, and quench their thirst with their own ink. These, and a thousand other reformations, I firmly counted upon by your encouragement; as, indeed, they were plainly deducible from the precepts delivered in my book. And it must be owned, that seven months were a sufficient time to correct every vice and folly to which *Yahoos* are subject, if their natures had been

capable of the least disposition to virtue or wisdom. Yet, so far have you been from answering my expectation in any of your letters, that, on the contrary, you are loading our carrier every week with libels, and keys, and reflections, and memoirs, and second parts; wherein I see myself accused of reflecting upon great state folks; of degrading human nature, (for so they have still the confidence to style it) and of abusing the female sex. I find, likewise, that the writers of those bundles are not agreed among themselves; for some of them will not allow me to be the author of my own travels, and others make me author of books to which I am wholly a stranger.

I find, likewise, that your printer has been so careless as to confound the times, and mistake the dates, of my several voyages and returns; neither assigning the true year, nor the true month, nor the day of the month: and I hear the original manuscript is all destroyed since the publication of my book; neither have I any copy left. However, I have sent you some corrections, which you may insert, if ever there should be a second edition: and yet I cannot stand to them, but shall leave that matter to my judicious and candid readers, to adjust it as they please.

I hear some of our sea *Yahoos* find fault with my sea language, as not proper in many parts, nor now in use. I cannot help it. In my first voyages, while I was young, I was instructed by the oldest mariners, and learned to speak as they did. But I have since found that the sea *Yahoos* are apt, like the land ones, to become new-fangled in their words, which the latter change every year; insomuch, as I remember, upon each return to my own country, their old dialect was so altered, that I could hardly understand the new. And I observe, when any *Yahoos* come from London, out of curiosity, to visit me at my house, we neither of us are able to deliver our conceptions in a manner intelligible to the other.

If the censure of the *Yahoos* could any way affect me, I should have great reason to complain that some of them are so bold as to think my book of travels a mere fiction out of mine own brain; and have gone so far as to drop hints, that the *Houyhnhnms* and *Yahoos* have no more existence than the inhabitants of Utopia.

Indeed I must confess, that as to the people of *Lilliput*, *Brobdingrag* (for so the word should have been spelt, and not, erroneously, *Brobdingnag*,) and *Laputa*, I have never yet heard of any *Yahoo* so presumptuous as to dispute their being, or the facts I have related concerning them; because the truth immediately strikes every reader with conviction. And is there less probability in my account of the *Houyhnhnms* or *Yahoos*, when it is manifest, as to the latter, there are so many thousands, even in this country, who only differ from their brother brutes in *Houyhnhnmland*, because they use a sort of jabber, and do not go naked? I wrote for their amendment, and not their approbation. The united praise of the whole race would be of less consequence to me than the neighing of these two degenerate *Houyhnhnms* I keep in my stable; because from these, degenerate as they are, I still improve in some virtues, without any mixture of vice.

Do these miserable animals presume to think that I am so degenerated as to defend my veracity? *Yahoo* as I am, it is well known through all *Houyhnhnm-land*, that, by the instructions and example of my illustrious master, I was able, in the compass of two years, (although I confess with the utmost difficulty,) to remove that infernal habit of lying, shuffling, deceiving, and equivocating, so deeply rooted in the very souls of all my species, especially the Europeans.

I have other complaints to make upon this vexatious occasion; but I forbear troubling myself or you any further. I must freely confess, that, since my last, some corruptions of my *Yahoo* nature have revived in me, by conversing with a few of your species, and particularly those of my own family, by an unavoidable necessity: else I should never have attempted so absurd a project as that of reforming the *Yahoo* race in this kingdom: but I have now done with all such visionary schemes for ever.

*April* 2, 1727.

# PART I.

# A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.

## CHAP. I.

*The Author gives some Account of Himself and Family. His first Inducements to Travel. He is Shipwrecked, and swims for his Life. Gets safe on shore in the Country of Lilliput. Is made a Prisoner, and carried up the Country.*

My father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire: I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel college in Cambridge, at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself close to my studies; but the charge of maintaining me, although I had a very scanty allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learning navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be, some time or other, my fortune to do. When I left Mr Bates, I went down to my father, where, by the assistance of him and my uncle John, and some other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a-year, to maintain me at Leyden: There I studied physic two years and seven months, knowing it would be useful in long voyages.

Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good master, Mr Bates, to be surgeon to the Swallow, Captain Abraham Pannell, commander; with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and some other parts. When I came back, I resolved to settle in London; to which Mr Bates my master encouraged me; and by him I was recommended to several patients. I took part of a small house in the Old Jewry; and, being advised to alter my condition, I married Mrs Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr Edmund Burton, hosier, in Newgate-street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion.

But my good master Bates dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fail; for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren. Having therefore consulted with my wife and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea. I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages, for six years, to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune. My hours of leisure I spent in reading the best authors, ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books; and when I was a-shore, in observing the manners and dispositions of the people, as well as learning their language; wherein I had a great facility, by the strength of my memory.

The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea, and intended to stay at home with my wife and family. I removed from the Old Jewry to Fetter-lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors; but it would not turn to account. After three years expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous offer from Captain William Prichard, master of the Antelope, who was making a voyage to the South Sea. We set sail from Bristol, May 4, 1699, and our voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those seas; let it suffice to inform him, that, in our passage from thence to the East Indies, we were driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Diemen's Land. By an observation, we found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labour and ill food: the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seamen spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship; but the wind was so strong, that we were driven directly upon it, and imme-

diately split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed, by my computation, about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labour while we were in the ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves; and in about half an hour the boat was overset by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as well as of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell, but conclude they were all lost. For my own part, I swam as Fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom; but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth: and by this time the storm was much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a condition that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired; and with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remembered to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, about nine hours; for when I awaked it was just day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir; for as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground, and my hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upwards: the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me, but, in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which, advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when, bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the ground. However, they soon returned; and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my face, lifting up his hands and eyes by way of admiration, cried out, in a shrill but distinct voice, *Hekinah degul:* the others repeated the same words several times; but I then knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the reader may believe, in great uneasiness. At length, struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the strings, and wrench out the pegs that fastened my left arm to the ground; for, by lifting it up to my face, I discovered the methods they had taken to bind me, and, at the same time, with a violent pull, which gave me excessive pain, I a little loosened the strings that tied down my hair on the left side, so that I was just able to turn my head about two inches. But the creatures ran off a second time, before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great shout, in a very shrill accent, and, after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo phonac;* when, in an instant, I felt above a hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which pricked me like so many needles; and, besides, they shot another flight into the air, as we do bombs in Europe, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my body, (though I felt them not,) and some on my face, which I immediately covered with my left hand. When this shower of arrows was over, I fell a-groaning with grief and pain; and then, striving again to get loose, they discharged another volley, larger than the first, and some of them attempted, with spears, to stick me in the sides; but by good luck I had on me a buff jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent method to lie still; and my design was to continue so till night, when, my left hand being already loose, I could easily free myself: and as for the inhabitants, I had reason to believe I might be a match for the greatest army they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the people observed I was quiet, they discharged no more arrows; but, by the noise I heard, I knew their numbers increased: and about four yards from me, over-against my right ear, I heard a knocking for above an hour, like that of people at work; when, turning my head that way, as well as the pegs and strings would permit me, I saw a stage erected about a foot and a half from the ground, capable of holding four of the inhabitants, with two or three ladders to mount it: from whence one of them, who seemed to be a person of quality, made me a long speech, whereof I understood not one syllable. But I should have mentioned, that, before the principal person began his oration, he cried out three times, *Langro dehul san;* (these words and the former were afterwards

repeated and explained to me;) whereupon, immediately, about fifty of the inhabitants came and cut the strings that fastened the left side of my head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the person and gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him; whereof one was a page, that held up his train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger; the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an orator; and I could observe many periods of threatenings, and others of promises, pity, and kindness. I answered in a few words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my left hand and both my eyes to the sun, as calling him for a witness: and being almost famished with hunger, having not eaten a morsel for some hours before I left the ship, I found the demands of nature so strong upon me, that I could not forbear showing my impatience, (perhaps against the strict rules of decency,) by putting my finger frequently to my mouth, to signify that I wanted food. The *hurgo* (for so they call a great lord, as I afterwards learnt) understood me very well. He descended from the stage, and commanded that several ladders should be applied to my sides, on which above a hundred of the inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my mouth, laden with baskets full of meat, which had been provided and sent thither by the king's orders, upon the first intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the flesh of several animals, but could not distinguish them by the taste. There were shoulders, legs, and loins, shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark. I eat them by two or three at a mouthful, and took three loaves at a time, about the bigness of musket-bullets. They supplied me as fast as they could, showing a thousand marks of wonder and astonishment at my bulk and appetite. I then made another sign, that I wanted drink. They found by my eating that a small quantity would not suffice me; and, being a most ingenious people, they slung up, with great dexterity, one of their largest hogsheads, then rolled it towards my hand, and beat out the top: I drank it off at a draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a pint, and tasted like a small wine of Burgundy, but much more delicious. They brought me a second hogshead, which I drank in the same manner, and made signs for more; but they had none to give me. When I had performed these wonders, they shouted for joy, and danced upon my breast, repeating several times, as they did at first, *Hekinah degul*. They made me a sign that I should throw down the two hogsheads, but first warning the people below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach mevolah*; and when they saw the vessels in the air, there was a universal shout of *Hekinah degul*. I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my body, to seize forty or fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them against the ground. But the remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the promise of honour I made them,—for so I interpreted my submissive behaviour,—soon drove out those imaginations. Besides, I now considered myself as bound by the laws of hospitality to a people who had treated me with so much expence and magnificence. However, in my thoughts I could not sufficiently wonder at the intrepidity of these diminutive mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk upon my body, while one of my hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a creature as I must appear to them. After some time, when they observed that I made no more demands for meat, there appeared before me a person of high rank from his imperial majesty. His excellency, having mounted on the small of my right leg, advanced forwards up to my face, with about a dozen of his retinue; and producing his credentials, under the signet-royal, which he applied close to my eyes, spoke about ten minutes without any signs of anger, but with a kind of determinate resolution; often pointing forwards; which, as I afterwards found, was towards the capital city, about half a mile distant; whither it was agreed by his majesty in council that I must be conveyed. I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a sign with my hand that was loose, putting it to the other, (but over his excellency's head, for fear of hurting him or his train,) and then to my own head and body, to signify that I desired my liberty. It appeared that he understood me well enough, for he shook his head by way of disapprobation, and held his hand in a posture to show that I must be carried as a prisoner. However, he made other signs, to let me understand that I should have meat and drink enough, and very good treatment. Whereupon, I once more thought of attempting to break my bonds; but again, when I felt the smart of their arrows upon my face and hands, which were all in blisters, and many of the darts still sticking in them, and observing likewise that the number of my enemies increased, I gave tokens to let them know that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this, the *hurgo* and his train withdrew, with much civility and cheerful

countenances. Soon after, I heard a general shout, with frequent repetitions of the words *Peplom selan*; and I felt great numbers of people on my left side, relaxing the cords to such a degree, that I was able to turn upon my right, and to ease myself with making water; which I very plentifully did, to the great astonishment of the people; who, conjecturing by my motion what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that side, to avoid the torrent which fell with such noise and violence from me. But before this, they had daubed my face and both my hands with a sort of ointment, very pleasant to the smell, which, in a few minutes, removed all the smart of their arrows. These circumstances, added to the refreshment I had received by their victuals and drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight hours, as I was afterwards assured; and it was no wonder, for the physicians, by the emperor's order, had mingled a sleepy potion in the hogsheads of wine.

It seems, that upon the first moment I was discovered sleeping on the ground, after my landing, the emperor had early notice of it by an express, and determined in council, that I should be tied in the manner I have related, (which was done in the night, while I slept;) that plenty of meat and drink should be sent me, and a machine prepared to carry me to the capital city.

This resolution, perhaps, may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any prince in Europe on the like occasion. However, in my opinion, it was extremely prudent, as well as generous; for, supposing these people had endeavoured to kill me with their spears and arrows while I was asleep, I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of smart, which might so far have roused my rage and strength, as to have enabled me to break the strings wherewith I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make resistance, so they could expect no mercy.

These people are most excellent mathematicians, and arrived to a great perfection in mechanics, by the countenance and encouragement of the emperor, who is a renowned patron of learning. This prince has several machines fixed on wheels, for the carriage of trees and other great weights. He often builds his largest men of war, whereof some are nine feet long, in the woods where the timber grows, and has them carried on these engines three or four hundred yards to the sea. Five hundred carpenters and engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest engine they had. It was a frame of wood raised three inches from the ground, about seven feet long, and four wide, moving upon twenty-two wheels. The shout I heard was upon the arrival of this engine, which, it seems, set out in four hours after my landing. It was brought parallel to me as I lay. But the principal difficulty was to raise and place me in this vehicle. Eighty poles, each of one foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong cords, of the bigness of packthread, were fastened by hooks to many bandages, which the workmen had girt round my neck, my hands, my body, and my legs. Nine hundred of the strongest men were employed to draw up these cords, by many pulleys fastened on the poles; and thus, in less than three hours, I was raised and slung into the engine, and there tied fast. All this I was told; for, while the operation was performing, I lay in a profound sleep, by the force of that soporiferous medicine infused into my liquor. Fifteen hundred of the emperor's largest horses, each about four inches and a half high, were employed to draw me towards the metropolis, which, as I said, was half a mile distant.

About four hours after we began our journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous accident; for the carriage being stopt awhile, to adjust something that was out of order, two or three of the young natives had the curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep; they climbed up into the engine, and advancing very softly to my face, one of them, an officer in the guards, put the sharp end of his half-pike a good way up into my left nostril, which tickled my nose like a straw, and made me sneeze violently; whereupon they stole off unperceived, and it was three weeks before I knew the cause of my waking so suddenly. We made a long march the remaining part of the day, and rested at night with five hundred guards on each side of me, half with torches, and half with bows and arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next morning at sunrise we continued our march, and arrived within two hundred yards of the city-gates about noon. The emperor, and all his court, came out to meet us, but his great officers would by no means suffer his majesty to endanger his person, by mounting on my body.

At the place where the carriage stopped there stood an ancient temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole kingdom; which, having been polluted some years before by an unnatural murder, was, according to the zeal of those people, looked upon as profane, and therefore had been applied to common use, and all the ornaments and furniture carried away. In this edifice it was determined I should lodge. The great gate fronting to the north was about four feet high, and almost

two feet wide, through which I could easily creep. On each side of the gate was a small window, not above six inches from the ground: into that on the left side, the king's smith conveyed fourscore and eleven chains, like those that hang to a lady's watch in Europe, and almost as large, which were locked to my left leg with six-and-thirty padlocks. Over against this temple, on the other side of the great highway, at twenty feet distance, there was a turret at least five feet high. Here the emperor ascended, with many principal lords of his court, to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for I could not see them. It was reckoned that above a hundred thousand inhabitants came out of the town upon the same errand; and, in spite of my guards, I believe there could not be fewer than ten thousand at several times, who mounted my body by the help of ladders. But a proclamation was soon issued, to forbid it upon pain of death. When the workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all the strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up, with as melancholy a disposition as ever I had in my life. But the noise and astonishment of the people, at seeing me rise and walk, are not to be expressed. The chains that held my left leg were about two yards long, and gave me not only liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a semi-circle, but, being fixed within four inches of the gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the temple.

## CHAP. II.

*The Emperor of Lilliput, attended by several of the Nobility, comes to see the Author in his Confinement. The Emperor's Person and Habit described. Learned Men appointed to teach the Author their Language. He gains Favour by his mild Disposition. His Pockets are searched, and his Sword and Pistols taken from him.*

When I found myself on my feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining prospect. The country around appeared like a continued garden, and the enclosed fields, which were generally forty feet square, resembled so many beds of flowers. These fields were intermingled with woods of half a *stang*, (sixteen feet and a half) and the tallest trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven feet high. I viewed the town on my left hand, which looked like the painted scene of a city in a theatre.

I had been for some hours extremely pressed by the necessities of nature; which was no wonder, it being almost two days since I had last disburdened myself. I was under great difficulties between urgency and shame. The best expedient I could think on, was to creep into my house, which I accordingly did; and, shutting the gate after me, I went as far as the length of my chain would suffer, and discharged my body of that uneasy load. But this was the only time I was ever guilty of so uncleanly an action; for which I cannot but hope the candid reader will give some allowance, after he has maturely and impartially considered my case, and the distress I was in. From this time my constant practice was, as soon as I rose, to perform that business in open air, at the full extent of my chain; and due care was taken every morning before company came, that the offensive matter should be carried off in wheelbarrows, by two servants appointed for that purpose. I would not have dwelt so long upon a circumstance, that perhaps at first sight may appear not very momentous, if I had not thought it necessary to justify my character, in point of cleanliness, to the world; which, I am told, some of my maligners have been pleased, upon this and other occasions, to call in question.

When this adventure was at an end, I came back out of my house, having occasion for fresh air. The emperor was already descending from the tower, and advancing on horseback towards me, which had like to have cost him dear; for the beast, though very well trained, yet wholly unused to such a sight, which appeared as if a mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder feet: but that prince, who is an excellent horseman, kept his seat, till his attendants ran in, and held the bridle, while his majesty had time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great admiration; but kept beyond the length of my chain. He ordered his cooks and butlers, who were already prepared, to give me victuals and drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of vehicle upon wheels, till I could reach them. I took these vehicles, and soon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with meat, and ten with liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good mouthfuls; and I emptied the liquor of ten vessels, which was contained in earthen vials, into one vehicle, drinking it off at a draught; and so I did with the rest. The empress, and young princes of the blood of both sexes, attended by many ladies, sat at some distance in their chairs; but upon the accident that happened to the emperor's horse, they alighted, and came near his person, which I am now going to describe. He is taller, by almost the breadth of my nail, than any of his court; which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His

features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic. He was then past his prime, being twenty-eight years and three quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven in great felicity, and generally victorious. For the better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my side, so that my face was parallel to his, and he stood but three yards off: however I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it between the Asiatic and the European: but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three inches long; the hilt and scabbard were gold enriched with diamonds. His voice was shrill, but very clear and articulate; and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The ladies and courtiers were all most magnificently clad; so that the spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a petticoat spread on the ground, embroidered with figures of gold and silver. His imperial majesty spoke often to me, and I returned answers: but neither of us could understand a syllable. There were several of his priests and lawyers present (as I conjectured by their habits,) who were commanded to address themselves to me; and I spoke to them in as many languages as I had the least smattering of, which were High and Low Dutch, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Lingua Franca, but all to no purpose. After about two hours the court retired, and I was left with a strong guard, to prevent the impertinence, and probably the malice of the rabble, who were very impatient to crowd about me as near as they durst; and some of them had the impudence to shoot their arrows at me, as I sat on the ground by the door of my house, whereof one very narrowly missed my left eye. But the colonel ordered six of the ringleaders to be seized, and thought no punishment so proper, as to deliver them bound into my hands; which some of his soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the butt-ends of their pikes into my reach. I took them all in my right hand, put five of them into my coat-pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor man squalled terribly, and the colonel and his officers were in much pain, especially when they saw me take out my pen-knife: but I soon put them out of fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the strings he was bound with, I set him gently on the ground, and away he ran. I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my pocket; and I observed both the soldiers and people were highly delighted at this mark of my clemency, which was represented very much to my advantage at court.

Towards night I got with some difficulty into my house, where I lay on the ground, and continued to do so about a fortnight; during which time, the emperor gave orders to have a bed prepared for me. Six hundred beds of the common measure were brought in carriages, and worked up in my house; a hundred and fifty of their beds, sewn together, made up the breadth and length; and these were four double; which, however, kept me but very indifferently from the hardness of the floor, that was of smooth stone. By the same computation, they provided me with sheets, blankets, and coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long inured to hardships.

As the news of my arrival spread through the kingdom, it brought prodigious numbers of rich, idle, and curious people to see me; so that the villages were almost emptied; and great neglect of tillage and household affairs must have ensued, if his imperial majesty had not provided, by several proclamations and orders of state, against this inconveniency. He directed, that those who had already beheld me should return home, and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house, without licence from the court; whereby the secretaries of state got considerable fees.

In the mean time the emperor held frequent councils, to debate what course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured by a particular friend, a person of great quality, who was as much in the secret as any, that the court was under many difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking loose; that my diet would be very expensive, and might cause a famine. Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the face and hands with poisoned arrows, which would soon dispatch me; but again they considered, that the stench of so large a carcass might produce a plague in the metropolis, and probably spread through the whole kingdom. In the midst of these consultations, several officers of the army went to the door of the great council chamber, and two of them being admitted, gave an account of my behaviour to the six criminals above mentioned, which made so favourable an impression in the breast of his majesty and the whole board, in my behalf, that an imperial commission was issued out, obliging all

the villages, nine hundred yards round the city, to deliver in every morning six beeves, forty sheep, and other victuals for my sustenance; together with a proportionable quantity of bread, and wine, and other liquors; for the due payment of which, his majesty gave assignments upon his treasury:—for this prince lives chiefly upon his own demesnes; seldom, except upon great occasions, raising any subsidies upon his subjects, who are bound to attend him in his wars at their own expence. An establishment was also made of six hundred persons to be my domestics, who had board wages allowed for their maintenance, and tents built for them, very conveniently on each side of my door. It was likewise ordered, that three hundred tailors should make me a suit of clothes, after the fashion of the country; that six of his majesty's greatest scholars should be employed to instruct me in their language; and lastly, that the emperor's horses, and those of the nobility and troops of guards, should be frequently exercised in my sight, to accustom themselves to me. All these orders were duly put in execution; and in about three weeks I made a great progress in learning their language; during which time the emperor frequently honoured me with his visits, and was pleased to assist my masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some sort; and the first words I learnt, were to express my desire, that he would please to give me my liberty; which I every day repeated on my knees. His answer, as I could apprehend it, was, that this must be a work of time, not to be thought on without the advice of his council, and that first I must *lumos kelmin pesso desmar lon emposo;* that is, swear a peace with him and his kingdom. However, that I should be used with all kindness. And he advised me to acquire, by my patience and discreet behaviour, the good opinion of himself and his subjects. He desired I would not take it ill, if he gave orders to certain proper officers to search me; for probably I might carry about me several weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answered the bulk of so prodigious a person.—I said, His majesty should be satisfied; for I was ready to strip myself, and turn up my pockets before him.—This I delivered, part in words and part in signs. He replied, that by the laws of the kingdom, I must be searched by two of his officers; that he knew this could not be done without my consent and assistance; and he had so good an opinion of my generosity and justice, as to trust their persons in my hands; that whatever they took from me, should be returned when I left the country, or paid for at the rate which I would set upon them.—I took up the two officers in my hands, put them first into my coat-pockets, and then into every other pocket about me, except my two fobs, and another secret pocket, which I had no mind should be searched, wherein I had some little necessaries that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my fobs there was a silver watch, and in the other a small quantity of gold in a purse. These gentlemen, having pen, ink, and paper, about them, made an exact inventory of every thing they saw; and when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the emperor. This inventory I afterwards translated into English, and is, word for word, as follows:

"*Imprimis*, In the right coat-pocket of the great man-mountain (for so I interpret the words *quinbus flestrin*), after the strictest search, we found only one great piece of coarse cloth, large enough to be a foot-cloth for your majesty's chief room of state. In the left pocket we saw a huge silver chest, with a cover of the same metal, which we the searchers were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid-leg in a sort of dust, some part whereof flying up to our faces, set us both a sneezing for several times together. In his right waistcoat-pocket we found a prodigious bundle of white thin substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three men, tied with a strong cable, and marked with black figures, which we humbly conceive to be writings, every letter almost half as large as the palm of our hands. In the left there was a sort of engine, from the back of which were extended twenty long poles, resembling the palisadoes before your majesty's court; wherewith we conjecture the man-mountain combs his head; for we did not always trouble him with questions, because we found it a great difficulty to make him understand us. In the large pocket, on the right side of his middle cover, (so I translate the word *ranfulo*, by which they meant my breeches) we saw a hollow pillar of iron, about the length of a man, fastened to a strong piece of timber larger than the pillar; and upon one side of the pillar were huge pieces of iron sticking out, cut into strange figures, which we know not what to make of. In the left pocket, another engine of the same kind. In the smaller pocket, on the right side, were several round flat pieces of white and red metal, of different bulk; some of the white, which seemed to be silver, were so large and heavy, that my comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left pocket were two black pillars irregularly shaped: we could not, without difficulty, reach the top of them, as we stood at the bottom of his pocket. One of them was

covered and seemed all of a piece; but at the upper end of the other there appeared a white round substance, about twice the bigness of our heads. Within each of these was enclosed a prodigious plate of steel; which, by our orders, we obliged him to show us, because we apprehended they might be dangerous engines. He took them out of their cases, and told us, that, in his own country, his practice was to shave his beard with one of these, and cut his meat with the other. There were two pockets which we could not enter; these he called his fobs; they were two large slits cut into the top of his middle cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his belly. Out of the right fob hung a great silver chain, with a wonderful kind of engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was at the end of that chain, which appeared to be a globe, half silver, and half of some transparent metal; for, on the transparent side, we saw certain strange figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our fingers stopped by that lucid substance. He put this engine to our ears, which made an incessant noise, like that of a water-mill: and we conjecture it is either some unknown animal, or the god that he worships; but we are more inclined to the latter opinion, because he assured us (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly,) that he seldom did any thing without consulting it. He called it his oracle, and said, it pointed out the time for every action of his life. From the left fob he took out a net, almost large enough for a fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a purse, and served him for the same use: we found therein several massy pieces of yellow metal, which, if they be real gold, must be of immense value.

"Having thus, in obedience to your majesty's commands, diligently searched all his pockets, we observed a girdle about his waist, made of the hide of some prodigious animal, from which, on the left side, hung a sword of the length of five men; and on the right, a bag or pouch divided into two cells, each cell capable of holding three of your majesty's subjects. In one of these cells were several globes or balls, of a most ponderous metal, about the bigness of our heads, and required a strong hand to lift them: the other cell contained a heap of certain black grains, but of no great bulk or weight, for we could hold about fifty of them in the palm of our hands.

"This is an exact inventory of what we found about the body of the man-mountain, who used us with great civility, and due respect to your majesty's commission. Signed and sealed on the fourth day of the eighty-ninth moon of your majesty's auspicious reign.

"CLEFRIN FRELOCK, MARSI FRELOCK."

When this inventory was read over to the emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle terms, to deliver up the several particulars. He first called for my scymitar, which I took out, scabbard and all. In the mean time he ordered three thousand of his choicest troops, (who then attended him,) to surround me at a distance, with their bows and arrows just ready to discharge; but I did not observe it, for mine eyes were wholly fixed upon his majesty. He then desired me to draw my scymitar, which, although it had got some rust by the sea-water, was in most parts exceeding bright. I did so, and immediately all the troops gave a shout between terror and surprise: for the sun shone clear, and the reflection dazzled their eyes, as I waved the scymitar to and fro in my hand. His majesty, who is a most magnanimous prince, was less daunted than I could expect: he ordered me to return it into the scabbard, and cast it on the ground as gently as I could, about six feet from the end of my chain. The next thing he demanded was one of the hollow iron pillars: by which he meant my pocket pistols. I drew it out, and at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the use of it; and charging it only with powder, which, by the closeness of my pouch, happened to escape wetting in the sea, (an inconvenience against which all prudent mariners take special care to provide,) I first cautioned the emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the air. The astonishment here was much greater than at the sight of the scymitar. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead; and even the emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself for some time. I delivered up both my pistols in the same manner as I had done my scymitar, and then my pouch of powder and bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from fire, for it would kindle with the smallest spark, and blow up his imperial palace in the air. I likewise delivered up my watch, which the emperor was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest yeomen of the guards to bear it on a pole upon their shoulders, as draymen in England do a barrel of ale. He was amazed at the continual noise it made, and the motion of the minute-hand, which he could easily discern; for their sight is much more acute than ours: he asked the opinions of his learned men about it, which were various and remote, as the reader may well imagine without my repeating; although indeed I could not very perfectly understand them. I then gave up my silver and copper money, my purse with nine large pieces of gold, and some smaller ones; my knife and razor, my comb and silver snuff-box, my handkerchief and journal-

book. My scymitar, pistols, and pouch, were conveyed in carriages to his majesty's stores; but the rest of my goods were returned me.

I had, as I before observed, one private pocket, which escaped their search, wherein there was a pair of spectacles, (which I sometimes use for the weakness of mine eyes,) a pocket perspective, and some other little conveniences; which being of no consequence to the emperor, I did not think myself bound in honour to discover, and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled if I ventured them out of my possession.

## CHAP. III.

*The Author diverts the Emperor, and his Nobility of both Sexes, in a very uncommon Manner. The Diversions of the Court of Lilliput described. The Author has his Liberty granted him upon certain Conditions.*

My gentleness and good behaviour had gained so far on the emperor and his court, and indeed upon the army and people in general, that I began to conceive hopes of getting my liberty in a short time. I took all possible methods to cultivate this favourable disposition. The natives came, by degrees, to be less apprehensive of any danger from me. I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my hand; and at last the boys and girls would venture to come and play at hide-and-seek in my hair. I had now made a good progress in understanding and speaking the language. The emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceed all nations I have known, both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much as that of the rope-dancers, performed upon a slender white thread, extended about two feet, and twelve inches from the ground. Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practised by those persons, who are candidates for great employments, and high favour at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of noble birth, or liberal education. When a great office is vacant, either by death or disgrace (which often happens,) five or six of those candidates petition the emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a dance on the rope; and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the office. Very often the chief ministers themselves are commanded to show their skill, and to convince the emperor that they have not lost their faculty. Flimnap, the treasurer, is allowed to cut a caper on the straight rope, at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire. I have seen him do the summerset several times together, upon a trencher fixed on a rope, which is no thicker than a common packthread in England. My friend Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the treasurer; the rest of the great officers are much upon a par.

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater, when the ministers themselves are commanded to show their dexterity; for, by contending to excel themselves and their fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who has not received a fall, and some of them two or three. I was assured, that, a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would infallibly have broke his neck, if one of the king's cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall.

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shown before the emperor and empress, and first minister, upon particular occasions. The emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads of six inches long; one is blue, the other red, and the third green. These threads are proposed as prizes for those persons whom the emperor has a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity, very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the new or old world. The emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it, backward and forward, several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the emperor holds one end of the stick, and the first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue-coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court who are not adorned with one of these girdles.

The horses of the army, and those of the royal stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very feet without starting. The riders would leap them over my hand, as I held it on the ground; and one of the emperor's

huntsmen, upon a large courser, took my foot, shoe and all; which was indeed a prodigious leap. I had the good fortune to divert the emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several sticks of two feet high, and the thickness of an ordinary cane, to be brought me; whereupon his majesty commanded the master of his woods to give directions accordingly; and the next morning six woodmen arrived with as many carriages, drawn by eight horses to each. I took nine of these sticks, and fixing them firmly in the ground in a quadrangular figure, two feet and a half square, I took four other sticks, and tied them parallel at each corner, about two feet from the ground; then I fastened my handkerchief to the nine sticks that stood erect, and extended it on all sides, till it was tight as the top of a drum; and the four parallel sticks, rising about five inches higher than the handkerchief, served as ledges on each side. When I had finished my work, I desired the emperor to let a troop of the best horse, twenty-four in number, come and exercise upon this plain. His majesty approved of the proposal, and I took them up, one by one, in my hands, ready mounted and armed, with the proper officers to exercise them. As soon as they got into order, they divided into two parties, performed mock skirmishes, discharged blunt arrows, drew their swords, fled and pursued, attacked and retired, and, in short, discovered the best military discipline I ever beheld. The parallel sticks secured them and their horses from falling over the stage; and the emperor was so much delighted, that he ordered this entertainment to be repeated several days, and once was pleased to be lifted up and give the word of command; and with great difficulty persuaded even the empress herself to let me hold her in her close chair within two yards of the stage, when she was able to take a full view of the whole performance. It was my good fortune, that no ill accident happened in these entertainments; only once a fiery horse, that belonged to one of the captains, pawing with his hoof, struck a hole in my handkerchief, and his foot slipping, he overthrew his rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both, and covering the hole with one hand, I set down the troop with the other, in the same manner as I took them up. The horse that fell was strained in the left shoulder, but the rider got no hurt; and I repaired my handkerchief as well as I could: however, I would not trust to the strength of it any more in such dangerous enterprizes.

About two or three days before I was set at liberty, as I was entertaining the court with this kind of feats, there arrived an express to inform his majesty, that some of his subjects, riding near the place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black substance lying on the ground, very oddly shaped, extending its edges round, as wide as his majesty's bedchamber, and rising up in the middle as high as a man; that it was no living creature, as they at first apprehended, for it lay on the grass without motion; and some of them had walked round it several times; that, by mounting upon each other's shoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and stamping upon it, they found that it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the man-mountain; and, if his majesty pleased, they would undertake to bring it with only five horses. I presently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this intelligence. It seems, upon my first reaching the shore after our shipwreck, I was in such confusion, that, before I came to the place where I went to sleep, my hat, which I had fastened with a string to my head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the time I was swimming, fell off after I came to land; the string, as I conjecture, breaking by some accident, which I never observed, but thought my hat had been lost at sea. I entreated his imperial majesty to give orders it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the use and the nature of it: and the next day the waggoners arrived with it, but not in a very good condition; they had bored two holes in the brim, within an inch and a half of the edge, and fastened two hooks in the holes; these hooks were tied by a long cord to the harness, and thus my hat was dragged along for above half an English mile; but, the ground in that country being extremely smooth and level, it received less damage than I expected.

Two days after this adventure, the emperor, having ordered that part of his army which quarters in and about his metropolis to be in readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular manner. He desired I would stand like a Colossus, with my legs as far asunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his general (who was an old experienced leader, and a great patron of mine) to draw up the troops in close order, and march them under me; the foot by twenty-four in a breast, and the horse by sixteen, with drums beating, colours flying, and pikes advanced. This body consisted of three thousand foot, and a thousand horse. His majesty gave orders, upon pain of death, that every soldier in his march should observe the strictest decency with regard to my person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger officers from turning up their eyes,

as they passed under me: and, to confess the truth, my breeches were at that time in so ill a condition, that they afforded some opportunities for laughter and admiration.

I had sent so many memorials and petitions for my liberty, that his majesty at length mentioned the matter, first in the cabinet, and then in a full council; where it was opposed by none, except Skyresh Bolgolam, who was pleased, without any provocation, to be my mortal enemy. But it was carried against him by the whole board, and confirmed by the emperor. That minister was *galbet*, or admiral of the realm, very much in his master's confidence, and a person well versed in affairs, but of a morose and sour complexion. However, he was at length persuaded to comply; but prevailed that the articles and conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These articles were brought to me by Skyresh Bolgolam in person, attended by two under-secretaries, and several persons of distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear to the performance of them: first in the manner of my own country, and afterwards in the method prescribed by their laws; which was, to hold my right foot in my left hand, and to place the middle finger of my right hand on the crown of my head, and my thumb on the tip of my right ear. But because the reader may be curious to have some idea of the style and manner of expression peculiar to that people, as well as to know the articles upon which I recovered my liberty, I have made a translation of the whole instrument, word for word, as near as I was able, which I here offer to the public.

"Golbasto Momarem Evlame Gurdilo Shefin Mully Ully Gue, most mighty emperor of Lilliput, delight and terror of the universe, whose dominions extend five thousand *blustrugs*, (about twelve miles in circumference) to the extremities of the globe; monarch of all monarchs, taller than the sons of men; whose feet press down to the centre, and whose head strikes against the sun; at whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees; pleasant as the spring, comfortable as the summer, fruitful as autumn, dreadful as winter. His most sublime majesty proposes to the man-mountain, lately arrived at our celestial dominions, the following articles, which, by a solemn oath, he shall be obliged to perform:

"1st, The man-mountain shall not depart from our dominions, without our license under our great seal.

"2d, He shall not presume to come into our metropolis without our express order; at which time, the inhabitants shall have two hours warning to keep within doors.

"3d, The said man-mountain shall confine his walks to our principal high roads, and not offer to walk, or lie down, in a meadow or field of corn.

"4th, As he walks the said roads, he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the bodies of any of our loving subjects, their horses, or carriages, nor take any of our subjects into his hands without their own consent.

"5th, If an express requires extraordinary dispatch, the man-mountain shall be obliged to carry in his pocket the messenger and horse a six days journey, once in every moon, and return the said messenger back, (if so required,) safe to our imperial presence.

"6th, He shall be our ally against our enemies in the island of Blefuscu, and do his utmost to destroy their fleet, which is now preparing to invade us.

"7th, That the said man-mountain shall, at his time of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our workmen, in helping to raise certain great stones, towards covering the wall of the principal park, and other our royal buildings.

"8th, That the said man-mountain shall, in two moons time, deliver in an exact survey of the circumference of our dominions, by a computation of his own paces round the coast.

"Lastly, That, upon his solemn oath to observe all the above articles, the said man-mountain shall have a daily allowance of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 of our subjects, with free access to our royal person, and other marks of our favour. Given at our palace at Belfaborac, the twelfth day of the ninety-first moon of our reign."

I swore and subscribed to these articles with great chearfulness and content, although some of them were not so honourable as I could have wished; which proceeded wholly from the malice of Skyresh Bolgolam, the high-admiral; whereupon my chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty. The emperor himself, in person, did me the honour to be by at the whole ceremony. I made my acknowledgments by prostrating myself at his majesty's feet: but he commanded me to rise; and after many gracious expressions, which, to avoid the censure of vanity, I shall not repeat, he added, that he hoped I should prove a useful servant, and well deserve all the favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future.

The reader may please to observe, that, in the last article of the recovery of my liberty, the emperor stipulates to allow me a quantity of meat and drink sufficient for the support of 1724 Lilliputians. Some time after, asking

a friend at court, how they came to fix on that determined number, he told me that his majesty's mathematicians, having taken the height of my body by the help of a quadrant, and finding it to exceed theirs in the proportion of twelve to one, they concluded, from the similarity of their bodies, that mine must contain at least 1724 of theirs, and consequently would require as much food as was necessary to support that number of Lilliputians. By which the reader may conceive an idea of the ingenuity of that people, as well as the prudent and exact economy of so great a prince.

## CHAP. IV.

*Mildendo, the Metropolis of Lilliput, described, together with the Emperor's Palace. A Conversation between the Author and a principal Secretary, concerning the Affairs of that Empire. The Author's Offers to serve the Emperor in his Wars.*

THE first request I made, after I had obtained my liberty, was, that I might have license to see Mildendo, the metropolis; which the emperor easily granted me, but with a special charge to do no hurt either to the inhabitants or their houses. The people had notice, by proclamation, of my design to visit the town. The wall, which encompassed it, is two feet and a half high, and at least eleven inches broad, so that a coach and horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong towers at ten feet distance. I stept over the great western gate, and passed very gently and sidelong through the two principal streets, only in my short waistcoat, for fear of damaging the roofs and eaves of the houses with the skirts of my coat. I walked with the utmost circumspection, to avoid treading on any stragglers who might remain on the streets; although the orders were very strict, that all people should keep in their houses, at their own peril. The garret windows and tops of houses were so crowded with spectators, that I thought in all my travels I had not seen a more populous place. The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred feet long. The two great streets, which run across, and divide it into four quarters, are five feet wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but only viewed them as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of holding five hundred thousand souls: the houses are from three to five stories: the shops and markets well provided.

The emperor's palace is in the centre of the city, where the two great streets meet. It is enclosed by a wall of two feet high, and twenty feet distance from the buildings. I had his majesty's permission to step over this wall; and the space being so wide between that and the palace, I could easily view it on every side. The outward court is a square of forty feet, and includes two other courts: in the inmost are the royal apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great gates, from one square into another, were but eighteen inches high, and seven inches wide. Now the buildings of the outer court were at least five feet high, and it was impossible for me to stride over them without infinite damage to the pile, though the walls were strongly built of hewn stone, and four inches thick. At the same time, the emperor had a great desire that I should see the magnificence of his palace; but this I was not able to do till three days after, which I spent in cutting down with my knife some of the largest trees in the royal park, about a hundred yards distance from the city. Of these trees I made two stools, each about three feet high, and strong enough to bear my weight. The people, having received notice a second time, I went again through the city to the palace with my two stools in my hands. When I came to the side of the outer court, I stood upon one stool, and took the other in my hand; this I lifted over the roof, and gently set it down on the space between the first and second court, which was eight feet wide. I then stept over the building very conveniently from one stool to the other, and drew up the first after me with a hooked stick. By this contrivance I got into the inmost court; and, lying down upon my side, I applied my face to the windows of the middle stories, which were left open on purpose, and discovered the most splendid apartments that can be imagined. There I saw the empress and the young princes, in their several lodgings, with their chief attendants about them. Her imperial majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the window her hand to kiss.

But I shall not anticipate the reader with farther descriptions of this kind, because I reserve them for a greater work, which is now almost ready for the press; containing a general description of this empire, from its first erection, through a long series of princes, with a particular account of their wars and politics, laws, learning, and religion; their plants and animals, their peculiar manners and customs, with other matters very curious and useful; my chief design at present being only to relate such events and transactions as happened to the public or to myself during a residence of about nine months in that empire.

One morning, about a fortnight after I had

obtained my liberty, Reldresal, principal secretary (as they style him) for private affairs, came to my house, attended only by one servant. He ordered his coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an hour's audience; which I readily consented to, on account of his quality and personal merits, as well as of the many good offices he had done me during my solicitations at court. I offered to lie down, that he might the more conveniently reach my ear; but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our conversation. He began with compliments on my liberty; said, he might pretend to some merit in it; but however added, that if it had not been for the present situation of things at court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For, said he, as flourishing a condition as we may appear to be in to foreigners, we labour under two mighty evils; a violent faction at home, and the danger of an invasion, by a most potent enemy, from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy moons past, there have been two struggling parties in this empire, under the names of *Tramecksan* and *Slamecksan*, from the high and low heels of their shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alleged, indeed, that the high heels are most agreeable to our ancient constitution; but, however this be, his majesty has determined to make use only of low heels in the administration of the government, and all offices in the gift of the crown, as you cannot but observe; and particularly that his majesty's imperial heels are lower at least by a *drurr*, than any of his court: (*drurr* is a measure about the fourteenth part of an inch.) The animosities between these two parties run so high, that they will neither eat, nor drink, nor talk with each other. We compute the *Tramecksan*, or high heels, to exceed us in number; but the power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his imperial highness, the heir to the crown, to have some tendency towards the high heels; at least, we can plainly discover that one of his heels is higher than the other, which gives him a hobble in his gait. Now, in the midst of these intestine disquiets, we are threatened with an invasion from the island of Blefuscu, which is the other great empire of the universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his majesty. For, as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other kingdoms and states, in the world, inhabited by human creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropped from the moon, or one of the stars; because it is certain, that a hundred mortals of your bulk would in a short time destroy all the fruits and cattle of his majesty's dominions: besides, our histories of six thousand moons make no mention of any other regions than the two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu; which two mighty powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate war for six-and-thirty moons past. It began upon the following occasion: It is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs, before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his present majesty's grandfather, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the ancient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers; whereupon, the emperor his father published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller ends of their eggs. The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account; wherein one emperor lost his life, and another his crown. These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when they were quelled, the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy: but the books of the Big-endians have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments. During the course of these troubles, the emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, accusing us of making a schism in religion, by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Blundecral, (which is their Alcoran.) This however is thought to be a mere strain upon the text; for the words are these: that all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end. And which is the convenient end, seems, in my humble opinion, to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the power of the chief magistrate to determine. Now, the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the emperor of Blefuscu's court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war has been carried on between the two empires for six-and-thirty moons, with various success: during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours. However, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are just preparing to make a descent upon us; and his imperial majesty, placing great confidence in your valour and

strength, has commanded me to lay this account of his affairs before you.

I desired the secretary to present my humble duty to the emperor; and to let him know, that I thought it would not become me, who was a foreigner, to interfere with parties; but I was ready, with the hazard of my life, to defend his person and state against all invaders.

## CHAP. V.

*The Author, by an extraordinary Stratagem, prevents an Invasion. A high Title of Honour is conferred upon him. Ambassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, and sue for Peace. The Empress's Apartments on Fire by Accident; the Author instrumental in saving the rest of the Palace.*

THE empire of Blefuscu is an island situated to the north-east of Lilliput, from which it is parted only by a channel of eight hundred yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this notice of an intended invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the enemy's ships, who had received no intelligence of me; all intercourse between the two empires having been strictly forbidden during the war, upon pain of death, and an embargo laid by our emperor upon all vessels whatsoever. I communicated to his majesty a project I had formed, of seizing the enemy's whole fleet; which, as our scouts assured us, lay at anchor in the harbour, ready to sail with the first fair wind. I consulted the most experienced seamen upon the depth of the channel, which they had often plumbed; who told me, that in the middle at high-water it was seventy *glumgluffs* deep, which is about six feet of European measure; and the rest of it fifty *glumgluffs* at most. I walked towards the north-east coast, over-against Blefuscu, where, lying down behind a hillock, I took out my small perspective glass, and viewed the enemy's fleet at anchor, consisting of about fifty men of war, and a great number of transports: I then came back to my house, and gave orders (for which I had a warrant) for a great quantity of the strongest cable and bars of iron. The cable was about as thick as packthread, and the bars of the length and size of a knitting-needle. I trebled the cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason I twisted three of the iron bars together, bending the extremities into a hook. Having thus fixed fifty hooks to as many cables, I went back to the north-east coast, and, putting off my coat, shoes, and stockings, walked into the sea, in my leathern jerkin, about half an hour before high-water. I waded with what haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty yards, till I felt ground. I arrived at the fleet in less than half an hour. The enemy was so frighted when they saw me, that they leaped out of their ships, and swam to shore, where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand souls: I then took my tackling, and, fastening a hook to the hole at the prow of each, I tied all the cords together at the end. While I was thus employed, the enemy discharged several thousand arrows, many of which stuck in my hands and face; and, besides the excessive smart, gave me much disturbance in my work. My greatest apprehension was for mine eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I kept, among other little necessaries, a pair of spectacles in a private pocket, which, as I observed before, had escaped the emperor's searchers. These I took out, and fastened as strongly as I could upon my nose, and thus armed, went on boldly with my work, in spite of the enemy's arrows; many of which struck against the glasses of my spectacles, but without any other effect, farther than a little to discompose them. I had now fastened all the hooks, and, taking the knot in my hand, began to pull; but not a ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their anchors, so that the boldest part of my enterprise remained. I therefore let go the cord, and, leaving the hooks fixed to the ships, I resolutely cut with my knife the cables that fastened the anchors, receiving about two hundred shots in my face and hands; then I took up the knotted end of the cables, to which my hooks were tied, and with great ease drew fifty of the enemy's largest men of war after me.

The Blefuscudians, who had not the least imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with astonishment. They had seen me cut the cables, and thought my design was only to let the ships run a-drift, or fall foul on each other; but when they perceived the whole fleet moving in order, and saw me pulling at the end, they set up such a scream of grief and despair, as it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of danger, I stopped a while to pick out the arrows that stuck in my hands and face; and rubbed on some of the same ointment that was given me at my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my spectacles, and waiting about an hour, till the tide was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my cargo, and arrived safe at the royal port of Lilliput.

The emperor and his whole court stood

on the shore, expecting the issue of this great adventure. They saw the ships move forward in a large half-moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my breast in water. When I advanced to the middle of the channel, they were yet more in pain, because I was under water to my neck. The emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the enemy's fleet was approaching in a hostile manner: but he was soon eased of his fears; for the channel growing shallower every step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and holding up the end of the cable, by which the fleet was fastened, I cried in a loud voice, Long live the most puissant king of Lilliput! This great prince received me at my landing with all possible encomiums, and created me a *nardac* upon the spot, which is the highest title of honour among them.

His majesty desired I would take some other opportunity of bringing all the rest of his enemy's ships into his ports. And so unmeasurable is the ambition of princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of Blefuscu into a province, and governing it by a viceroy; of destroying the Big-endian exiles, and compelling that people to break the smaller end of their eggs, by which he would remain the sole monarch of the whole world. But I endeavoured to divert him from this design, by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice; and I plainly protested, that I would never be an instrument of bringing a free and brave people into slavery. And, when the matter was debated in council, the wisest part of the ministry were of my opinion.

This open, bold declaration of mine was so opposite to the schemes and politics of his imperial majesty, that he could never forgive me. He mentioned it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that some of the wisest appeared at least, by their silence, to be of my opinion; but others, who were my secret enemies, could not forbear some expressions which, by a side-wind, reflected on me. And from this time began an intrigue between his majesty, and a junto of ministers, maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter destruction. Of so little weight are the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions.

About three weeks after this exploit, there arrived a solemn embassy from Blefuscu, with humble offers of a peace; which was soon concluded, upon conditions very advantageous to our emperor, wherewith I shall not trouble the reader. There were six ambassadors, with a train of about five hundred persons: and their entry was very magnificent, suitable to the grandeur of their master, and the importance of their business. When their treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good offices by the credit I now had, or at least appeared to have, at court, their excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their friend, made me a visit in form. They began with many compliments upon my valour and generosity, invited me to that kingdom in the emperor their master's name, and desired me to show them some proofs of my prodigious strength, of which they had heard so many wonders; wherein I readily obliged them, but shall not trouble the reader with the particulars.

When I had for some time entertained their excellencies, to their infinite satisfaction and surprise, I desired they would do me the honour to present my most humble respects to the emperor their master, the renown of whose virtues had so justly filled the whole world with admiration, and whose royal person I resolved to attend, before I returned to my own country. Accordingly, the next time I had the honour to see our emperor, I desired his general licence to wait on the Blefuscudian monarch, which he was pleased to grant me, as I could perceive, in a very cold manner; but could not guess the reason, till I had a whisper from a certain person, that Flimnap and Bolgolam had represented my intercourse with those ambassadors as a mark of disaffection; from which I am sure my heart was wholly free. And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect idea of courts and ministers.

It is to be observed, that these ambassadors spoke to me by an interpreter, the languages of both empires differing as much from each other as any two in Europe, and each nation priding itself upon the antiquity, beauty, and energy of their own tongues, with an avowed contempt for that of their neighbour: yet our emperor, standing upon the advantage he had got by the seizure of their fleet, obliged them to deliver their credentials, and make their speech, in the Lilliputian tongue. And it must be confessed, that, from the great intercourse of trade and commerce between both realms, from the continual reception of exiles, which is mutual among them, and from the custom, in each empire, to send their young nobility and richer gentry to the other, in order to polish themselves by seeing the world, and understanding men and manners, there are few persons of distinction, or merchants, or seamen, who dwell in the maritime parts, but what can hold conversation in both tongues; as I found some weeks after, when I went to pay my respects to the emperor of Blefuscu, which, in the midst of great misfortunes,

through the malice of my enemies, proved a very happy adventrue to me, as I shall relate in its proper place.

The reader may remember, that when I signed those articles upon which I recovered my liberty, there were some which I disliked, upon account of their being too servile; neither could any thing but an extreme necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a *nardac* of the highest rank in that empire, such offices were looked upon as below my dignity, and the emperor (to do him justice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an opportunity of doing his majesty, at least as I then thought, a most signal service. I was alarmed at midnight with the cries of many hundred people at my door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of terror. I heard the word *burglum* repeated incessantly: several of the emperor's court making their way through the crowd, entreated me to come immediately to the palace, where her imperial majesty's apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a maid of honour, who fell asleep while she was reading a romance. I got up in an instant; and orders being given to clear the way before me, and it being likewise a moonshine night, I made a shift to get to the palace without trampling on any of the people. I found they had already applied ladders to the walls of the apartment, and were well provided with buckets, but the water was at some distance. These buckets were about the size of a large thimble, and the poor people supplied me with them as fast as they could; but the flame was so violent, that they did little good. I might easily have stifled it with my coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my leathern jerkin. The case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable; and this magnificent palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if, by a presence of mind unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an expedient. I had, the evening before, drunk plentifully of a most delicious wine called *glimigrim* (the Blefuscudians call it *flunec*, but ours is esteemed the better sort,) which is very diuretic. By the luckiest chance in the world, I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The heat I had contracted by coming very near the flames, and by labouring to quench them, made the wine begin to operate by urine; which I voided in such a quantity, and applied so well to the proper places, that in three minutes the fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble pile, which had cost so many ages in erecting, preserved from destruction.

It was now day-light, and I returned to my house without waiting to congratulate with the emperor; because, although I had done a very eminent piece of service, yet I could not tell how his majesty might resent the manner by which I had performed it: for, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it is capital in any person, of what quality soever, to make water within the precincts of the palace. But I was a little comforted by a message from his majesty, that he would give orders to the grand justiciary for passing my pardon in form; which however I could not obtain. And I was privately assured, that the empress, conceiving the greatest abhorrence of what I had done removed to the most distant side of the court, firmly resolved that those buildings should never be repaired for her use; and, in the presence of her chief confidants, could not forbear vowing revenge.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the Inhabitants of Lilliput; their Learning, Laws, and Customs; the Manner of Educating their Children. The Author's Way of Living in that Country. His Vindication of a great Lady.*

ALTHOUGH I intend to leave the description of this empire to a particular treatise, yet, in the mean time, I am content to gratify the curious reader with some general ideas. As the common size of the natives is somewhat under six inches high, so there is an exact proportion in all other animals, as well as plants and trees: for instance, the tallest horses and oxen are between four and five inches in height, the sheep an inch and half, more or less; their geese about the bigness of a sparrow, and so the several gradations downwards, till you come to the smallest, which, to my sight, were almost invisible; but nature has adapted the eyes of the Lilliputians to all objects proper for their view: they see with great exactness, but at no great distance. And, to show the sharpness of their sight towards objects that are near, I have been much pleased with observing a cook pulling a lark, which was not so large as a common fly: and a young girl threading an invisible needle with invisible silk. Their tallest trees are about seven feet high: I mean some of those in the great royal park, the tops whereof I could but just reach with my fist clenched. The other vegetables are in the same proportion; but this I leave to the reader's imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their learning, which for many ages has flourished in all its branches among them: but their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the Euro-

peans; nor from the right to the left, like the Arabians; nor from up to down, like the Chinese; but aslant from one corner of the paper to the other, like ladies in England.

They bury their dead with their heads directly downwards, because they hold an opinion, that in eleven thousand moons they are all to rise again; in which period the earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall at their resurrection be found ready standing on their feet. The learned among them confess the absurdity of this doctrine; but the practice still continues, in compliance to the vulgar.

There are some laws and customs in this empire very peculiar; and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished they were as well executed. The first I shall mention, relates to informers. All crimes against the state are punished here with the utmost severity; but, if the person accused makes his innocence plainly to appear upon his trial, the accuser is immediately put to an ignominious death: and out of his goods or lands the innocent person is quadruply recompensed for the loss of his time, for the danger he underwent, for the hardship of his imprisonment, and for all the charges he has been at in making his defence. Or, if that fund be deficient, it is largely supplied by the crown. The emperor also confers on him some public mark of his favour, and proclamation is made of his innocence through the whole city.

They look upon fraud as a greater crime than theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with death; for they allege, that care and vigilance, with a very common understanding, may preserve a man's goods from thieves, but honesty has no fence against superior cunning; and, since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual intercourse of buying and selling, and dealing upon credit, where fraud is permitted and connived at, or has no law to punish it, the honest dealer is always undone, and the knave gets the advantage. I remember, when I was once interceding with the king for a criminal who had wronged his master of a great sum of money, which he had received by order, and ran away with; and happening to tell his majesty by way of extenuation, that it was only a breach of trust, the emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer as a defence the greatest aggravation of the crime; and truly I had little to say in return, farther than the common answer, that different nations had different customs; for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed.

Although we usually call reward and punishment the two hinges upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation, except that of Lilliput. Whoever can there bring sufficient proof, that he has strictly observed the laws of his country for seventy-three moons, has a claim to certain privileges, according to his quality or condition of life, with a proportionable sum of money out of a fund appropriated for that use: he likewise acquires the title of *snilpall*, or legal, which is added to his name, but does not descend to his posterity. And these people thought it a prodigious defect of policy among us, when I told them that our laws were enforced only by penalties, without any mention of reward. It is upon this account that the image of Justice, in their courts of judicature, is formed with six eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each side one, to signify circumspection; with a bag of gold open in her right hand, and a sword sheathed in her left, to show she is more disposed to reward than to punish.

In choosing persons for all employments, they have more regard to good morals than to great abilities; for, since government is necessary to mankind, they believe that the common size of human understanding is fitted to some station or other; and that Providence never intended to make the management of public affairs a mystery to be comprehended only by a few persons of sublime genius, of which there seldom are three born in an age: but they suppose truth, justice, temperance, and the like, to be in every man's power; the practice of which virtues, assisted by experience and a good intention, would qualify any man for the service of his country, except where a course of study is required. But they thought the want of moral virtues was so far from being supplied by superior endowments of the mind, that employments could never be put into such dangerous hands as those of persons so qualified; and at least, that the mistakes committed by ignorance, in a virtuous disposition, would never be of such fatal consequence to the public weal, as the practices of a man, whose inclinations led him to be corrupt, and who had great abilities to manage, to multiply, and defend his corruptions.

In like manner, the disbelief of a Divine Providence renders a man incapable of holding any public station; for, since kings avow themselves to be the deputies of Providence, the Lilliputians think nothing can be more absurd than for a prince to employ such men as disown the authority under which he acts.

In relating these and the following laws, I would only be understood to mean the orig-

nal institutions, and not the most scandalous corruptions, into which these people are fallen by the degenerate nature of man. For, as to that infamous practice of acquiring great employments by dancing on the ropes, or badges of favour and distinction, by leaping over sticks and creeping under them, the reader is to observe, that they were first introduced by the grandfather of the emperor now reigning, and grew to the present height by the gradual increase of party and faction.

Ingratitude is among them a capital crime, as we read it to have been in some other countries; for they reason thus, that whoever makes ill returns to his benefactor, must needs be a common enemy to the rest of mankind, from whom he has received no obligation, and therefore such a man is not fit to live.

Their notions relating to the duties of parents and children, differ extremely from ours. For, since the conjunction of male and female is founded upon the great law of nature, in order to propagate and continue the species, the Lilliputians will needs have it, that men and women are joined together, like other animals, by the motives of concupiscence; and that their tenderness towards their young proceeds from the like natural principle: for which reason, they will never allow that a child is under any obligation to his father for begetting him, or to his mother for bringing him into the world; which, considering the miseries of human life, was neither a benefit in itself, nor intended so by his parents, whose thoughts, in their love encounters, were otherwise employed. Upon these, and the like reasonings, their opinion is, that parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the education of their own children: and therefore they have in every town public nurseries, where all parents, except cottagers and labourers, are obliged to send their infants of both sexes to be reared and educated, when they come to the age of twenty moons, at which time they are supposed to have some rudiments of docility. These schools are of several kinds, suited to different qualities, and both sexes. They have certain professors, well skilled in preparing children for such a condition of life as befits the rank of their parents, and their own capacities, as well as inclinations. I shall first say something of the male nurseries, and then of the female.

The nurseries for males of noble or eminent birth, are provided with grave and learned professors, and their several deputies. The clothes and food of the children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the principles of honour, justice, courage, modesty, clemency, religion, and love of their country; they are always employed in some business, except in the times of eating and sleeping, which are very short, and two hours for diversions consisting of bodily exercises. They are dressed by men till four years of age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their quality be ever so great; and the women attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial offices. They are never suffered to converse with servants, but go together in smaller or greater numbers to take their diversions, and always in the presence of a professor, or one of his deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad impressions of folly and vice, to which our children are subject. Their parents are suffered to see them only twice a-year; the visit is to last but an hour; they are allowed to kiss the child at meeting and parting; but a professor, who always stands by on those occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling expressions, or bring any presents of toys, sweetmeats, and the like.

The pension from each family for the education and entertainment of a child, upon failure of due payment, is levied by the emperor's officers.

The nurseries for children of ordinary gentlemen, merchants, traders, and handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the same manner; only those designed for trades are put out apprentices at eleven years old; whereas those of persons of quality continue in their exercises till fifteen, which answers to twenty-one with us: but the confinement is gradually lessened for the last three years.

In the female nurseries, the young girls of quality are educated much like the males, only they are dressed by orderly servants of their own sex; but always in the presence of a professor or deputy, till they come to dress themselves, which is at five years old. And if it be found, that these nurses ever presume to entertain the girls with frightful or foolish stories, or the common follies practised by chamber-maids among us, they are publicly whipped thrice about the city, imprisoned for a year, and banished for life to the most desolate part of the country. Thus the young ladies there are as much ashamed of being cowards and fools as the men; and despise all personal ornaments, beyond decency and cleanliness: neither did I perceive any difference in their education, made by their difference of sex, only that the exercises of the females were not altogether so robust; and that some rules were given them relating to domestic life, and a smaller compass of learning was enjoined them: for their maxim is, that among people of quality, a wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable compa-

nion, because she cannot always be young. When the girls are twelve years old, which among them is the marriageable age, their parents or guardians take them home, with great expressions of gratitude to the professors, and seldom without tears of the young lady and her companions.

In the nurseries of females of the meaner sort, the children are instructed in all kinds of works proper for their sex, and their several degrees: those intended for apprentices are dismissed at seven years old, the rest are kept to eleven.

The meaner families, who have children at these nurseries, are obliged, beside their annual pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the steward of the nursery a small monthly share of their gettings, to be a portion for the child; and therefore all parents are limited in their expences by the law. For the Lilliputians think nothing can be more unjust, than for people, in subservience to their own appetites, to bring children into the world, and leave the burden of supporting them on the public. As to persons of quality, they give security to appropriate a certain sum for each child, suitable to their condition; and these funds are always managed with good husbandry, and the most exact justice.

The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their business being only to till and cultivate the earth, and therefore their education is of little consequence to the public: but the old and diseased among them are supported by hospitals; for begging is a trade unknown in this empire.

And here it may perhaps divert the curious reader, to give some account of my domestics, and my manner of living in this country, during a residence of nine months and thirteen days. Having a head mechanically turned, and being likewise forced by necessity, I had made for myself a table and chair convenient enough, out of the largest trees in the royal park. Two hundred sempstresses were employed to make me shirts, and linen for my bed and table, all of the strongest and coarsest kind they could get; which, however, they were forced to quilt together in several folds, for the thickest was some degrees finer than lawn. Their linen is usually three inches wide, and three feet make a piece. The sempstresses took my measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my neck, and another at my mid-leg, with a strong cord extended, that each held by the end, while a third measured the length of the cord with a rule of an inch long. Then they measured my right thumb, and desired no more; for, by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and the waist, and by the help of my old shirt, which I displayed on the ground before them for a pattern, they fitted me exactly. Three hundred tailors were employed in the same manner to make me clothes; but they had another contrivance for taking my measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a ladder from the ground to my neck; upon this ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a plumb-line from my collar to the floor, which just answered the length of my coat: but my waist and arms I measured myself. When my clothes were finished, which was done in my house (for the largest of theirs would not have been able to hold them,) they looked like the patch-work made by the ladies in England, only that mine were all of a colour.

I had three hundred cooks to dress my victuals, in little convenient huts built about my house, where they and their families lived, and prepared me two dishes a-piece. I took up twenty waiters in my hand, and placed them on the table: a hundred more attended below on the ground, some with dishes of meat, and some with barrels of wine and other liquors slung on their shoulders; all which the waiters above drew up, as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner, by certain cords, as we draw the bucket up a well in Europe. A dish of their meat was a good mouthful, and a barrel of their liquor a reasonable draught. Their mutton yields to ours, but their beef is excellent. I have had a sirloin so large, that I have been forced to make three bites of it; but this is rare. My servants were astonished to see me eat it, bones and all, as in our country we do the leg of a lark. Their geese and turkeys I usually eat at a mouthful, and I confess they far exceed ours. Of their smaller fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my knife.

One day his imperial majesty, being informed of my way of living, desired that himself and his royal consort, with the young princes of the blood of both sexes, might have the happiness, as he was pleased to call it, of dining with me. They came accordingly, and I placed them in chairs of state, upon my table, just over against me, with their guards about them. Flimnap, the lord-high-treasurer, attended there likewise with his white staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but eat more than usual, in honour to my dear country, as well as to fill the court with admiration. I have some private reasons to believe, that this visit from his majesty gave Flimnap an opportunity of doing me ill offices to his master. That minister had always been my secret enemy, though he outwardly caressed me more than was usual to the morose-

ness of his nature. He represented to the emperor the low condition of his treasury; that he was forced to take up money at a great discount; that exchequer bills would not circulate under nine per cent. below par; that I had cost his majesty above a million and a half of *sprugs* (their greatest gold coin, about the bigness of a spangle); and, upon the whole, that it would be advisable in the emperor to take the first fair occasion of dismissing me.

I am here obliged to vindicate the reputation of an excellent lady, who was an innocent sufferer upon my account. The treasurer took a fancy to be jealous of his wife, from the malice of some evil tongues, who informed him that her grace had taken a violent affection for my person; and the court scandal ran for some time, that she once came privately to my lodging. This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous falsehood, without any grounds, farther than that her grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent marks of freedom and friendship. I own she came often to my house, but always publicly, nor ever without three more in the coach, who were usually her sister and young daughter, and some particular acquaintance: but this was common to many other ladies of the court. And I still appeal to my servants round, whether they at any time saw a coach at my door, without knowing what persons were in it. On those occasions, when a servant had given me notice, my custom was to go immediately to the door; and, after paying my respects, to take up the coach and two horses very carefully in my hands (for if there were six horses, the postillion always unharnessed four,) and placed them on a table, where I had fixed a moveable rim quite round, of five inches high, to prevent accidents. And I have often had four coaches and horses at once on my table, full of company, while I sat in my chair, leaning my face towards them; and when I was engaged with one set, the coachmen would gently drive the others round my table. I have passed many an afternoon very agreeably in these conversations. But I defy the treasurer, or his two informers (I will name them, and let them make the best of it,) Clustril and Drunlo, to prove that any person ever came to me *incognito*, except the secretary Reldresal, who was sent by express command of his imperial majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this particular, if it had not been a point wherein the reputation of a great lady is so nearly concerned, to say nothing of my own; though I then had the honour to be a *nardac*, which the treasurer himself is not; for all the world knows, that he is only a *glumglum*, a title inferior by one degree, as that of a marquis is to a duke in England; yet I allow he preceded me in right of his post. These false informations, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of by an accident not proper to mention, made the treasurer show his lady for some time an ill countenance, and me a worse; and although he was at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all credit with him, and found my interest decline very fast with the emperor himself, who was indeed too much governed by that favourite.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Author, being informed of a Design to accuse him of High Treason, makes his Escape to Blefuscu. His Reception there.*

BEFORE I proceed to give an account of my leaving this kingdom, it may be proper to inform the reader of a private intrigue, which had been for two months forming against me.

I had been hitherto, all my life, a stranger to courts, for which I was unqualified by the meanness of my condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the dispositions of great princes and ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible effects of them, in so remote a country, governed, as I thought, by very different maxims from those in Europe.

When I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable, at a time when he lay under the highest displeasure of his imperial majesty) came to my house very privately at night, in a close chair, and, without sending his name, desired admittance. The chairmen were dismissed; I put the chair, with his lordship in it, into my coat-pocket; and, giving orders to a trusty servant, to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the door of my house, placed the chair on the table, according to my usual custom, and sat down by it. After the common salutations were over, observing his lordship's countenance full of concern, and inquiring into the reason, he desired I would hear him with patience, in a matter that highly concerned my honour and my life. His speech was to the following effect, for I took notes of it as soon as he left me:

"You are to know," said he, "that several committees of council have been lately called, in the most private manner, on your account; and it is but two days since his majesty came to a full resolution.

"You are very sensible that Skyresh Bolgo

lam (*galbet*, or high-admiral) has been your mortal enemy, almost ever since your arrival. His original reasons I know not; but his hatred is increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory as admiral is much obscured. This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap the high-treasurer, whose enmity against you is notorious on account of his lady, Limtoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand justiciary, have prepared articles of impeachment against you, for treason and other capital crimes."

This preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own merits and innocence, that I was going to interrupt him, when he entreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded:

"Out of gratitude for the favours you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of the articles; wherein I venture my head for your service.

*Articles of Impeachment against Quinbus Flestrin, The Man-Mountain.*

"*Article* 1.—Whereas, by a statute made in the reign of his imperial majesty Calin Deffar Plune, it is enacted, that whoever shall make water within the precincts of the royal palace, shall be liable to the pains and penalties of high-treason; notwithstanding, the said Quinbus Flestrin, in open breach of the said law, under colour of extinguishing the fire kindled in the apartment of his majesty's most dear imperial consort, did maliciously, traitorously, and devilishly, by discharge of his urine, put out the said fire kindled in the said apartment, lying and being within the precincts of the said royal palace, against the statute in that case provided, *etc.* against the duty, *etc.*

"*Article* 2.—That the said Quinbus Flestrin, having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial majesty to seize all the other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province, to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to destroy and put to death, not only all the Big-endian exiles, but likewise all the people of that empire who would not immediately forsake the Big-endian heresy; he, the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most auspicious, serene, imperial majesty, did petition to be excused from the said service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences, or destroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people.

"*Article* 3.—That, whereas certain ambassadors arrived from the court of Blefuscu, to sue for peace in his majesty's court; he, the said Flestrin, did, like a false traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said ambassadors, although he knew them to be servants to a prince who was lately an open enemy to his imperial majesty, and in an open war against his said majesty.

"*Article* 4.—That the said Quinbus Flestrin, contrary to the duty of a faithful subject, is now preparing to make a voyage to the court and empire of Blefuscu, for which he has received only verbal licence from his imperial majesty; and, under colour of the said licence, does falsely and traitorously intend to take the said voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet the emperor of Blefuscu, so lately an enemy, and in open war with his imperial majesty aforesaid.

"There are some other articles; but these are the most important, of which I have read you an abstract.

"In the several debates upon this impeachment, it must be confessed that his majesty gave many marks of his great lenity; often urging the services you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your crimes. The treasurer and admiral insisted that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious death, by setting fire on your house at night; and the general was to attend with twenty thousand men, armed with poisoned arrows, to shoot you on the face and hands. Some of your servants were to have private orders to strew a poisonous juice on your shirts and sheets, which would soon make you tear your own flesh, and die in the utmost torture. The general came into the same opinion; so that for a long time there was a majority against you; but his majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your life, at last brought off the chamberlain.

"Upon this incident, Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes to be great, but that still there was room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his majesty was so justly celebrated. He said, the friendship between you and him was so well known to the world, that perhaps the most honourable board might think him partial; however, in obedience to the command he had received he would freely offer his sentiments. That if his majesty, in consideration of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please to spare your life, and only give orders to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived that, by this expedient, justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the emperor, as well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honour to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes

would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his majesty; that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us; that the fear you had for your eyes was the greatest difficulty in bringing over the enemy's fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more.

"This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam the admiral could not preserve his temper; but, rising up in a fury, said, he wondered how the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor; that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes; that you, who was able to extinguish the fire by discharge of urine in her majesty's apartment (which he mentioned with horror,) might at another time raise an inundation by the same means, to drown the whole palace; and the same strength, which enabled you to bring over the enemy's fleet, might serve, upon the first discontent, to carry it back; that he had good reasons to think you were a Big-endian in your heart; and as treason begins in the heart, before it appears in overt acts, so he accused you as a traitor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

"The treasurer was of the same opinion: he showed to what straits his majesty's revenue was reduced, by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable; that the secretary's expedient of putting out your eyes was so far from being a remedy against this evil, that it would probably increase it, as is manifest from the common practice of blinding some kind of fowls, after which they fed the faster, and grew sooner fat; that his sacred majesty and the council, who are your judges, were in their own consciences fully convinced of your guilt, which was a sufficient argument to condemn you to death, without the formal proofs required by the strict letter of the law.

"But his imperial majesty, fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter. And your friend the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected, concerning the great charge his majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his excellency, who had the sole disposal of the emperor's revenue, might easily provide against that evil, by gradually lessening your establishment; by which, for want of sufficient food, you will grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consume in a few months; neither would the stench of your carcass be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished; and immediately upon your death, five or six thousand of his majesty's subjects might, in two or three days, cut your flesh from your bones, take it away by cart-loads, and bury it in distant parts, to prevent infection, leaving the skeleton as a monument of admiration to posterity.

"Thus, by the great friendship of the secretary, the whole affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoined, that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret; but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered on the books; none dissenting, except Bolgolam the admiral, who, being a creature of the empress, was perpetually instigated by her majesty to insist upon your death, she having borne perpetual malice against you, on account of that infamous and illegal method you took to extinguish the fire in her apartment.

"In three days your friend the secretary will be directed to come to your house, and read before you the articles of impeachment; and then to signify the great lenity and favour of his majesty and council, whereby you are only condemned to the loss of your eyes, which his majesty does not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to; and twenty of his majesty's surgeons will attend, in order to see the operation well performed, by discharging very sharp-pointed arrows into the balls of your eyes, as you lie on the ground.

"I leave to your prudence what measures you will take; and, to avoid suspicion, I must immediately return, in as private a manner as I came."

His lordship did so; and I remained alone, under many doubts and perplexities of mind.

It was a custom introduced by this prince and his ministry (very different, as I have been assured, from the practice of former times,) that after the court had decreed any cruel execution, either to gratify the monarch's resentment, or the malice of a favourite, the emperor always made a speech to his whole council, expressing his great lenity and tenderness, as qualities known and confessed by all the world. This speech was immediately published throughout the kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the people so much, as those encomiums on his majesty's mercy; because it was observed, that the more these praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the punishment, and the sufferer more innocent. Yet, as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a courtier, either by my birth or education, I was so ill a judge of things, that I could not discover the lenity and favour of this sen-

tence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my trial; for, although I could not deny the facts alleged in the several articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some extenuation. But having in my life perused many state-trials, which I ever observed to terminate as the judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a decision, in so critical a juncture, and against such powerful enemies. Once I was strongly bent upon resistance; for while I had liberty, the whole strength of that empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with stones pelt the metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that project with horror, by remembering the oath I had made to the emperor, the favours I received from him, and the high title of *nardac* he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the gratitude of courtiers, to persuade myself, that his majesty's present severities acquitted me of all past obligations.

At last, I fixed upon a resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some censure, and not unjustly; for I confess I owe the preserving of mine eyes, and consequently my liberty, to my own great rashness and want of experience; because, if I had then known the nature of princes and ministers, which I have since observed in many other courts, and their methods of treating criminals less obnoxious than myself, I should, with great alacrity and readiness, have submitted to so easy a punishment. But, hurried on by the precipitancy of youth, and having his imperial majesty's license to pay my attendance upon the emperor of Blefuscu, I took this opportunity, before the three days were elapsed, to send a letter to my friend the secretary, signifying my resolution of setting out that morning for Blefuscu, pursuant to the leave I had got; and, without waiting for an answer, I went to that side of the island where our fleet lay. I seized a large man of war, tied a cable to the prow, and, lifting up the anchors, I stripped myself, put my clothes (together with my coverlet, which I carried under my arm) into the vessel, and, drawing it after me, between wading and swimming, arrived at the royal port of Blefuscu, where the people had long expected me: they lent me two guides to direct me to the capital city, which is of the same name. I held them in my hands, till I came within two hundred yards of the gate, and desired them to signify my arrival to one of the secretaries, and let him know, I there waited his majesty's command. I had an answer in about an hour, that his majesty, attended by the royal family, and great officers of the court, was coming out to receive me. I advanced a hundred yards. The emperor and his train alighted from their horses, the empress and ladies from their coaches, and I did not perceive they were in any fright or concern. I lay on the ground to kiss his majesty's and the empress's hands. I told his majesty, that I was come, according to my promise, and with the licence of the emperor my master, to have the honour of seeing so mighty a monarch, and to offer him any service in my power, consistent with my duty to my own prince; not mentioning a word of my disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such design; neither could I reasonably conceive that the emperor would discover the secret, while I was out of his power; wherein, however, it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the reader with the particular account of my reception at this court, which was suitable to the generosity of so great a prince; nor of the difficulties I was in for want of a house and bed, being forced to lie on the ground, wrapped up in my coverlet.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Author, by a lucky Accident, finds Means to leave Blefuscu; and, after some Difficulties, returns safe to his Native Country.*

THREE days after my arrival, walking out of curiosity to the north-east coast of the island, I observed, about half a league off in the sea, somewhat that looked like a boat overturned. I pulled off my shoes and stockings, and, wading two or three hundred yards, I found the object to approach nearer by force of the tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real boat, which I supposed might by some tempest have been driven from a ship: whereupon I returned immediately towards the city, and desired his imperial majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest vessels he had left, after the loss of his fleet, and three thousand seamen, under the command of his vice-admiral. This fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest way to the coast, where I first discovered the boat. I found the tide had driven it still nearer. The seamen were all provided with cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the ships came up, I stripped myself, and waded till I came within a hundred yards of the boat, after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it. The seamen threw me the end of the cord, which I fastened to a hole in the fore-part of the boat, and the other end to a man of war; but I found all my labour to little purpose; for, being out of

my depth, I was not able to work. In this necessity, I was forced to swim behind, and push the boat forward, as often as I could, with one of my hands; and the tide favouring me, I advanced so far that I could just hold up my chin and feel the ground. I rested two or three minutes, and then gave the boat another shove, and so on, till the sea was no higher than my arm-pits; and now the most laborious part being over, I took out my other cables, which were stowed in one of the ships, and fastened them first to the boat, and then to nine of the vessels that attended me; the wind being favourable, the seamen towed and I shoved, until we arrived within forty yards of the shore; and, waiting till the tide was out, I got dry to the boat, and, by the assistance of two thousand men, with ropes and engines, I made a shift to turn it on its bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the reader with the difficulties I was under, by the help of certain paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my boat to the royal port of Blefuscu, where a mighty concourse of people appeared upon my arrival, full of wonder at the sight of so prodigious a vessel. I told the emperor, that my good fortune had thrown this boat in my way, to carry me to some place whence I might return into my native country; and begged his majesty's orders for getting materials to fit it up, together with his licence to depart; which, after some kind expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard of any express relating to me from our emperor to the court of Blefuscu. But I was afterward given privately to understand, that his imperial majesty, never imagining I had the least notice of his designs, believed I was only gone to Blefuscu in performance of my promise, according to the licence he had given me, which was well known at our court, and would return in a few days, when the ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence; and, after consulting with the treasurer and the rest of that cabal, a person of quality was dispatched with the copy of the articles against me. This envoy had instructions to represent to the monarch of Blefuscu, the great lenity of his master, who was content to punish me no farther than with the loss of mine eyes; that I had fled from justice; and if I did not return in two hours, I should be deprived of my title of *nardac*, and declared a traitor. The envoy farther added, that in order to maintain the peace and amity between both empires, his master expected that his brother of Blefuscu would give orders to have me sent back to Lilliput, bound hand and foot, to be punished as a traitor.

The emperor of Blefuscu, having taken three days to consult, returned an answer consisting of many civilities and excuses. He said, that, as for sending me bound, his brother knew it was impossible; that although I had deprived him of his fleet, yet he owed great obligations to me for many good offices I had done him in making the peace. That, however, both their majesties would soon be made easy; for I had found a prodigious vessel on the shore, able to carry me on the sea, which he had given orders to fit up, with my own assistance and direction; and he hoped, in a few weeks, both empires would be freed from so insupportable an incumbrance.

With this answer the envoy returned to Lilliput; and the monarch of Blefuscu related to me all that had past; offering me, at the same time, (but under the strictest confidence,) his gracious protection, if I would continue in his service: wherein although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any confidence in princes or ministers, where I could possibly avoid it; and therefore, with all due acknowledgments for his favourable intentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, that since fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself on the ocean, rather than be an occasion of difference between two such mighty monarchs. Neither did I find the emperor at all displeased; and I discovered, by a certain accident, that he was very glad of my resolution, and so were most of his ministers.

These considerations moved me to hasten my departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred workmen were employed to make two sails to my boat, according to my directions, by quilting thirteen folds of the strongest linen together. I was at the pains of making ropes and cables, by twisting ten, twenty, or thirty of the thickest and strongest of their. A great stone that I happened to find, after a long search, by the sea shore, served me for an anchor. I had the tallow of three hundred cows, for greasing my boat, and other uses. I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest timber-trees, for oars and masts, wherein I was, however, much assisted by his majesty's ship-carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them, after I had done the rough work.

In about a month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his majesty's commands, and to take my leave. The emperor and royal family came out of the palace: I lay down on my

face to kiss his hand, which he very graciously gave me: so did the empress and young princes of the blood. His majesty presented me with fifty purses of two hundred *sprugs* apiece, together with his picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my gloves, to keep it from being hurt. The ceremonies at my departure were too many to trouble the reader with at this time.

I stored the boat with the carcasses of a hundred oxen, and three hundred sheep, with bread and drink proportionable, and as much meat ready dressed as four hundred cooks could provide. I took with me six cows and two bulls alive, with as many ewes and rams, intending to carry them into my own country, and propagate the breed. And to feed them on board, I had a good bundle of hay and a bag of corn. I would gladly have taken a dozen of the natives, but this was a thing the emperor would by no means permit; and, besides a diligent search into my pockets, his majesty engaged my honour not to carry away any of his subjects, although with their own consent and desire.

Having thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail on the twenty-fourth day of September, 1701, at six in the morning; and when I had gone about four leagues to the northward, the wind being at south-east, at six in the evening I descried a small island, about half a league to the north-west. I advanced forward, and cast anchor on the lee-side of the island, which seemed to be uninhabited. I then took some refreshment, and went to my rest. I slept well, and, as I conjecture, at least six hours, for I found the day broke in two hours after I awaked. It was a clear night. I eat my breakfast before the sun was up; and heaving anchor, the wind being favourable, I steered the same course that I had done the day before, wherein I was directed by my pocket compass. My intention was to reach, if possible, one of those islands which I had reason to believe lay to the north-east of Van Diemen's Land. I discovered nothing all that day: but upon the next, about three in the afternoon, when I had, by my computation, made twenty-four leagues from Blefuscu, I descried a sail steering to the south-east; my course was due east. I hailed her, but could get no answer; yet I found I gained upon her, for the wind slackened. I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she espied me, then hung out her ancient, and discharged a gun. It is not easy to express the joy I was in, upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved country, and the dear pledges I left in it. The ship slackened her sails, and I came up with her between five and six in the evening, September 26th; but my heart leapt within me to see her English colours. I put my cows and sheep into my coat-pockets, and got on board with all my little cargo of provisions. The vessel was an English merchantman, returning from Japan by the North and South Seas; the captain, Mr John Biddel of Deptford, a very civil man, and an excellent sailor. We were now in the latitude of 30 degrees south; there were about fifty men in the ship: and here I met an old comrade of mine, one Peter Williams, who gave me a good character to the captain. This gentleman treated me with kindness, and desired I would let him know what place I came from last, and whither I was bound; which I did in a few words, but he thought I was raving, and that the dangers I had underwent had disturbed my head; whereupon I took my black cattle and sheep out of my pocket, which, after great astonishment, clearly convinced him of my veracity. I then showed him the gold given me by the emperor of Blefuscu, together with his majesty's picture at full length, and some other rarities of that country. I gave him two purses of two hundred *sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in England, to make him a present of a cow and a sheep big with young.

I shall not trouble the reader with a particular account of this voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part. We arrived in the Downs on the 13th of April, 1702. I had only one misfortune, that the rats on board carried away one of my sheep; I found her bones in a hole, picked clean from the flesh. The rest of my cattle I got safe ashore, and set them a grazing in a bowling green at Greenwich, where the fineness of the grass made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary: neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a voyage, if the captain had not allowed me some of his best biscuit, which, rubbed to powder, and mingled with water, was their constant food. The short time I continued in England, I made a considerable profit by showing my cattle to many persons of quality and others: and, before I began my second voyage, I sold them for six hundred pounds. Since my last return I find the breed is considerably increased, especially the sheep, which I hope will prove much to the advantage of the woollen manufacture, by the fineness of the fleeces.

I stayed but two months with my wife and family; for my insatiable desire of seeing foreign countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred pounds with my wife, and fixed her in a good house at Redriff. My remaining stock I carried with me, part in money, and part in goods, in hopes to improve my fortunes. My eldest uncle,

John, had left me an estate in land, near Epping, of about thirty pounds a-year; and I had a long lease of the Black Bull in Fetter-lane, which yielded me as much more; so that I was not in any danger of leaving my family upon the parish. My son Johnny, named so after his uncle, was at the grammar-school, and a towardly child. My daughter Betty (who is now well married, and has children) was then at her needle-work. I took my leave of my wife, and boy and girl, with tears on both sides, and went on board the Adventure; a merchant ship of three hundred tons, bound for Surat, Captain John Nicholas, of Liverpool, commander. But my account of this voyage must be referred to the second part of my travels.

# PART II.

# A VOYAGE TO BROBDINGNAG.

## CHAP. I.

*A great Storm described, the Long-boat sent to fetch Water, the Author goes with it to discover the Country. He is left on Shore, is seized by one of the Natives, and carried to a Farmer's House. His Reception, with several Accidents that happened there. A Description of the Inhabitants.*

HAVING been condemned, by nature and fortune, to active and restless life, in two months after my return, I again left my native country, and took shipping in the Downs on the 20th day of June, 1702, in the Adventure, captain John Nicholas, a Cornish man, commander, bound for Surat. We had a very prosperous gale, till we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we landed for fresh water; but, discovering a leak, we unshipped our goods, and wintered there; for the captain falling sick of an ague, we could not leave the Cape till the end of March. We then set sail, and had a good voyage till we passed the Straits of Madagascar; but having got northward of that island, and to about five degrees south latitude, the winds, which in those seas are observed to blow a constant equal gale between the north and west, from the beginning of December to the beginning of May, on the 19th of April began to blow with much greater violence, and more westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty days together: during which time we were driven a little to the east of the Molucca Islands, and about three degrees northward of the line, as our captain found by an observation he took the 2d of May, at which time the wind ceased, and it was a perfect calm, whereat I was not a little rejoiced. But he, being a man well experienced in the navigation of those seas, bid us all prepare against a storm, which accordingly happened the day following: for the southern wind, called the southern monsoon, began to set in.

Finding it was likely to overblow, we took in our sprit-sail, and stood by to hand the fore-sail; but, making foul weather, we looked the guns were all fast and handed the mizen. The ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the sea, than trying or hulling. We reefed the fore-sail, and set him, and hauled aft the fore-sheet; the helm was hard a-weather. The ship wore bravely. We belayed the fore downhaul; but the sail was split, and we hauled down the yard, and got the sail into the ship, and unbound all the things clear of it. It was a very fierce storm; the sea broke strange and dangerous. We hauled off upon the laniard of the whipstaff, and helped the man at the helm. We would not get down our topmast, but let all stand, because she scudded before the sea very well, and we knew that the top-mast being aloft the ship was the wholesomer, and made better way through the sea, seeing we had sea-room. When the storm was over, we set fore-sail and main-sail, and brought the ship to. Then we set the mizen, main-top-sail, and the fore-top-sail. Our course was east-north-east, the wind was at south-west. We got the starboard tacks aboard, we cast off our weather-braces and lifts; we set-in the lee-braces, and hauled forward by the weather bowlings, and hauled

them tight, and belayed them, and hauled over the mizen-tack to windward, and kept her full and by as near as she would lie.

During this storm, which was followed by a strong wind west-south-west, we were carried, by my computation, about five hundred leagues to the east, so that the oldest sailor on board could not tell in what part of the world we were. Our provisions held out well, our ship was staunch, and our crew all in good health; but we lay in the utmost distress for water. We thought it best to hold on the same course, rather than turn more northerly, which might have brought us to the north-west part of Great Tartary, and into the Frozen Sea.

On the 16th day of June, 1703, a boy on the top-mast discovered land. On the 17th, we came in full view of a great island, or continent, (for we knew not whether); on the south side whereof was a small neck of land jutting out into the sea, and a creek too shallow to hold a ship of above one hundred tons. We cast anchor within a league of this creek, and our captain sent a dozen of his men well armed in the long-boat, with vessels for water, if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the country, and make what discoveries I could. When we came to land, we saw no river or spring, nor any sign of inhabitants. Our men therefore wandered on the shore to find out some fresh water near the sea, and I walked alone about a mile on the other side, where I observed the country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and, seeing nothing to entertain my curiosity, I returned gently down towards the creek; and the sea being full in my view, I saw our men already got into the boat, and rowing for life to the ship. I was going to holla after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge creature walking after them in the sea, as fast as he could: he waded not much deeper than his knees, and took prodigious strides; but our men had the start of him half a league, and, the sea thereabouts being full of sharp-pointed rocks, the monster was not able to overtake the boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the issue of the adventure; but ran as fast as I could the way I first went, and then climbed up a steep hill, which gave me some prospect of the country. I found it fully cultivated; but that which first surprised me was the length of the grass, which, in those grounds that seemed to be kept for hay, was about twenty feet high.

I fell into a high road, for so I took it to be, though it served to the inhabitants only as a footpath through a field of barley. Here I walked on for some time, but could see little on either side, it being now near harvest, and the corn rising at least forty feet. I was an hour walking to the end of this field, which was fenced in with a hedge of at least one hundred and twenty feet high, and the trees so lofty that I could make no computation of their altitude. There was a stile to pass from this field into the next. It had four steps, and a stone to cross over when you came to the uppermost. It was impossible for me to climb this stile, because every step was six feet high, and the upper stone about twenty. I was endeavouring to find some gap in the hedge, when I discovered one of the inhabitants in the next field, advancing towards the stile, of the same size with him whom I saw in the sea pursuing our boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary spire steeple, and took about ten yards at every stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost fear and astonishment, and ran to hide myself in the corn, whence I saw him at the top of the stile, looking back into the next field on the right hand, and heard him call in a voice many degrees louder than a speaking-trumpet; but the noise was so high in the air, that at first I certainly thought it was thunder. Whereupon seven monsters, like himself, came towards him with reaping-hooks in their hands, each hook about the largeness of six scythes. These people were not so well clad as the first, whose servants or labourers they seemed to be; for, upon some words he spoke, they went to reap the corn in the field where I lay. I kept from them at as great a distance as I could, but was forced to move with extreme difficulty, for the stalks of the corn were sometimes not above a foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my body betwixt them. However I made a shift to go forward, till I came to a part of the field where the corn had been laid by the rain and wind. Here it was impossible for me to advance a step; for the stalks were so interwoven that I could not creep through, and the beards of the fallen ears so strong and pointed, that they pierced through my clothes into my flesh. At the same time I heard the reapers not above a hundred yards behind me. Being quite dispirited with toil, and wholly overcome by grief and despair, I lay down between two ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my days. I bemoaned my desolate widow and fatherless children. I lamented my own folly and wilfulness, in attempting a second voyage, against the advice of all my friends and relations. In this terrible agitation of mind, I could not forbear thinking of Lilliput, whose inhabitants looked upon me as the greatest prodigy that ever appeared in the world; where I was able to draw an imperial fleet in my hand, and perform those other actions which will be recorded for ever in the chronicles of that

empire, while posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by millions. I reflected what a mortification it must prove to me, to appear as inconsiderable in this nation as one single Lilliputian would be among us. But this I conceived was to be the least of my misfortunes; for, as human creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel in proportion to their bulk, what could I expect but to be a morsel in the mouth of the first among these enormous barbarians that should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly philosophers are in the right, when they tell us that nothing is great or little otherwise than by comparison. It might have pleased fortune to have let the Lilliputians find some nation, where the people were as diminutive with respect to them, as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious race of mortals might be equally overmatched in some distant part of the world, whereof we have yet no discovery.

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with these reflections, when one of the reapers, approaching within ten yards of the ridge where I lay, made me apprehend that with the next step I should be squashed to death under his foot, or cut in two with his reaping-hook. And therefore, when he was again about to move, I screamed as loud as fear could make me; whereupon the huge creature trod short, and, looking round about under him for some time, at last espied me as I lay on the ground. He considered a while, with the caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a small dangerous animal in such a manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or to bite him, as I myself have sometimes done with a weasel in England. At length he ventured to take me behind, by the middle, between his fore-finger and thumb, and brought me within three yards of his eyes, that he might behold my shape more perfectly. I guessed his meaning, and my good fortune gave me so much presence of mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the air above sixty feet from the ground, although he grievously pinched my sides, for fear I should slip through his fingers. All I ventured was to raise mine eyes toward the sun, and place my hands together in a supplicating posture, and to speak some words in a humble melancholy tone, suitable to the condition I then was in: for I apprehended every moment that he would dash me against the ground, as we usually do any little hateful animal which we have a mind to destroy. But my good star would have it, that he appeared pleased with my voice and gestures, and began to look upon me as a curiosity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate words, although he could not understand them. In the mean time I was not able to forbear groaning and shedding tears, and turning my head towards my sides; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the pressure of his thumb and finger. He seemed to apprehend my meaning; for, lifting up the lappet of his coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his master, who was a substantial farmer, and the same person I had first seen in the field.

The farmer having (as I suppose by their talk) received such an account of me as his servant could give him, took a piece of a small straw, about the size of a walking staff, and therewith lifted up the lappets of my coat; which, it seems, he thought to be some kind of covering that nature had given me. He blew my hairs aside to take a better view of my face. He called his hinds about him, and asked them, as I afterwards learned, Whether they had ever seen in the fields any little creature that resembled me?—He then placed me softly on the ground upon all four, but I got immediately up, and walked slowly backward and forward, to let those people see I had no intent to run away. They all sat down in a circle about me, the better to observe my motions. I pulled off my hat, and made a low bow towards the farmer. I fell on my knees, and lifted up my hands and eyes, and spoke several words as loud as I could; I took a purse of gold out of my pocket, and humbly presented it to him. He received it on the palm of his hand, then applied it close to his eye to see what it was, and afterwards turned it several times with the point of a pin (which he took out of his sleeve,) but could make nothing of it. Whereupon I made a sign that he should place his hand on the ground. I then took the purse, and opening it, poured all the gold into his palm. There were six Spanish pieces of four pistoles each, beside twenty or thirty smaller coins. I saw him wet the tip of his little finger upon his tongue, and take up one of my largest pieces, and then another; but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were. He made me a sign to put them again into my purse, and the purse again into my pocket, which, after offering it to him several times, I thought it best to do.

The farmer, by this time, was convinced I must be a rational creature. He spoke often to me; but the sound of his voice pierced my ears like that of a water-mill, yet his words were articulate enough. I answered as loud as I could in several languages, and he often laid his ear within two yards of me; but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then sent his servants to their work, and taking his handkerchief out of his

pocket, he doubled, and spread it on his left hand, which he placed flat on the ground, with the palm upward, making me a sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a foot in thickness. I thought it my part to obey; and, for fear of falling, laid myself at full length upon the handkerchief, with the remainder of which he lapped me up to the head for farther security, and in this manner carried me home to his house. There he called his wife, and showed me to her; but she screamed and ran back, as women in England do at the sight of a toad or a spider. However, when she had awhile seen my behaviour, and how well I observed the signs her husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by degrees grew extremely tender of me.

It was about twelve at noon, and a servant brought in dinner. It was only one substantial dish of meat (fit for the plain condition of a husbandman,) in a dish of about four-and-twenty feet diameter. The company were, the farmer and his wife, three children, and an old grandmother. When they were set down, the farmer placed me at some distance from him on the table, which was thirty feet high from the floor. I was in a terrible fright, and kept as far as I could from the edge, for fear of falling. The wife minced a bit of meat, then crumbled some bread on a trencher, and placed it before me. I made her a low bow, took out my knife and fork, and fell to eat, which gave them exceeding delight. The mistress sent her maid for a small dram-cup, which held about two gallons, and filled it with drink; I took up the vessel with much difficulty in both hands, and in a most respectful manner drank to her ladyship's health, expressing the words as loud as I could in English, which made the company laugh so heartily, that I was almost deafened with the noise. This liquor tasted like a small cyder, and was not unpleasant. Then the master made me a sign to come to his trencher side; but as I walked on the table, being in great surprise all the time, as the indulgent reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a crust, and fell flat on my face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and observing the good people to be in much concern, I took my hat (which I held under my arm out of good manners,) and waving it over my head, made three huzzas, to show I had got no mischief by my fall. But advancing forward towards my master (as I shall henceforth call him,) his youngest son, who sat next to him, an arch boy of about ten years old, took me up by the legs, and held me so high in the air, that I trembled every limb; but his father snatched me from him, and at the same time gave him such a box on the left ear, as would have felled an European troop of horse to the earth, ordering him to be taken from the table. But, being afraid the boy might owe me a spite, and well remembering how mischievous all children among us naturally are to sparrows, rabbits, young kittens, and puppy-dogs, I fell on my knees, and, pointing to the boy, made my master to understand, as well as I could, that I desired his son might be pardoned. The father complied, and the lad took his seat again, whereupon I went to him, and kissed his hand, which my master took, and made him stroke me gently with it.

In the midst of dinner, my mistress's favourite cat leaped into her lap. I heard a noise behind me like that of a dozen stocking-weavers at work; and turning my head I found it proceeded from the purring of that animal, who seemed to be three times larger than an ox, as I computed by the view of her head, and one of her paws, while her mistress was feeding and stroking her. The fierceness of this creature's countenance altogether discomposed me; though I stood at the farther end of the table, above fifty feet off; and although my mistress held her fast, for fear she might give a spring, and seize me in her talons. But it happened there was no danger; for the cat took not the least notice of me when my master placed me within three yards of her. And, as I have been always told, and found true by experience in my travels, that flying or discovering fear before a fierce animal, is a certain way to make it pursue or attack you, so I resolved, in this dangerous juncture, to show no manner of concern. I walked with intrepidity five or six times before the very head of the cat, and came within half a yard of her; whereupon she drew herself back, as if she were more afraid of me. I had less apprehension concerning the dogs, whereof three or four came into the room, as it is usual in farmers' houses; one of which was a mastiff, equal in bulk to four elephants, and a greyhound, somewhat taller than the mastiff, but not so large.

When dinner was almost done, the nurse came in with a child of a year old in her arms, who immediately spied me, and began a squall that you might have heard from London-Bridge to Chelsea, after the usual oratory of infants, to get me for a plaything. The mother, out of pure indulgence, took me up, and put me towards the child, who presently seized me by the middle, and got my head into his mouth, where I roared so loud that the urchin was frighted, and let me drop, and I should infallibly have broke my neck, if the mother had not held her apron under me. The nurse, to quiet her babe, made use of a rattle, which was a kind of hollow vessel filled with great stones, and fastened by a cable to the child's

waist; but all in vain, so that she was forced to apply the last remedy by giving it suck. I must confess no object ever disgusted me so much as the sight of her monstrous breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as to give the curious reader an idea of its bulk, shape, and colour. It stood prominent six feet, and could not be less than sixteen in circumference. The nipple was about half the bigness of my head, and the hue, both of that and the dug, so varied with spots, pimples, and freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: for I had a near sight of her, she sitting down, the more conveniently to give suck, and I standing on the table. This made me reflect upon the fair skins of our English ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their defects not to be seen but through a magnifying glass; where we find by experiment, that the smoothest and whitest skins look rough, and coarse, and ill-coloured.

I remember, when I was at Lilliput, the complexions of those diminutive people appeared to me the fairest in the world; and talking upon this subject with a person of learning there, who was an intimate friend of mine, he said that my face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the ground, than it did upon a nearer view, when I took him up in my hand, and brought him close, which he confessed was at first a very shocking sight. He said, he could discover great holes in my skin; that the stumps of my beard were ten times stronger than the bristles of a boar, and my complexion made up of several colours altogether disagreeable: although I must beg leave to say for myself, that I am as fair as most of my sex and country, and very little sun-burnt by all my travels. On the other side, discoursing of the ladies in that emperor's court, he used to tell me, one had freckles, another too wide a mouth, a third too large a nose; nothing of which I was able to distinguish. I confess, this reflection was obvious enough; which, however, I could not forbear, lest the reader might think those vast creatures were actually deformed: for I must do them the justice to say, they are a comely race of people; and particularly the features of my master's countenance, although he were but a farmer, when I beheld him from the height of sixty feet, appeared very well proportioned.

When dinner was done, my master went out to his labourers, and, as I could discover by his voice and gesture, gave his wife a strict charge to take care of me. I was verymuch tired, and disposed to sleep, which my mistress perceiving, she put me on her own bed, and covered me with a clean white handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the mainsail of a man of war.

I slept about two hours, and dreamt I was at home with my wife and children, which aggravated my sorrows when I awaked, and found myself alone in a vast room, between two and three hundred feet wide, and above two hundred high, lying in a bed twenty yards wide. My mistress was gone about her household affairs, and had locked me in. The bed was eight yards from the floor. Some natural necessities required me to get down: I durst not presume to call; and if I had, it would have been in vain, with such a voice as mine, at so great a distance as from the room where I lay to the kitchen where the family kept. While I was under these circumstances, two rats crept up the curtains, and ran smelling backwards and forwards on the bed. One of them came up almost to my face, whereupon I rose in a fright, and drew out my hanger to defend myself. These horrible animals had the boldness to attack me on both sides, and one of them held his fore-feet at my collar; but I had the good fortune to rip up his belly, before he could do me any mischief. He fell down at my feet; and the other, seeing the fate of his comrade, made his escape, but not without one good wound on the back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the blood run trickling from him. After this exploit, I walked gently to and fro on the bed, to recover my breath and loss of spirits. These creatures were of the size of a large mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce; so that, if I had taken off my belt, before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to pieces and devoured. I measured the tail of the dead rat, and found it to be two yards long, wanting an inch; but it went against my stomach to drag the carcass off the bed, where it lay still bleeding; I observed it had yet some life, but with a strong slash cross the neck, I thoroughly dispatched it.

Soon after my mistress came into the room, who, seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her hand. I pointed to the dead rat, smiling, and making other signs to show I was not hurt; whereat she was extremely rejoiced, calling the maid to take up the dead rat with a pair of tongs, and throw it out of the window. Then she set me on a table, where I showed her my hanger all bloody, and, wiping it on the lappet of my coat, returned it to the scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one thing which another could not do for me, and therefore endeavoured to make my mistress understand, that I desired to be set down on the floor; which, after she had done, my bashfulness would not suffer me to express myself farther, than by pointing to the door, and

bowing several times. The good woman, with much difficulty, at last perceived what I would be at, and, taking me up again in her hand, walked into the garden, where she set me down. I went on one side about two hundred yards, and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid myself between two leaves of sorrel, and there discharged the necessities of nature.

I hope the gentle reader will excuse me for dwelling on these and the like particulars, which, however insignificant they may appear to grovelling vulgar minds, yet will certainly help a philosopher to enlarge his thoughts and imagination, and apply them to the benefit of public as well as private life, which was my sole design in presenting this and other accounts of my travels to the world; wherein I have been chiefly studious of truth, without affecting any ornaments of learning or of style. But the whole scene of this voyage made so strong an impression on my mind, and is so deeply fixed in my memory, that, in committing it to paper, I did not omit one material circumstance: however, upon a strict review, I blotted out several passages of less moment, which were in my first copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof travellers are often, perhaps not without justice, accused.

## CHAP. II.

*A Description of the Farmer's Daughter. The Author carried to a Market-Town, and then to the Metropolis. The Particulars of his Journey.*

My mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of towardly parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against night: the cradle was put into a small drawer of a cabinet, and the drawer placed upon a hanging shelf for fear of the rats. This was my bed all the time I staid with those people, though made more convenient by degrees, as I began to learn their language, and make my wants known. This young girl was so handy, that, after I had once or twice pulled off my clothes before her, she was able to dress and undress me, though I never gave her that trouble when she would let me do either myself. She made me seven shirts, and some other linen, of as fine cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than sackcloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own hands. She was likewise my schoolmistress, to teach me the language: when I pointed to any thing, she told me the name of it in her own tongue, so that in a few days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to. She was very good-natured, and not above forty feet high, being little for her age. She gave me the name of *Grildrig*, which the family took up, and afterwards the whole kingdom. The word imports what the Latins call *nanunculus*, the Italians *homunceletino*, and the English *mannikin*. To her I chiefly owe my preservation in that country: we never parted while I was there; I called her my *Glumdalclitch*, or little nurse, and should be guilty of great ingratitude if I omitted this honourable mention of her care and affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent, but unhappy instrument of her disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear.

It now began to be known and talked of in the neighbourhood, that my master had found a strange animal in the field, about the bigness of a *splacnuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human creature; which it likewise imitated in all its actions; seemed to speak in a little language of its own, had already learned several words of theirs, went erect upon two legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest limbs in the world, and a complexion fairer than a nobleman's daughter of three years old. Another farmer, who lived hard by, and was a particular friend of my master, came on a visit on purpose to inquire into the truth of this story. I was immediately produced, and placed upon a table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my hanger, put it up again, made my reverence to my master's guest, asked him, in his own language, how he did, and told him *he was welcome*, just as my little nurse had instructed me. This man, who was old and dim-sighted, put on his spectacles to behold me better, at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his eyes appeared like the full moon shining into a chamber at two windows. Our people, who discovered the cause of my mirth, bore me company in laughing, at which the old fellow was fool enough to be angry and out of countenance. He had the character of a great miser; and, to my misfortune, he well deserved it, by the cursed advice he gave my master, to show me as a sight upon a market-day in the next town, which was half an hour's riding, about two-and-twenty miles from our house. I guessed there was some mischief contriving, when I observed my master and his friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my fears made me fancy that I overheard and understood some of their words. But the next morning Glumdalclitch, my little nurse, told me the whole matter, which she had cunningly picked out from her mother. The

poor girl laid me on her bosom, and fell a-weeping with shame and grief. She apprehended some mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar folks, who might squeeze me to death, or break one of my limbs by taking me in their hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my nature, how nicely I regarded my honour, and what an indignity I should conceive it, to be exposed for money as a public spectacle to the meanest of the people. She said, her papa and mamma had promised that Grildrig should be hers; but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last year, when they pretended to give her a lamb, and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a butcher. For my own part, I may truly affirm, that I was less concerned than my nurse. I had a strong hope, which never left me, that I should one day recover my liberty; and, as to the ignominy of being carried about for a monster, I considered myself to be a perfect stranger in the country, and that such a misfortune could never be charged upon me as a reproach, if ever I should return to England; since the king of Great Britain himself, in my condition, must have undergone the same distress.

My master, pursuant to the advice of his friend, carried me in a box the next market-day to the neighbouring town, and took along with him his little daughter, my nurse, upon a pillion behind him. The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet-holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on. However, I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this journey, though it were but of half an hour: for the horse went about forty feet at every step, and trotted so high, that the agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a ship in a great storm, but much more frequent. Our journey was somewhat farther than from London to St Alban's. My master alighted at an inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting a while with the inn-keeper, and making some necessary preparations, he hired the *grultrud*, or crier, to give notice through the town of a strange creature to be seen at the sign of the Green Eagle, not so big as a *splacnuck* (an animal in that country very finely shaped, about six feet long,) and in every part of the body resembling a human creature, could speak several words, and perform a hundred diverting tricks.

I was placed upon a table in the largest room of the inn, which might be near three hundred feet square. My little nurse stood on a low stool close to the table, to take care of me, and direct what I should do. My master, to avoid a crowd, would suffer only thirty people at a time to see me. I walked on the table as the girl commanded: she asked me questions, as far as she knew my understanding of the language reached, and I answered them as loud as I could. I turned about several times to the company, paid my humble respects, said *they were welcome*, and used some other speeches I had been taught. I took up a thimble filled with liquor, which Glumdalclitch had given me for a cup, and drank their health. I drew out my hanger, and flourished with it after the manner of fencers in England. My nurse gave me a part of a straw, which I exercised as a pike, having learnt the art in my youth. I was that day shown to twelve sets of company, and as often forced to act over again the same fopperies, till I was half dead with weariness and vexation: for those who had seen me made such wonderful reports, that the people were ready to break down the doors to come in. My master, for his own interest, would not suffer any one to touch me except my nurse; and, to prevent danger, benches were set round the table, at such a distance as to put me out of every body's reach. However, an unlucky school-boy aimed a hazel-nut directly at my head, which very narrowly missed me; otherwise it came with so much violence, that it would have infallibly knocked out my brains, for it was almost as large as a small pumpion; but I had the satisfaction to see the young rogue well beaten and turned out of the room.

My master gave public notice that he would show me again the next market-day; and in the mean time he prepared a more convenient vehicle for me, which he had reason enough to do; for I was so tired with my first journey, and with entertaining company for eight hours together, that I could hardly stand upon my legs, or speak a word. It was at least three days before I recovered my strength; and, that I might have no rest at home, all the neighbouring gentlemen from a hundred miles round, hearing of my fame, came to see me at my master's own house. There could not be fewer than thirty persons, with their wives and children, (for the country is very populous;) and my master demanded the rate of a full room whenever he showed me at home, although it were only to a single family: so that for some time I had but little ease every day of the week (except Wednesday, which is their sabbath,) although I were not carried to the town.

My master, finding how profitable I was likely to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable cities of the kingdom. Having therefore provided himself with all things necessary for a long journey, and settled his affairs at home, he took leave of his wife, and

upon the 17th of August, 1703, about two months after my arrival, we set out for the metropolis, situate near the middle of that empire, and about three thousand miles distance from our house. My master made his daughter Glumdalclitch ride behind him. She carried me on her lap, in a box tied about her waist. The girl had lined it on all sides with the softest cloth she could get, well quilted underneath, furnished it with her baby's bed, provided me with linen and other necessaries, and made every thing as convenient as she could. We had no other company but a boy of the house, who rode after us with the luggage.

My master's design was to show me in all the towns by the way, and to step out of the road, for fifty or a hundred miles, to any village or person of quality's house, where he might expect custom. We made easy journeys, of not above seven or eight score miles a-day: for Glumdalclitch, on purpose to spare me, complained she was tired with the trotting of the horse. She often took me out of my box, at my own desire, to give me air, and show me the country, but always held me fast by a leading string. We passed over five or six rivers, many degrees broader and deeper than the Nile or the Ganges; and there was hardly a rivulet so small as the Thames at London-Bridge. We were ten weeks in our journey, and I was shown in eighteen large towns, besides many villages and private families.

On the 26th day of October, we arrived at the metropolis, called in their language *Lorbrulgrud*, or Pride of the Universe. My master took a lodging in the principal street of the city, not far from the royal palace, and put out bills in the usual form, containing an exact description of my person and parts. He hired a large room between three and four hundred feet wide. He provided a table sixty feet in diameter, upon which I was to act my part, and pallisadoed it round three feet from the edge, and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shown ten times a-day, to the wonder and satisfaction of all people. I could now speak the language tolerably well, and perfectly understood every word that was spoken to me. Besides, I had learnt their alphabet, and could make a shift to explain a sentence here and there; for Glumdalclitch had been my instructor while we were at home, and at leisure hours during our journey. She carried a little book in her pocket, not much larger than a Sanson's Atlas; it was a common treatise for the use of young girls, giving a short account of their religion; out of this she taught me my letters, and interpreted the words.

## CHAP. III.

*The Author is sent for to Court. The Queen buys him of his Master the Farmer, and presents him to the King. He disputes with his Majesty's great Scholars. An Apartment at Court provided for the Author. He is in high Favour with the Queen. He stands up for the Honour of his own Country. His Quarrels with the Queen's Dwarf.*

THE frequent labours I underwent every day, made, in a few weeks, a very considerable change in my health: the more my master got by me, the more insatiable he grew. I had quite lost my stomach, and was almost reduced to a skeleton. The farmer observed it, and concluding I must soon die, resolved to make as good a hand of me as he could. While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself, a *sardral*, or gentleman-usher, came from court, commanding my master to carry me immediately thither for the diversion of the queen and her ladies. Some of the latter had already been to see me, and reported strange things of my beauty, behaviour, and good sense. Her majesty, and those who attended her, were beyond measure delighted with my demeanour. I fell on my knees, and begged the honour of kissing her imperial foot; but this gracious princess held out her little finger towards me, after I was set on the table, which I embraced in both my arms, and put the tip of it with the utmost respect to my lip. She made me some general questions about my country and my travels, which I answered as distinctly, and in as few words as I could. She asked, Whether I would be content to live at court?—I bowed down to the board of the table, and humbly answered, That I was my master's slave: but, if I were at my own disposal, I should be proud to devote my life to her majesty's service.—She then asked my master, Whether he was willing to sell me at a good price?—He, who apprehended I could not live a month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thousand pieces of gold, which were ordered him on the spot, each piece being about the bigness of eight hundred moidores: but, allowing for the proportion of all things between that country and Europe, and the high price of gold among them, was hardly so great a sum as a thousand guineas would be in England. I then said to the queen, Since I was now her majesty's most humble creature and vassal, I must beg the favour, that Glumdalclitch, who had always tended me with so much care and kindness, and understood to do it so well,

might be admitted into her service, and continue to be my nurse and instructor.

Her majesty agreed to my petition, and easily got the farmer's consent, who was glad enough to have his daughter preferred at court, and the poor girl herself was not able to hide her joy. My late master withdrew, bidding me farewell, and saying he had left me in a good service: to which I replied not a word, only making him a slight bow.

The queen observed my coldness, and, when the farmer was gone out of the apartment, asked me the reason. I made bold to tell her majesty, That I owed no other obligation to my late master, than his not dashing out the brains of a poor harmless creature, found by chance in his fields; which obligation was amply recompensed by the gain he had made in showing me through half the kingdom, and the price he had now sold me for; that the life I had since led was laborious enough to kill an animal of ten times my strength; that my health was much impaired by the continual drudgery of entertaining the rabble every hour of the day; and that, if my master had not thought my life in danger, her majesty would not have got so cheap a bargain. But as I was out of all fear of being ill-treated, under the protection of so great and good an empress, the ornament of nature, the darling of the world, the delight of her subjects, the phœnix of the creation; so, I hoped my late master's apprehensions would appear to be groundless; for I already found my spirits revive by the influence of her most august presence.

This was the sum of my speech, delivered with great improprieties and hesitation. The latter part was altogether framed in the style peculiar to that people, whereof I learned some phrases from Glumdalclitch while she was carrying me to court.

The queen, giving great allowance for my defectiveness in speaking, was, however, surprised at so much wit and good sense in so diminutive an animal. She took me in her own hand, and carried me to the king, who was then retired to his cabinet. His majesty, a prince of much gravity and austere countenance, not well observing my shape at first view, asked the queen after a cold manner, How long it was since she grew fond of a *splacknck*? for such, it seems, he took me to be, as I lay upon my breast in her majesty's right hand. But this princess, who has an infinite deal of wit and humour, set me gently on my feet upon the scrutoire, and commanded me to give his majesty an account of myself, which I did in a very few words; and Glumdalclitch, who attended at the cabinet door, and could not endure I should be out of her sight, being admitted, confirmed all that had passed from my arrival at her father's house.

The king, although he be as learned a person as any in his dominions, had been educated in the study of philosophy, and particularly mathematics; yet, when he observed my shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of clock-work (which is in that country arrived to a very great perfection) contrived by some ingenious artist. But, when he heard my voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the relation I gave him of the manner I came into his kingdom, but thought it a story concerted between Glumdalclitch and her father, who had taught me a set of words, to make me sell at a better price. Upon this imagination, he put several other questions to me, and still received rational answers, no otherwise defective, than by a foreign accent, and an imperfect knowledge in the language, with some rustic phrases which I had learned at the farmer's house, and did not suit the polite style of a court.

His majesty sent for three great scholars, who were then in the weekly waiting, according to the custom in that country. These gentlemen, after they had awhile examined my shape with much nicety, were of different opinions concerning me. They all agreed, that I could not be produced according to the regular laws of nature, because I was not framed with a capacity of preserving my life, either by swiftness, or climbing of trees, or digging holes in the earth. They observed by my teeth, which they viewed with great exactness, that I was a carnivorous animal; yet, most quadrupeds being an overmatch for me, and field-mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support myself, unless I fed upon snails and other insects, which they offered, by many learned arguments, to evince that I could not possibly do. One of these virtuosi seemed to think that I might be an embryo, or abortive birth. But this opinion was rejected by the other two, who observed my limbs to be perfect and finished; and that I had lived several years, as it was manifest from my beard, the stumps whereof they plainly discovered through a magnifying-glass. They would not allow me to be a dwarf, because my littleness was beyond all degrees of comparison; for the queen's favourite dwarf, the smallest ever known in that kingdom, was near thirty feet high. After much debate, they concluded unanimously, that I was only *reldplum scalcath*, which is interpreted literally *lusus naturæ*; a determination exactly agreeable to the modern philosophy of Europe, whose professors,

disdaining the old evasion of occult causes, whereby the followers of Aristotle endeavoured in vain to disguise their ignorance, have invented this wonderful solution of all difficulties, to the unspeakable advancement of human knowledge.

After this decisive conclusion, I entreated to be heard a word or two. I applied myself to the king, and assured his majesty, that I came from a country which abounded with several millions of both sexes, and of my own stature; where the animals, trees, and houses, were all in proportion, and where, by consequence, I might be as able to defend myself, and to find sustenance, as any of his majesty's subjects could do here; which I took for a full answer to those gentlemen's arguments. To this they only replied with a smile of contempt, saying, that the farmer had instructed me very well in my lesson. The king, who had a much better understanding, dismissing his learned men, sent for the farmer, who, by good fortune, was not yet gone out of town. Having, therefore, first examined him privately, and then confronted him with me and the young girl, his majesty began to think that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the queen to order that a particular care should be taken of me, and was of opinion that Glumdalclitch should still continue in her office of tending me, because he observed we had a great affection for each other. A convenient apartment was provided for her at court: she had a sort of governess appointed to take care of her education, a maid to dress her, and two other servants for menial offices; but the care of me was wholly appropriated to herself. The queen commanded her own cabinet-maker to contrive a box, that might serve me for a bed-chamber, after the model that Glumdalclitch and I should agree upon. This man was a most ingenious artist, and, according to my direction, in three weeks, finished for me a wooden chamber of sixteen feet square, and twelve high, with sash-windows, a door, and two closets, like a London bed-chamber. The board, that made the ceiling, was to be lifted up and down by two hinges, to put in a bed, ready furnished by her majesty's upholsterer, which Glumdalclitch took out every day to air, made it with her own hands, and letting it down at night, locked up the roof over me. A nice workman, who was famous for little curiosities, undertook to make me two chairs, with backs and frames, of a substance not unlike ivory, and two tables, with a cabinet to put my things in. The room was quilted on all sides, as well as the floor and the ceiling, to prevent any accident from the carelessness of those who carried me, and to break the force of a jolt, when I went in a coach. I desired a lock for my door, to prevent rats and mice from coming in. The smith, after several attempts, made the smallest that ever was seen among them, for I have known a larger at the gate of a gentleman's house in England. I made a shift to keep the key in a pocket of my own, fearing Glumdalclitch might lose it. The queen likewise ordered the thinnest silks that could be gotten, to make me clothes, not much thicker than an English blanket, very cumbersome till I was accustomed to them. They were after the fashion of the kingdom, partly resembling the Persian, and partly the Chinese, and are a very grave and decent habit.

The queen became so fond of my company, that she could not dine without me. I had a table placed upon the same at which her majesty eat, just at her elbow, and a chair to sit on. Glumdalclitch stood on a stool on the floor near my table, to assist and take care of me. I had an entire set of silver dishes and plates, and other necessaries, which, in proportion to those of the queen, were not much bigger than what I have seen in a London toy-shop, for the furniture of a baby-house: these my little nurse kept in her pocket in a silver box, and gave me at meals as I wanted them, always cleaning them herself. No person dined with the queen but the two princesses royal, the elder sixteen years old, and the younger at that time thirteen and a month. Her majesty used to put a bit of meat upon one of my dishes, out of which I carved for myself, and her diversion was to see me eat in miniature; for the queen (who had, indeed, but a weak stomach) took up, at one mouthful, as much as a dozen English farmers could eat at a meal, which to me was, for some time, a very nauseous sight. She would craunch the wing of a lark, bones and all, between her teeth, although it were nine times as large as that of a full-grown turkey; and put a bit of bread in her mouth, as big as two twelve-penny loaves. She drank out of a golden cup, above a hogshead at a draught. Her knives were twice as long as a scythe, set straight upon the handle. The spoons, forks, and other instruments, were all in the same proportion. I remember when Glumdalclitch carried me, out of curiosity, to see some of the tables at court, where ten or a dozen of those enormous knives and forks were lifted up together, I thought I had never, till then, beheld so terrible a sight.

It is the custom, that every Wednesday (which, as I have observed, is their sabbath) the king and queen, with the royal issue of both sexes, dine together in the apartment of his majesty, to whom I was now become a great favourite; and at these times, my little

chair and table were placed at his left hand, before one of the salt-cellars. This prince took a pleasure in conversing with me, inquiring into the manners, religion, laws, government, and learning of Europe; wherein I gave him the best account I was able. His apprehension was so clear, and his judgment so exact, that he made very wise reflections and observations upon all I said. But, I confess, that, after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved country, of our trade, and wars by sea and land, of our schisms in religion, and parties in the state, the prejudices of his education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right hand, and stroking me gently with the other, after a hearty fit of laughing, asked me, Whether I was a whig or tory? Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff, near as tall as the main-mast of the Royal Sovereign, he observed, How contemptible a thing was human grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive insects as I: and yet, says he, I dare engage, these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honour; they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities; they make a figure in dress and equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray!—And thus he continued on, while my colour came and went several times, with indignation, to hear our noble country, the mistress of arts and arms, the scourge of France, the arbitress of Europe, the seat of virtue, piety, honour, and truth, the pride and envy of the world, so contemptuously treated.

But as I was not in a condition to resent injuries, so, upon mature thoughts, I began to doubt whether I was injured or no. For, after having been accustomed several months to the sight and converse of this people, and observed every object upon which I cast mine eyes to be of proportionable magnitude, the horror I had at first conceived from their bulk and aspect was so far worn off, that, if I had then beheld a company of English lords and ladies in their finery and birth-day clothes, acting their several parts in the most courtly manner of strutting, and bowing, and prating; to say the truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them as the king and his grandees did at me. Neither, indeed, could I forbear smiling at myself, when the queen used to place me upon her hand towards a looking glass, by which both our persons appeared before me in full view together; and there could be nothing more ridiculous than the comparison: so that I really began to imagine myself dwindled many degrees below my usual size.

Nothing angered and mortified me so much as the queen's dwarf; who, being of the lowest stature that was ever in that country, (for I verily think he was not full thirty feet high) became so insolent at seeing a creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger and look big as he passed by me in the queen's anti-chamber, while I was standing on some table talking with the lords or ladies of the court, and he seldom failed of a smart word or two upon my *littleness*; against which I could only revenge myself by calling him *brother*, challenging him to wrestle, and such repartees as are usually in the mouths of court pages. One day, at dinner, this malicious little cub was so nettled with something I had said to him, that, raising himself upon the frame of her majesty's chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any harm, and let me drop into a large silver bowl of cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over head and ears, and, if I had not been a good swimmer, it might have gone very hard with me; for Glumdalclitch in that instant happened to be at the other end of the room, and the queen was in such a fright, that she wanted presence of mind to assist me. But my little nurse ran to my relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed above a quart of cream. I was put to bed: however, I received no other damage than the loss of a suit of clothes, which was utterly spoiled. The dwarf was soundly whipped, and, as a farther punishment, forced to drink up the bowl of cream into which he had thrown me: neither was he ever restored to favour; for soon after the queen bestowed him on a lady of high quality, so that I saw him no more, to my very great satisfaction; for I could not tell to what extremity such a malicious urchin might have carried his resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy trick, which set the queen a-laughing, although at the same time she was heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her majesty had taken a marrow-bone upon her plate, and, after knocking out the marrow, placed the bone again in the dish erect, as it stood before; the dwarf, watching his opportunity while Glumdalclitch was gone to the sideboard, mounted the stool that she stood on to take care of me at meals, took me up in both hands, and squeezing my legs together, wedged them into the marrow-bone above my waist, where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous figure. I believe it was near a minute before any one knew what was become of me; for I thought it below me to cry out. But, as princes seldom get their meat hot, my legs were not scalded,

only my stockings and breeches in a sad condition. The dwarf, at my entreaty, had no other punishment than a sound whipping.

I was frequently rallied by the queen upon account of my fearfulness; and she used to ask me whether the people of my country were as great cowards as myself? The occasion was this: The kingdom is much pestered with flies in summer; and these odious insects, each of them as big as a Dunstable lark, hardly gave me any rest while I sat at dinner, with their continual humming and buzzing about mine ears. They would sometimes alight upon my victuals, and leave their loathsome excrement or spawn behind, which to me was very visible, though not to the natives of that country, whose large optics were not so acute as mine, in viewing smaller objects. Sometimes they would fix upon my nose or forehead, where they stung me to the quick, smelling very offensively; and I could easily trace that viscous matter, which, our naturalists tell us, enables those creatures to walk with their feet upwards upon a ceiling. I had much ado to defend myself against these detestable animals, and could not forbear starting when they came on my face. It was the common practice of the dwarf, to catch a number of these insects in his hand, as school-boys do among us, and let them out suddenly under my nose, on purpose to frighten me, and divert the queen. My remedy was to cut them in pieces with my knife, as they flew in the air, wherein my dexterity was much admired.

I remember, one morning, when Glumdalclitch had set me in my box upon a window, as she usually did in fair days to give me air, (for I durst not venture to let the box be hung on a nail out of the window, as we do with cages in England) after I had lifted up one of my sashes, and sat down at my table to eat a piece of sweet cake for my breakfast, above twenty wasps, allured by the smell, came flying into the room, humming louder than the drones of as many bagpipes. Some of them seized my cake, and carried it piece-meal away: others flew about my head and face, confounding me with the noise, and putting me in the utmost terror of their stings. However, I had the courage to rise and draw my hanger, and attack them in the air. I dispatched four of them, but the rest got away, and I presently shut my window. These insects were as large as partridges; I took out their stings, found them an inch and a half long, and as sharp as needles. I carefully preserved them all; and having since shown them, with some other curiosities, in several parts of Europe, upon my return to England I gave three of them to Gresham college, and kept the fourth for myself.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Country described. A Proposal for correcting modern Maps. The King's Palace, and some Account of the Metropolis. The Author's Way of Travelling. The chief Temple described.*

I NOW intend to give the reader a short description of this country, as far as I travelled in it, which was not above two thousand miles round Lorbrulgrud the metropolis; for the queen, whom I always attended, never went farther when she accompanied the king in his progresses, and there staid till his majesty returned from viewing his frontiers. The whole extent of this prince's dominions reaches about six thousand miles in length, and from three to five in breadth: whence, I cannot but conclude, that our geographers of Europe are in a great error, by supposing nothing but sea between Japan and California; for, it was ever my opinion, that there must be a balance of earth to counterpoise the great continent of Tartary; and, therefore, they ought to correct their maps and charts, by joining this vast tract of land to the north-west parts of America, wherein I shall be ready to lend them my assistance.

The kingdom is a peninsula, terminated to the north-east by a ridge of mountains thirty miles high, which are altogether impassable, by reason of the volcanoes upon the tops: neither do the most learned know what sort of mortals inhabit beyond those mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On the three other sides it is bounded by the ocean. There is not one seaport in the whole kingdom: and those parts of the coasts into which the rivers issue, are so full of pointed rocks, and the sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their boats; so that these people are wholly excluded from any commerce with the rest of the world. But the large rivers are full of vessels, and abound with excellent fish; for they seldom get any from the sea, because the sea-fish are of the same size with those in Europe, and consequently not worth catching; whereby it is manifest, that nature, in the production of plants and animals of so extraordinary a bulk, is wholly confined to this continent, of which I leave the reasons to be determined by philosophers. However, now and then they take a whale that happens to be dashed against the rocks, which the common people feed on heartily. These whales I have known so large, that a man could hardly carry one upon his shoulders; and sometimes, for curiosity, they are brought in hampers to Lor-

brulgrud: I saw one of them in a dish at the king's table, which passed for a rarity, but I did not observe he was fond of it; for I think, indeed, the bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in Greenland.

The country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty-one cities, near a hundred walled towns, and a great number of villages. To satisfy my curious reader, it may be sufficient to describe Lorbrulgrud. This city stands upon almost two equal parts, on each side the river that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand houses, and about six hundred thousand inhabitants. It is in length three *glomglungs*, (which make about fifty-four English miles) and two and a half in breadth; as I measured it myself in the royal map, made by the king's order, which was laid on the ground on purpose for me, and extended a hundred feet: I paced the diameter and circumference several times bare foot, and, computing by the scale, measured it pretty exactly.

The king's palace is no regular edifice, but a heap of building, about seven miles round: the chief rooms are generally two hundred and forty feet high, and broad and long in proportion. A coach was allowed to Glumdalclitch and me, wherein her governess frequently took her out to see the town, or go among the shops; and I was always of the party, carried in my box; although the girl, at my own desire, would often take me out and hold me in her hand, that I might more conveniently view the houses and the people, as we passed along the streets. I reckoned our coach to be about a square of Westminster-hall, but not altogether so high; however, I cannot be very exact. One day the governess ordered our coachman to stop at several shops, where the beggars, watching their opportunity, crowded to the sides of the coach, and gave me the most horrible spectacle that ever a European eye beheld. There was a woman with a cancer in her breast, swelled to a monstrous size, full of holes, in two or three of which I could have easily crept, and covered my whole body. There was a fellow with a wen in his neck, larger than five woolpacks; and another, with a couple of wooden legs, each about twenty feet high. But the most hateful sight of all, was the lice crawling on their clothes. I could see distinctly the limbs of these vermin with my naked eye, much better than those of an European louse through a microscope, and their snouts, with which they rooted like swine. They were the first I had ever beheld, and I should have been curious enough to dissect one of them, if I had had proper instruments, which I unluckily left behind me in the ship, although, indeed, the sight was so nauseous, that it perfectly turned my stomach.

Beside the large box in which I was usually carried, the queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me, of about twelve feet square, and ten high, for the convenience of travelling: because the other was somewhat too large for Glumdalclitch's lap, and cumbersome in the coach; it was made by the same artist, whom I directed in the whole contrivance. This travelling-closet was an exact square, with a window in the middle of three of the squares, and each window was latticed with iron wire on the outside, to prevent accidents in long journeys. On the fourth side, which had no window, two strong staples were fixed, through which the person that carried me, when I had a mind to be on horse-back, put a leathern belt, and buckled it about his waist. This was always the office of some grave trusty servant in whom I could confide, whether I attended the king and queen in their progresses, or were disposed to see the gardens, or pay a visit to some great lady or minister of state in the court, when Glumdalclitch happened to be out of order; for I soon began to be known and esteemed among the greatest officers; I suppose more upon the account of their majesties' favour, than any merit of my own. In journeys, when I was weary of the coach, a servant on horseback would buckle on my box, and place it upon a cushion before him; and there I had a full prospect of the country on three sides, from my three windows. I had, in this closet, a field-bed and a hammock hung from the ceiling, two chairs and a table, neatly screwed to the floor, to prevent being tossed about by the agitation of the horse or the coach. And having been long used to sea voyages, those motions, although sometimes very violent, did not much discompose me.

Whenever I had a mind to see the town, it was always in my travelling closet; which Glumdalclitch held in her lap in a kind of open sedan, after the fashion of the country, borne by four men, and attended by two others in the queen's livery. The people, who had often heard of me, were very curious to crowd about the sedan, and the girl was complaisant enough to make the bearers stop, and to take me in her hand, that I might be more conveniently seen.

I was very desirous to see the chief temple, and particularly the tower belonging to it, which is reckoned the highest in the kingdom. Accordingly one day my nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for the height is not above three thousand feet, reckoning from the ground to the highest pinnacle top; which, allowing for the difference between the size of those

people and us in Europe, is no great matter for admiration, nor at all equal in proportion (if I rightly remember) to Salisbury steeple. But, not to detract from a nation, to which, during my life, I shall acknowledge myself extremely obliged, it must be allowed that whatever this famous tower wants in height is amply made up in beauty and strength. For the walls are near a hundred feet thick, built of hewn stone, whereof each is about forty feet square, and adorned on all sides with statues of gods and emperors, cut in marble, larger than the life, placed in their several niches. I measured a little finger which had fallen down from one of these statues, and lay unperceived among some rubbish, and found it exactly four feet and an inch in length. Glumdalclitch wrapped it up in her handkerchief, and carried it home in her pocket, to keep among other trinkets, of which the girl was very fond, as children at her age usually are.

The king's kitchen is indeed a noble building, vaulted at top, and about six hundred feet high. The great oven is not so wide, by ten paces, as the cupola at St Paul's: for I measured the latter on purpose, after my return. But if I should describe the kitchen-grate, the prodigious pots and kettles, the joints of meat turning on the spits, with many other particulars, perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe critic would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as travellers are often suspected to do. To avoid which censure, I fear I have run too much into the other extreme; and that, if this treatise should happen to be translated into the language of Brobdingnag (which is the general name of that kingdom,) and transmitted thither, the king and his people would have reason to complain that I had done them an injury, by a false and diminutive representation.

His majesty seldom keeps above six hundred horses in his stables: they are generally from fifty-four to sixty feet high. But, when he goes abroad on solemn days, he is attended, for state, by a militia guard of five hundred horse, which indeed I thought was the most splendid sight that could be ever beheld, till I saw part of his army in battalia, whereof I shall find another occasion to speak.

## CHAP. V.

*Several Adventures that happened to the Author. The Execution of a Criminal. The Author shows his Skill in Navigation.*

I SHOULD have lived happy enough in that country, if my littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome accidents; some of which I shall venture to relate. Glumdalclitch often carried me into the gardens of the court in my smaller box, and would sometimes take me out of it, and hold me in her hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the dwarf left the queen, he followed us one day into those gardens, and my nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some dwarf apple-trees, I must needs show my wit, by a silly allusion between him and the trees, which happens to hold in their language as it does in ours. Whereupon the malicious rogue, watching his opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my head, by which a dozen apples, each of them near as large as a Bristol barrel, came tumbling about my ears; one of them hit me on the back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my face; but I received no other hurt, and the dwarf was pardoned at my desire, because I had given the provocation.

Another day, Glumdalclitch left me on a smooth grass-plot to divert myself, while she walked at some distance with her governess. In the mean time, there suddenly fell such a violent shower of hail, that I was immediately, by the force of it, struck to the ground: and when I was down, the hailstones gave me such cruel bangs all over the body, as if I had been pelted with tennis-balls; however, I made a shift to creep on all four, and shelter myself, by lying flat on my face, on the lee-side of a border of lemon-thyme; but so bruised from head to foot, that I could not go abroad in ten days. Neither is that at all to be wondered at, because nature, in that country, observing the same proportion through all her operations, a hailstone is near eighteen hundred times as large as one in Europe; which I can assert upon experience, having been so curious to weigh and measure them.

But a more dangerous accident happened to me in the same garden, when my little nurse, believing she had put me in a secure place (which I often entreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own thoughts,) and having left my box at home, to avoid the trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the garden with her governess and some ladies of her acquaintance. While she was absent, and out of hearing, a small white spaniel, that belonged to one of the chief gardeners, having got by accident into the garden, happened to range near the place where I lay: the dog following the scent, came directly up, and taking me in his mouth, ran straight to his master, wagging his tail, and set me gently on the ground. By good fortune he had been so well taught, that I was carried between his teeth without the least hurt, or

even tearing my clothes. But the poor gardener, who knew me well, and had a great kindness for me, was in a terrible fright: he gently took me up in both his hands, and asked me how I did? but I was so amazed and out of breath, that I could not speak a word. In a few minutes I came to myself, and he carried me safe to my little nurse, who by this time had returned to the place where she left me, and was in cruel agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called. She severely reprimanded the gardener on account of his dog. But the thing was hushed up, and never known at court, for the girl was afraid of the queen's anger; and truly, as to myself, I thought it would not be for my reputation that such a story should go about.

This accident absolutely determined Glumdalclitch never to trust me abroad for the future, out of her sight. I had been long afraid of this resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky adventures, that happened in those times when I was left by myself. Once a kite, hovering over the garden, made a stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my hanger, and run under a thick espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his talons. Another time, walking to the top of a fresh molehill, I fell to my neck in the hole, through which that animal had cast up the earth, and coined some lie, not worth remembering, to excuse myself for spoiling my clothes. I likewise broke my right shin against the shell of a snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone and thinking on poor England.

I cannot tell whether I were more pleased or mortified to observe, in those solitary walks, that the smaller birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a yard's distance, looking for worms and other food, with as much indifference and security as if no creature at all were near them. I remember, a thrush had the confidence to snatch out of my hand, with his bill, a piece of cake that Glumdalclitch had just given me for my breakfast. When I attempted to catch any of these birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to peck my fingers, which I durst not venture within their reach; and then they would hop back unconcerned, to hunt for worms or snails, as they did before. But one day, I took a thick cudgel, and threw it with all my strength so luckily at a linnet, that I knocked him down, and, seizing him by the neck with both my hands, ran with him in triumph to my nurse. However, the bird, who had only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many boxes with his wings on both sides of my head and body, though I held him at arm's length, and was out of the reach of his claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our servants, who wrung off the bird's neck, and I had him next day for dinner, by the queen's command. This linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an English swan.

The maids of honour often invited Glumdalclitch to their apartments, and desired she would bring me along with her, on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing and touching me. They would often strip me naked from top to toe, and lay me at full length in their bosoms; wherewith I was much disgusted; because, to say the truth, a very offensive smell came from their skins; which I do not mention, or intend, to the disadvantage of those excellent ladies, for whom I have all manner of respect; but I conceive that my sense was more acute in proportion to my littleness, and that those illustrious persons were no more disagreeable to their lovers, or to each other, than people of the same quality are with us in England. And, after all, I found their natural smell was much more supportable, than when they used perfumes, under which I immediately swooned away. I cannot forget, that an intimate friend of mine in Lilliput, took the freedom in a warm day, when I had used a good deal of exercise, to complain of a strong smell about me, although I am as little faulty that way as most of my sex: but I suppose his faculty of smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this people. Upon this point, I cannot forbear doing justice to the queen my mistress, and Glumdalclitch my nurse, whose persons were as sweet as those of any lady in England.

That which gave me most uneasiness among these maids of honour (when my nurse carried me to visit them) was, to see them use me without any manner of ceremony, like a creature who had no sort of consequence: for they would strip themselves to the skin, and put their smocks on in my presence, while I was placed on their toilet, directly before their naked bodies, which I am sure to me was very far from being a tempting sight, or from giving me any other emotion than those of horror and disgust: their skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured, when I saw them near, with a mole here and there as broad as a trencher, and hairs hanging from it thicker than packthreads, to say nothing further concerning the rest of their persons. Neither did they at all scruple, while I was by, to discharge what they had drank, to the quantity of at least two hogsheads, in a vessel that held above three tuns. The handsomest among these maids of honour, a pleasant, frolicsome girl of sixteen,

would sometimes set me astride upon one of her nipples, with many other tricks, wherein the reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But I was so much displeased, that I entreated Glumdalclitch to contrive some excuse for not seeing that young lady any more.

One day, a young gentleman, who was nephew to my nurse's governess, came and pressed them both to see an execution. It was of a man who had murdered one of that gentleman's intimate acquaintance. Glumdalclitch was prevailed on to be of the company, very much against her inclination, for she was naturally tender-hearted: and as for myself, although I abhorred such kind of spectacles, yet my curiosity tempted me to see something that I thought must be extraordinary. The malefactor was fixed on a chair upon a scaffold erected for that purpose, and his head cut off at one blow, with a sword of about forty feet long. The veins and arteries spouted up such a prodigious quantity of blood, and so high in the air, that the great *jet-d'eau* at Versailles was not equal for the time it lasted; and the head, when it fell on the scaffold floor, gave such a bounce as made me start, although I were at least half an English mile distant.

The queen, who often used to hear me talk of my sea-voyages, and took all occasions to divert me when I was melancholy, asked me whether I understood how to handle a sail or an oar, and whether a little exercise of rowing might not be convenient for my health?—I answered, that I understood both very well: for although my proper employment had been to be surgeon or doctor to the ship, yet often, upon a pinch, I was forced to work like a common mariner. But I could not see how this could be done in their country, where the smallest wherry was equal to a first-rate man of war among us; and such a boat as I could manage would never live in any of their rivers.—Her majesty said, if I would contrive a boat, her own joiner should make it, and she would provide a place for me to sail in. The fellow was an ingenious workman, and by my instructions, in ten days, finished a pleasure-boat, with all its tackling, able conveniently to hold eight Europeans. When it was finished, the queen was so delighted, that she ran with it in her lap to the king, who ordered it to be put into a cistern full of water, with me in it, by way of trial, where I could not manage my two sculls, or little oars, for want of room. But the queen had before contrived another project. She ordered the joiner to make a wooden trough of three hundred feet long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which, being well pitched, to prevent leaking, was placed on the floor, along the wall, in an outer room of the palace. It had a cock near the bottom to let out the water, when it began to grow stale; and two servants could easily fill it in half an hour. Here I often used to row for my own diversion, as well as that of the queen and her ladies, who thought themselves well entertained with my skill and agility. Sometimes I would put up my sail, and then my business was only to steer, while the ladies gave me a gale with their fans; and, when they were weary, some of their pages would blow my sail forward with their breath, while I showed my art by steering starboard or larboard as I pleased. When I had done, Glumdalclitch always carried back my boat into her closet, and hung it on a nail to dry.

In this exercise, I once met an accident, which had like to have cost me my life; for, one of the pages having put my boat into the trough, the governess who attended Glumdalclitch very officiously lifted me up, to place me in the boat; but I happened to slip through her fingers, and should infallibly have fallen down forty feet, upon the floor, if, by the luckiest chance in the world, I had not been stopped by a corking-pin that stuck in the good gentlewoman's stomacher; the head of the pin passed between my shirt and the waistband of my breeches, and thus I was held by the middle in the air, till Glumdalclitch ran to my relief.

Another time, one of the servants, whose office it was to fill my trough every third day with fresh water, was so careless to let a huge frog (not perceiving it) slip out of his pail. The frog lay concealed till I was put into my boat, but then, seeing a resting-place, climbed up, and made it lean so much on one side, that I was forced to balance it with all my weight on the other, to prevent overturning. When the frog was got in, it hopped at once half the length of the boat, and then over my head, backward and forward, daubing my face and clothes with its odious slime. The largeness of its features made it appear the most deformed animal that can be conceived. However, I desired Glumdalclitch to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the boat.

But the greatest danger I ever underwent in that kingdom, was from a monkey, who belonged to one of the clerks of the kitchen. Glumdalclitch had locked me up in her closet, while she went somewhere upon business, or a visit. The weather being very warm, the closet-window was left open, as well as the windows and the door of my bigger box, in which I usually lived, because of its largeness and conveniency. As I sat quietly meditating at my table, I heard something bounce

in at the closet-window, and skip about from one side to the other: whereat although I was much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my seat; and then I saw this frolicksome animal frisking and leaping up and down, till at last he came to my box, which he seemed to view with great pleasure and curiosity, peeping in at the door and every window. I retreated to the farther corner of my room, or box; but the monkey, looking in at every side, put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of mind to conceal myself under the bed, as I might easily have down. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espied me; and reaching one of his paws in at the door, as a cat does when she plays with a mouse, although I often shifted place to avoid him, he at length seized the lappet of my coat (which, being made of that country silk, was very thick and strong,) and dragged me out. He took me up in his right fore-foot, and held me as a nurse does a child she is going to suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of creature do with a kitten in Europe: and when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to submit. I have good reason to believe, that he took me for a young one of his own species, by his often stroking my face very gently with his other paw. In these diversions he was interrupted by a noise at the closet door, as if somebody were opening it: whereupon he suddenly leapt up to the window, at which he had come in, and thence upon the leads and gutters, walking upon three legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clambered up to a roof that was next to ours. I heard Glumdalclitch give a shriek at the moment he was carrying me out. The poor girl was almost distracted: that quarter of the palace was all in an uproar; the servants ran for ladders; the monkey was seen by hundreds in the court, sitting upon the ridge of a building, holding me like a baby in one of his fore-paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my mouth some victuals he had squeezed out of the bag on one side of his chaps, and patting me when I would not eat; whereat many of the rabble below could not forbear laughing; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed, for without question the sight was ridiculous enough to every body but myself. Some of the people threw up stones, hoping to drive the monkey down; but this was strictly forbidden, or else, very probably, my brains had been dashed out.

The ladders were now applied, and mounted by several men; which the monkey observing, and finding himself almost encompassed, not being able to make speed enough with his three legs, let me drop on a ridge tile, and made his escape. Here I sat for some time, five hundred yards from the ground, expecting every moment to be blown down by the wind, or to fall by my own giddiness, and come tumbling over and over from the ridge to the eaves: but an honest lad, one of my nurse's footmen, climbed up, and, putting me into his breeches-pocket, brought me down safe.

I was almost choaked with the filthy stuff the monkey had crammed down my throat: but my dear little nurse picked it out of my mouth with a small needle, and then I fell a-vomiting, which gave me great relief. Yet I was so weak and bruised in the sides with the squeezes given me by this odious animal, that I was forced to keep my bed a fortnight. The king, queen, and all the court, sent every day to inquire after my health; and her majesty made me several visits during my sickness. The monkey was killed, and an order made, that no such animal should be kept about the palace.

When I attended the king after my recovery, to return him thanks for his favours, he was pleased to rally me a good deal upon this adventure. He asked me, what my thoughts and speculations were, while I lay in the monkey's paw; how I liked the victuals he gave me; his manner of feeding; and whether the fresh air on the roof had sharpened my stomach? He desired to know, what I would have done upon such an occasion in my own country?—I told his majesty, that in Europe we had no monkeys, except such as were brought for curiosities from other places, and so small, that I could deal with a dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me. And as for that monstrous animal, with whom I was so lately engaged (it was indeed as large as an elephant,) if my fears had suffered me to think so far as to make use of my hanger (looking fiercely, and clapping my hand upon the hilt, as I spoke) when he poked his paw into my chamber, perhaps I should have given him such a wound, as would have made him glad to withdraw it, with more haste than he put it in. This I delivered in a firm tone, like a person who was jealous lest his courage should be called in question. However, my speech produced nothing else beside a loud laughter, which all the respect due to his majesty from those about him, could not make them contain. This made me reflect how vain an attempt it is, for a man to endeavour to do himself honour among those who are out of all degree of equality or comparison with him. And yet I have seen the moral of my own behaviour very frequent in England since my return; where a little contemptible varlet, without the least title to birth, person, wit, or

common sense, shall presume to look with importance, and put himself upon a foot with the greatest persons of the kingdom.

I was every day furnishing the court with some ridiculous story; and Glumdalclitch, although she loved me to excess, yet was arch enough to inform the queen, whenever I committed any folly that she thought would be diverting to her majesty. The girl, who had been out of order, was carried by her governess to take the air about an hour's distance, or thirty miles from town. They alighted out of the coach near a small foot path in a field, and Glumdalclitch setting down my travelling box, I went out of it to walk. There was a cow-dung in the path, and I must need try my activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found myself just in the middle, up to my knees. I waded through with some difficulty, and one of the footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his handkerchief, for I was filthily bemired; and my nurse confined me to my box till we returned home; where the queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the footmen spread it about the court; so that all the mirth for some days was at my expence.

## CHAP. VI.

*Several Contrivances of the Author to please the King and Queen. He shows his Skill in Music. The King inquires into the State of England, which the Author relates to him. The King's Observations thereon.*

I USED to attend the king's levee once or twice a-week, and had often seen him under the barber's hand, which, indeed, was at first very terrible to behold: for the razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary scythe. His majesty, according to the custom of the country, was only shaved twice a-week. I once prevailed on the barber to give me some of the suds or lather, out of which I picked forty or fifty of the strongest stumps of hair. I then took a piece of fine wood, and cut it like the back of a comb, making several holes in it, at equal distances, with as small a needle as I could get from Glumdalclitch. I fixed in the stumps so artificially, scraping and sloping them with my knife toward the points, that I made a very tolerable comb; which was a seasonable supply, my own being so much broken in the teeth, that it was almost useless: neither did I know any artist in that country so nice and exact, as would undertake to make me another.

And this puts me in mind of an amusement, wherein I spent many of my leisure hours. I desired the queen's woman to save for me the combings of her majesty's hair, whereof in time I got a good quantity; and consulting with my friend the cabinet-maker, who had received general orders to do little jobs for me, I directed him to make two chair-frames, no larger than those I had in my box, and to bore little holes with a fine awl round those parts where I designed the backs and seats: through these holes I wove the strongest hairs I could pick out, just after the manner of cane chairs in England. When they were finished, I made a present of them to her majesty, who kept them in her cabinet, and used to show them for curiosities, as indeed they were the wonder of every one that beheld them. The queen would have had me sit upon one of these chairs, but I absolutely refused to obey her, protesting I would rather die a thousand deaths, than place a dishonourable part of my body on those precious hairs that once adorned her majesty's head. Of these hairs, (as I had always a mechanical genius,) I likewise made a neat little purse, about five feet long, with her majesty's name decyphered in gold letters, which I gave to Glumdalclitch by the queen's consent. To say the truth, it was more for show than use, being not of strength to bear the weight of the larger coins, and therefore she kept nothing in it but some little toys that girls are fond of.

The king, who delighted in music, had frequent concerts at court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my box on a table to hear them: but the noise was so great that I could hardly distinguish the tunes. I am confident that all the drums and trumpets of a royal army, beating and sounding together just at your ears, could not equal it. My practice was, to have my box removed from the place where the performers sat, as far as I could, then to shut the doors and windows of it, and draw the window-curtains; after which I found their music not disagreeable.

I had learned in my youth to play a little upon the spinet. Glumdalclitch kept one in her chamber, and a master attended twice a-week to teach her: I called it a spinet, because it somewhat resembled that instrument, and was played upon in the same manner. A fancy came into my head, that I would entertain the king and queen with an English tune upon this instrument. But this appeared extremely difficult: for the spinet was near sixty feet long, each key being almost a foot wide, so that with my arms extended I could not reach to above five keys, and to press them down required a good smart stroke with my fist, which would be too great a la-

bour, and to no purpose. The method I contrived was this: I prepared two round sticks about the bigness of common cudgels; they were thicker at one end than the other, and I covered the thicker ends with pieces of a mouse's skin, that by rapping on them I might neither damage the tops of the keys, nor interrupt the sound. Before the spinet a bench was placed, about four feet below the keys, and I was put upon the bench. I ran sideling upon it, that way and this, as fast as I could, hanging the proper keys with my two sticks, and made a shift to play a jig, to the great satisfaction of both their majesties; but it was the most violent exercise I ever underwent; and yet I could not strike above sixteen keys, nor consequently play the bass and treble together, as other artists do; which was a great disadvantage to my performance.

The king, who, as I before observed, was a prince of excellent understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my box, and set upon the table in his closet: he would then command me to bring one of my chairs out of the box, and sit down within three yards distance upon the top of the cabinet, which brought me almost to a level with his face. In this manner I had several conversations with him. I one day took the freedom to tell his majesty, that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of mind that he was master of; that reason did not extend itself with the bulk of the body: on the contrary, we observed in our country, that the tallest persons were usually the least provided with it; that among other animals, bees and ants had the reputation of more industry, art, and sagacity, than many of the larger kinds; and that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his majesty some signal service. The king heard me with attention, and began to conceive a much better opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired I would give him as exact an account of the government of England as I possibly could; because, as fond as princes commonly are of their own customs (for so he conjectured of other monarchs by my former discourses,) he should be glad to hear of any thing that might deserve imitation.

Imagine with thyself, courteous reader, how often I then wished for the tongue of Demosthenes or Cicero, that might have enabled me to celebrate the praise of my own dear native country, in a style equal to its merits and felicity.

I began my discourse by informing his majesty, that our dominions consisted of two islands, which composed three mighty kingdoms, under one sovereign, besides our plantations in America. I dwelt long upon the fertility of our soil, and the temperature of our climate. I then spoke at large upon the constitution of an English parliament; partly made up of an illustrious body, called the House of Peers; persons of the noblest blood, and of the most ancient and ample patrimonies. I described that extraordinary care always taken of their education in arts and arms, to qualify them for being counsellors both to the king and kingdom; to have a share in the legislature; to be members of the highest court of judicature, whence there can be no appeal; and to be champions always ready for the defence of their prince and country, by their valour, conduct, and fidelity. That these were the ornament and bulwark of the kingdom, worthy followers of their most renowned ancestors, whose honour had been the reward of their virtue, from which their posterity were never once known to degenerate. To these were joined several holy persons, as part of that assembly, under the title of bishops; whose peculiar business it is to take care of religion, and of those who instruct the people therein. These were searched and sought out through the whole nation, by the prince and his wisest counsellors, among such of the priesthood as were most deservedly distinguished by the sanctity of their lives, and the depth of their erudition; who were indeed the spiritual fathers of the clergy and the people.

That the other part of the parliament consisted of an assembly, called the House of Commons, who were all principal gentlemen, freely picked and culled out by the people themselves, for their great abilities and love of their country, to represent the wisdom of the whole nation. And that these two bodies made up the most august assembly in Europe; to whom, in conjunction with the prince, the whole legislature is committed.

I then descended to the courts of justice; over which the judges, those venerable sages and interpreters of the law, presided, for determining the disputed rights and properties of men, as well as for the punishment of vice, and protection of innocence. I mentioned the prudent management of our treasury; the valour and achievements of our forces, by sea and land. I computed the number of our people, by reckoning how many millions there might be of each religious sect, or political party, among us. I did not omit even our sports and pastimes, or any other particular which I thought might redound to the honour of my country. And I finished all with a brief historical account of affairs and events in England for about a hundred years past.



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This conversation was not ended under five audiences, each of several hours; and the king heard the whole with great attention, frequently taking notes of what I spoke, as well as memorandums of what questions he intended to ask me.

When I had put an end to these long discourses, his majesty, in a sixth audience, consulting his notes, proposed many doubts, queries, and objections, upon every article. He asked, What methods were used to cultivate the minds and bodies of our young nobility, and in what kind of business they commonly spent the first and teachable part of their lives? What course was taken to supply that assembly, when any noble family became extinct? What qualifications were necessary in those who are to be created new lords: whether the humour of the prince, a sum of money to a court lady, or a design of strengthening a party opposite to the public interest, ever happened to be the motives in those advancements? What share of knowledge these lords had in the laws of their country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the properties of their fellow-subjects in the last resort? Whether they were always so free from avarice, partialities, or want, that a bribe, or some other sinister view, could have no place among them? Whether those holy lords I spoke of were always promoted to that rank upon account of their knowledge in religious matters, and the sanctity of their lives; had never been compliers with the times, while they were common priests; or slavish prostitute chaplains to some nobleman, whose opinions they continued servilely to follow, after they were admitted into that assembly?

He then desired to know, What arts were practised in electing those whom I called commoners: whether a stranger, with a strong purse, might not influence the vulgar voters, to chuse him before their own landlord, or the most considerable gentleman in the neighbourhood? How it came to pass, that people were so violently bent upon getting into this assembly, which I allowed to be a great trouble and expence, often to the ruin of their families, without any salary or pension; because this appeared such an exalted strain of virtue and public spirit, that his majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere? And he desired to know, Whether such zealous gentlemen could have any view of refunding themselves for the charges and trouble they were at, by sacrificing the public good to the designs of a weak and vicious prince, in conjunction with a corrupted ministry? He multiplied his questions, and sifted me thoroughly upon every part of this head, proposing numberless inquiries and objections which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.

Upon what I said in relation to our courts of justice, his majesty desired to be satisfied in several points: and this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long suit in Chancery, which was decreed for me with costs. He asked, What time was usually spent in determining between right and wrong, and what degree of expence? Whether advocates and orators had liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive? Whether party, in religion or politics, were observed to be of any weight in the scale of justice? Whether those pleading orators were persons educated in the general knowledge of equity, or only in provincial, national, and other local customs? Whether they or their judges had any part in penning those laws, which they assumed the liberty of interpreting and glossing upon at their pleasure? Whether they had ever, at different times, pleaded for and against the same cause, and cited precedents to prove contrary opinions? Whether they were a rich or a poor corporation? Whether they received any pecuniary reward for pleading, or delivering their opinions? And particularly, Whether they were ever admitted as members in the lower senate?

He fell next upon the management of our treasury; and said, he thought my memory had failed me, because I computed our taxes at about five or six millions a-year, and when I came to mention the issues, he found they sometimes amounted to more than double; for the notes he had taken were very particular in this point, because he hoped, as he told me, that the knowledge of our conduct might be useful to him, and he could not be deceived in his calculations. But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a loss how a kingdom could run out of its estate, like a private person. He asked me, Who were our creditors, and where we found money to pay them? He wondered to hear me talk of such chargeable and expensive wars; That certainly we must be a quarrelsome people, or live among very bad neighbours, and that our generals must needs be richer than our kings. He asked, What business we had out of our own islands, unless upon the score of trade, or treaty, or to defend the coasts with our fleet? Above all, he was amazed o hear me talk of a mercenary standing army, in the midst of peace, and among a free people. He said, if we were governed by our own consent in the persons of our representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight; and would know my opinion, whether a private man's house might not better be defended by him-

self, his children, and family, than by half a dozen rascals, picked up at a venture in the streets for small wages, who might get a hundred times more by cutting their throats?

He laughed at my odd kind of arithmetic, as he was pleased to call it, in reckoning the numbers of our people, by a computation drawn from the several sects among us, in religion and politics. He said, He knew no reason, why those, who entertain opinions prejudicial to the public, should be obliged to change, or should not be obliged to conceal them. And, as it was tyranny in any government to require the first, so it was weakness not to enforce the second; for a man may be allowed to keep poisons in his closet, but not to vend them about for cordials.

He observed, That, among the diversions of our nobility and gentry, I had mentioned gaming: he desired to know, at what age this entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down; how much of their time it employed; whether it ever went so high as to affect their fortunes; whether mean, vicious people, by their dexterity in that art, might not arrive at great riches, and sometimes keep our very nobles in dependance, as well as habituate them to vile companions; wholly take them from the improvement of their minds, and force them, by the losses they received, to learn and practise that infamous dexterity upon others.

He was perfectly astonished with the historical account I gave him of our affairs during the last century; protesting, it was only a heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, massacres, revolutions, banishments, the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty, rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, and ambition could produce.

His majesty, in another audience, was at the pains to recapitulate the sum of all I had spoken; compared the questions he made with the answers I had given; then, taking me into his hands, and stroking me gently, delivered himself in these words, which I shall never forget, nor the manner he spoke them in: My little friend Grildrig, you have made a most admirable panegyric upon your country; you have clearly proved, that ignorance, idleness, and vice, are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator; that laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied, by those whose interest and abilities lie in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I observe among you some lines of an institution, which, in its original, might have been tolerable, but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by corruptions. It does not appear, from all you have said, how any one perfection is required, toward the procurement of any one station among you; much less, that men are ennobled on account of their virtue; that priests are advanced for their piety or learning; soldiers, for their conduct or valour; judges, for their integrity; senators, for the love of their country; or counsellors, for their wisdom. As for yourself, continued the king, who have spent the greatest part of your life in travelling, I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many vices of your country. But, by what I have gathered from your own relation, and the answers I have with much pains wringed and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin, that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Author's Love of his Country. He makes a Proposal of much Advantage to the King, which is rejected. The King's great Ignorance in Politics. The Learning of that Country very imperfect and confined. The Laws, and Military Affairs, and Parties in the State.*

NOTHING but an extreme love of truth could have hindered me from concealing this part of my story. It was in vain to discover my resentments, which were always turned into ridicule; and I was forced to rest with patience, while my noble and beloved country was so injuriously treated. I am as heartily sorry as any of my readers can possibly be, that such an occasion was given: but this prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every particular, that it could not consist either with gratitude or good manners, to refuse giving him what satisfaction I was able. Yet thus much I may be allowed to say in my own vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his questions, and gave to every point a more favourable turn, by many degrees, than the strictness of truth would allow; for I have always borne that laudable partiality to my own country, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis, with so much justice, recommends to an historian: I would hide the frailties and deformities of my political mother, and place her virtues and beauties in the most advantageous light. This was my sincere endeavour, in those many discourses I had with that monarch, although it unfortunately failed of success.

But great allowances should be given to a king, who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the world, and must, therefore, be altogether unacquainted with the manners and

customs that most prevail in other nations: the want of which knowledge will ever produce many prejudices, and a certain narrowness of thinking, from which we, and the politer countries of Europe, are wholly exempted; and it would be hard indeed, if so remote a prince's notions of virtue and vice were to be offered as a standard for all mankind.

To confirm what I have now said, and further to show the miserable effects of a confined education, I shall here insert a passage, which will hardly obtain belief. In hopes to ingratiate myself further into his majesty's favour, I told him of an invention, discovered between three and four hundred years ago, to make a certain powder, into a heap of which, the smallest spark of fire falling, would kindle the whole in a moment, although it were as big as a mountain, and make it all fly up in the air together, with a noise and agitation greater than thunder. That a proper quantity of this powder, rammed into a hollow tube of brass or iron, according to its bigness, would drive a ball of iron or lead with such violence and speed as nothing was able to sustain its force. That the largest balls, thus discharged, would not only destroy whole ranks of an army at once, but batter the strongest walls to the ground, sink down ships, with a thousand men in each, to the bottom of the sea; and, when linked together by a chain, would cut through masts and rigging, divide hundreds of bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them. That we often put this powder into large hollow balls of iron, and discharged them by an engine into some city we were besieging, which would rip up the pavements, tear the houses to pieces, burst and throw splinters on every side, dashing out the brains of all who came near. That I knew the ingredients very well, which were cheap and common; I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his workmen how to make those tubes, of a size proportionable to all other things in his majesty's kingdom, and the largest need not be above a hundred feet long; twenty or thirty of which tubes, charged with the proper quantity of powder and balls, would batter down the walls of the strongest town in his dominions in a few hours, or destroy the whole metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute commands. This I humbly offered to his majesty, as a small tribute of acknowledgment, in return of so many marks that I had received of his royal favour and protection.

The king was struck with horror at the description I had given of these terrible engines, and the proposal I had made. He was amazed, how so impotent and grovelling an insect as I, (these were his expressions) could entertain such inhuman ideas, and in so familiar a manner, as to appear wholly unmoved at all the scenes of blood and desolation which I had painted, as the common effects of those destructive machines: whereof, he said, some evil genius, enemy to mankind, must have been the first contriver. As for himself, he protested, that although few things delighted him so much as new discoveries in art or in nature, yet he would rather lose half his kingdom than be privy to such a secret; which he commanded me, as I valued my life, never to mention any more.

A strange effect of narrow principles and views! that a prince, possessed of every quality which procures veneration, love, and esteem: of strong parts, great wisdom, and profound learning, endowed with admirable talents, and almost adored by his subjects, should, from a nice, unnecessary scruple, whereof in Europe we can have no conception, let slip an opportunity put into his hands, that would have made him absolute master of the lives, the liberties, and the fortunes of his people! Neither do I say this with the least intention to detract from the many virtues of that excellent king, whose character, I am sensible, will, on this account, be very much lessened in the opinion of an English reader: but, I take this defect among them, to have risen from their ignorance, by not having hitherto reduced politics into a science, as the more acute wits of Europe have done. For, I remember very well, in a discourse one day with the king, when I happened to say, there were several thousand books among us written upon the art of government, it gave him (directly contrary to my intention) a very mean opinion of our understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all mystery, refinement, and intrigue, either in a prince or a minister. He could not tell what I meant by secrets of state, where an enemy, or some rival nation, were not in the case. He confined the knowledge of governing within very narrow bounds, to common sense and reason, to justice and lenity, to the speedy determination of civil and criminal causes; with some other obvious topics, which are not worth considering. And, he gave it for his opinion, That, whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.

The learning of this people is very defective; consisting only in morality, history, poetry, and mathematics, wherein they must be allowed to excel. But the last of these is wholly applied to what may be useful in life, to the improvement of agriculture, and all mechanical arts; so that, among us, it

would be little esteemed. And, as to ideas, entities, abstractions and transcendentals, I could never drive the least conception into their heads.

No law of that country must exceed in words the number of letters in their alphabet, which consists only of two-and twenty. But, indeed, few of them extend even to that length. They are expressed in the most plain and simple terms, wherein those people are not mercurial enough to discover above one interpretation: and to write a comment upon any law is a capital crime. As to the decision of civil causes, or proceedings against criminals, their precedents are so few, that they have little reason to boast of any extraordinary skill in either.

They have had the art of printing, as well as the Chinese, time out of mind: but their libraries are not very large; for that of the king, which is reckoned the largest, does not amount to above a thousand volumes, placed in a gallery of twelve hundred feet long, whence I had liberty to borrow what books I pleased. The queen's joiner had contrived, in one of Glumdalclitch's rooms, a kind of wooden machine, five-and-twenty feet high, formed like a standing ladder: the steps were each fifty feet long: it was indeed a moveable pair of stairs, the lowest end placed at ten feet distance from the wall of the chamber. The book I had a mind to read was put up leaning against the wall: I first mounted to the upper step of the ladder, and turning my face towards the book, began at the top of the page, and so walking to the right and left about eight or ten paces, according to the length of the lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of mine eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom; after which I mounted again, and began the other page in the same manner, and so turned over the leaf, which I could easily do with both my hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a pasteboard, and in the largest folios not above eighteen or twenty feet long.

Their style is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not florid; for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary words, or using various expressions. I have perused many of their books, especially those in history and morality. Among the rest, I was much diverted with a little old treatise, which always lay in Glumdalclitch's bed-chamber, and belonged to her governess, a grave elderly gentlewoman, who dealt in writings of morality and devotion. The book treats of the weakness of human kind, and is in little esteem, except among the women and the vulgar. However, I was curious to see what an author of that country could say upon such a subject. This writer went through all the usual topics of European moralists, showing, "how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an animal was man in his own nature; how unable to defend himself from inclemencies of the air, or the fury of wild beasts; how much he was excelled by one creature in strength, by another in speed, by a third in foresight, by a fourth in industry." He added, "that nature was degenerated in these latter declining ages of the world, and could now produce only small abortive births, in comparison of those in ancient times." He said, "it was very reasonable to think, not only that the species of men were originally much larger, but also that there must have been giants in former ages; which, as it is asserted by history and tradition, so it has been confirmed by huge bones and scults, casually dug up in several parts of the kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled race of men in our days." He argued, "that the very laws of nature absolutely required we should have been made, in the beginning, of a size more large and robust; not so liable to destruction from every little accident, of a tile falling from a house, or a stone cast from the hand of a boy, or being drowned in a little brook." From this way of reasoning, the author drew several moral applications, useful in the conduct of life, but needless here to repeat. For my own part, I could not avoid reflecting how universally this talent was spread, of drawing lectures on morality, or indeed rather matter of discontent and repining, from the quarrels we raise with nature. And I believe, upon a strict inquiry, those quarrels might be shown as ill-grounded among us as they are among that people.

As to their military affairs, they boast that the king's army consists of a hundred and seventy-six thousand foot, and thirty-two thousand horse: if that may be called an army, which is made up of tradesmen in the several cities, and farmers in the country, whose commanders are only the nobility and gentry, without pay or reward. They are indeed perfect enough in their exercises, and under very good discipline, wherein I saw no great merit; for how should it be otherwise, where every farmer is under the command of his own landlord, and every citizen under that of the principal men in his own city, chosen after the manner of Venice, by ballot?

I have often seen the militia of Lorbrulgrud drawn out to exercise in a great field near the city, of twenty miles square. They were in all not above twenty-five thousand foot, and six thousand horse; but it was impossible for me to compute their number, considering the space of ground they took up. A cavalier, mounted on a large steed, might be about ninety feet high. I have seen this whole body

of horse, upon a word of command, draw their swords at once, and brandish them in the air. Imagination can figure nothing so grand, so surprising, and so astonishing! it looked as if ten thousand flashes of lightning were darting at the same time from every quarter of the sky.

I was curious to know how this prince, to whose dominions there is no access from any other country, came to think of armies, or to teach his people the practice of military discipline. But I was soon informed, both by conversation, and reading their histories; for, in the course of many ages, they have been troubled with the same disease to which the whole race of mankind is subject; the nobility often contending for power, the people for liberty, and the king for absolute dominion. All which, however happily tempered by the laws of that kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three parties, and have more than once occasioned civil wars; the last whereof was happily put an end to, by this prince's grandfather, in a general composition; and the militia, then settled with common consent, has been ever since kept in the strictest duty.

## CHAP. VII.

*The King and Queen make a Progress to the Frontiers. The Author attends them. The Manner in which he leaves the Country very particularly related. He returns to England.*

I HAD always a strong impulse, that I should some time recover my liberty, though it was impossible to conjecture by what means, or to form any project with the least hope of succeeding. The ship in which I sailed was the first known to be driven within sight of that coast, and the king had given strict orders, that if at any time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and, with all its crew and passengers, brought in a tumbril to Lorbrulgrud. He was strongly bent to get me a woman of my own size, by whom I might propagate the breed: but I think I should rather have died than undergone the disgrace of leaving a posterity to be kept in cages, like tame canary birds, and perhaps, in time, sold about the kingdom, to persons of quality, for curiosities. I was indeed treated with much kindness; I was the favourite of a great king and queen, and the delight of the whole court; but it was upon such a foot as ill became the dignity of human kind. I could never forget those domestic pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among people with whom I could converse upon even terms, and walk about the streets and fields without being afraid of being trod to death like a frog or a young puppy. But my deliverance came sooner than I expected, and in a manner not very common; the whole story and circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate.

I had now been two years in the country; and about the beginning of the third, Glumdalclitch and I attended the king and queen, in a progress to the south coast of the kingdom. I was carried, as usual, in my travelling box, which, as I have already described, was a very convenient closet of twelve feet wide. And I had ordered a hammock to be fixed, by silken ropes, from the four corners at the top, to break the jolts when a servant carried me before him on horseback, as I sometimes desired; and would often sleep in my hammock, while we were upon the road. On the roof of my closet, not directly over the middle of the hammock, I ordered the joiner to cut out a hole of a foot square, to give me air in hot weather, as I slept; which hole I shut at pleasure with a board that drew backward and forward through a groove.

When we came to our journey's end, the king thought proper to pass a few days at a palace he has near Flanflasnic, a city within eighteen English miles of the sea-side. Glumdalclitch and I were much fatigued: I had gotten a small cold, but the poor girl was so ill as to be confined to her chamber. I longed to see the ocean, which must be the only scene of my escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was, and desired leave to take the fresh air of the sea, with a page whom I was very fond of, and who had been sometimes trusted with me. I shall never forget with what unwillingness Glumdalclitch consented, nor the strict charge she gave the page to be careful of me, bursting at the same time into a flood of tears, as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen. The boy took me out in my box, about half an hour's walk from the palace, towards the rocks on the sea-shore. I ordered him to set me down, and lifting up one of my sashes, cast many a wistful melancholy look towards the sea. I found myself not very well, and told the page that I had a mind to take a nap in my hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the boy shut the window close down, to keep out the cold. I soon fell asleep, and all I conjecture is, while I slept, the page, thinking no danger could happen, went among the rocks to look for birds' eggs, having before observed him from my window searching about, and picking up one or two in the clefts. Be that as it will, I found myself suddenly awakened with a violent pull upon the ring, which was fastened at the top of my box for the conveniency of carriage. I felt my box

raised very high in the air, and then borne forward with prodigious speed. The first jolt had like to have shaken me out of my hammock, but afterward the motion was easy enough. I called out several times, as loud as I could raise my voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards my windows, and could see nothing but the clouds and sky. I heard a noise just over my head, like the clapping of wings, and then began to perceive the woeful condition I was in; that some eagle had got the ring of my box in his beak, with an intent to let it fall on a rock like a tortoise in a shell, and then pick out my body, and devour it: for the sagacity and smell of this bird enabled him to discover his quarry at a great distance, though better concealed than I could be within a two-inch board.

In a little time, I observed the noise and flutter of wings to increase very fast, and my box was tossed up and down, like a sign in a windy day. I heard several bangs or buffets, as I thought, given to the eagle (for such I am certain it must have been that held the ring of my box in his beak,) and then, all on a sudden, felt myself falling perpendicularly down, for above a minute, but with such incredible swiftness, that I almost lost my breath. My fall was stopped by a terrible squash, that sounded louder to my ears than the cataract of Niagara; after which, I was quite in the dark for another minute, and then my box began to rise so high, that I could see light from the tops of the windows. I now perceived I was fallen into the sea. My box, by the weight of my body, the goods that were in, and the broad plates of iron fixed for strength at the four corners of the top and bottom, floated about five feet deep in water. I did then, and do now suppose, that the eagle, which flew away with my box, was pursued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop, while he defended himself against the rest, who hoped to share in the prey. The plates of iron fastened at the bottom of the box (for those were the strongest) preserved the balance while it fell, and hindered it from being broken on the surface of the water. Every joint of it was well grooved; and the door did not move on hinges, but up and down like a sash, which kept my closet so tight, that very little water came in. I got with much difficulty out of my hammock, having first ventured to draw back the slip-board on the roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose to let in air, for want of which I found myself almost stifled.

How often did I then wish myself with my dear Glumdalclitch, from whom one single hour had so far divided me! And I may say with truth, that, in the midst of my own misfortunes, I could not forbear lamenting my poor nurse, the grief she would suffer for my loss, the displeasure of the queen, and the ruin of her fortune. Perhaps many travellers have not been under greater difficulties and distress than I was at this juncture, expecting every moment to see my box dashed to pieces, or at least overset by the first violent blast, or rising wave. A breach in one single pane of glass would have been immediate death: nor could any thing have preserved the windows, but the strong lattice wires placed on the outside, against accidents in travelling. I saw the water ooze in at several crannies, although the leaks were not considerable, and I endeavoured to stop them as well as I could. I was not able to lift up the roof of my closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sat on the top of it; where I might at least preserve myself some hours longer, than by being shut up (as I may call it) in the hold. Or, if I escaped these dangers for a day or two, what could I expect, but a miserable death of cold and hunger? I was for four hours under these circumstances, expecting, and indeed wishing, every moment to be my last.

I have already told the reader, that there were two strong staples fixed upon that side of my box which had no window, and into which the servant, who used to carry me on horseback, would put a leathern belt, and buckle it about his waist. Being in this disconsolate state, I heard, or at least thought I heard, some kind of grating noise on that side of my box where the staples were fixed; and soon after I began to fancy, that the box was pulled or towed along the sea; for I now and then felt a sort of tugging, which made the waves rise near the tops of my windows, leaving me almost in the dark. This gave me some faint hopes of relief, although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unscrew one of my chairs, which were always fastened to the floor; and having made a hard shift to screw it down again, directly under the slipping-board that I had lately opened, I mounted on the chair, and, putting my mouth as near as I could to the hole, I called for help in a loud voice, and in all the languages I understood. I then fastened my handkerchief to a stick I usually carried, and, thrusting it up the hole, waved it several times in the air, that, if any boat or ship were near, the seamen might conjecture some unhappy mortal to be shut up in the box. I found no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my closet to be moved along; and in the space of an hour, or better, that side of the box where the staples were, and had no windows, struck against something that was hard. I apprehended

it to be a rock, and found myself tossed more than ever. I plainly heard a noise upon the cover of my closet, like that of a cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the ring. I then found myself hoisted up, by degrees, at least three feet higher than I was before. Whereupon I again thrust up my stick and handkerchief, calling for help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great shout repeated three times, giving me such transports of joy as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my head, and somebody calling through the hole with a loud voice, in the English tongue, If there be any body below, let them speak. I answered, I was an Englishman, drawn by ill fortune into the greatest calamity that ever any creature underwent, and begged, by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the dungeon I was in. The voice replied, I was safe, for my box was fastened to their ship, and the carpenter should immediately come and saw a hole in the cover, large enough to pull me out. I answered, that was needless, and would take up too much time; for there was no more to be done, but let one of the crew put his finger into the ring, and take the box out of the sea into the ship, and so into the captain's cabin. Some of them, upon hearing me talk so wildly, thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it never came into my head that I was now got among people of my own stature and strength. The carpenter came, and in a few minutes sawed a passage about four feet square, then let down a small ladder, upon which I mounted, and thence was taken into the ship in a very weak condition.

The sailors were all in amazement, and asked me a thousand questions, which I had no inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the sight of so many pygmies, for such I took them to be, after having so long accustomed mine eyes to the monstrous objects I had left. But the captain, Mr Thomas Wilcocks, an honest worthy Shropshire man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his cabin, gave me a cordial to comfort me, and made me turn in upon his own bed, advising me to take a little rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep, I gave him to understand, that I had some valuable furniture in my box, too good to be lost; a fine hammock; a handsome field bed, two chairs, a table, and a cabinet. That my closet was hung on all sides, or rather quilted, with silk and cotton: that, if he would let one of the crew bring my closet into his cabin, I would open it there before him, and show him my goods. The captain, hearing me utter these absurdities, concluded I was raving: however, (I suppose to pacify me) he promised to give order as I desired, and going upon deck, sent some of his men down into my closet, whence (as I afterwards found) they drew up all my goods, and stripped off the quilting; but the chairs, cabinet, and bedstead, being screwed to the floor, were much damaged by the ignorance of the seamen, who tore them up by force. Then, they knocked off some of the boards for the use of the ship, and, when they had got all they had a mind for, let the hull drop into the sea, which, by reason of many breaches made in the bottom and sides, sunk to rights. And, indeed, I was glad not to have been a spectator of the havock they made, because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former passages into my mind, which I would rather have forgot.

I slept some hours, but perpetually disturbed with dreams of the place I had left, and the dangers I had escaped. However, upon waking, I found myself much recovered. It was now about eight o'clock at night, and the captain ordered supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too long. He entertained me with great kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently; and, when we were left alone, desired I would give him a relation of my travels, and by what accident I came to be set adrift in that monstrous wooden chest. He said, That about twelve o'clock at noon, as he was looking through his glass, he spied it at a distance, and thought it was a sail, which he had a mind to make, being not much out of his course, in hopes of buying some biscuit, his own beginning to fall short. That, upon coming nearer, and finding his error, he sent out his long-boat to discover what it was; that his men came back in a fright, swearing they had seen a swimming house. That he laughed at their folly, and went himself in the boat, ordering his men to take a strong cable along with them. That the weather being calm, he rowed round me several times, observed my windows, and wire lattices that defended them. That he discovered two staples upon one side, which was all of boards, without any passage for light. He then commanded his men to row up to that side, and fastening a cable to one of the staples, ordered them to tow my chest, as they called it, toward the ship. When it was there, he gave directions to fasten another cable to the ring fixed in the cover, and to raise up my chest with pulleys, which all the sailors were not able to do above two or three feet. He said, they saw my stick and handkerchief thrust out of the hole, and concluded that some unhappy man must be shut up in the cavity. I asked, Whether he or the crew had seen any

prodigious birds in the air, about the time he first discovered me? To which he answered, That discoursing this matter with the sailors while I was asleep, one of them said, he had observed three eagles flying towards the north, but remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual size. Which I suppose must be imputed to the great height they were at; and he could not guess the reason of my question. I then asked the captain, How far he reckoned we might be from land? He said, By the best computation he could make, we were at least a hundred leagues. I assured him, That he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the country whence I came above two hours before I dropped into the sea. Whereupon, he began again to think that my brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a hint, and advised me to go to bed in a cabin he had provided. I assured him, I was well refreshed with his good entertainment and company, and as much in my senses as ever I was in my life. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely, Whether I were not troubled in my mind by the consciousness of some enormous crime, for which I was punished, at the command of some prince, by exposing me in that chest; as great criminals, in other countries, have been forced to sea in a leaky vessel, without provisions: for, although he should be sorry to have taken so ill a man into his ship, yet, he would engage his word to set me safe ashore, in the first port where he arrived. He added, That his suspicions were much increased, by some very absurd speeches I had delivered at first to his sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my closet or chest, as well as by my odd looks and behaviour, while I was at supper.

I begged his patience to hear me tell my story, which I faithfully did, from the last time I left England, to the moment he first discovered me. And, as truth always forces its way into rational minds, so this honest worthy gentleman, who had some tincture of learning, and very good sense, was immediately convinced of my candour and veracity. But, further to confirm all I had said, I entreated him to give order that my cabinet should be brought, of which I had the key in my pocket; for he had already informed me how the seamen disposed of my closet. I opened it in his own presence, and shewed him the small collection of rarities I made in the country from which I had been so strangely delivered. There was the comb I had contrived out of the stumps of the king's beard, and another of the same materials, but fixed into a paring of her majesty's thumb-nail, which served for the back. There was a collection of needles and pins, from a foot to half a yard long; four wasps' stings, like joiners' tacks; some combings of the queen's hair; a gold ring, which one day she made me a present of, in a most obliging manner, taking it from her little finger, and throwing it over my head like a collar. I desired the captain would please to accept this ring in return of his civilities, which he absolutely refused. I showed him a corn that I had cut off, with my own hand, from a maid of honour's toe; it was about the bigness of a Kentish pippin, and grown so hard, that, when I returned to England, I got it hollowed into a cup, and set in silver. Lastly, I desired him to see the breeches I had then on, which were made of a mouse's skin.

I could force nothing on him but a footman's tooth, which I observed him to examine with great curiosity, and found he had a fancy for it. He received it with abundance of thanks, more than such a trifle could deserve. It was drawn by an unskilful surgeon, in a mistake, from one of Glumdalclitch's men, who was afflicted with the tooth-ach, but it was as sound as any in his head. I got it cleaned, and put into my cabinet. It was about a foot long, and four inches in diameter.'

The captain was very well satisfied with this plain relation I had given him, and said, He hoped, when we returned to England, I would oblige the world by putting it on paper and making it public. My answer was, That I thought we were overstocked with books of travels: that nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary; wherein I doubted some authors less consulted truth than their own vanity, or interest, or the diversion of ignorant readers: that my story could contain little beside common events, without those ornamental descriptions of strange plants, trees, birds, and other animals; or of the barbarous customs and idolatry of savage people, with which most writers abound. However, I thanked him for his good opinion, and promised to take the matter into my thoughts.

He said, He wondered at one thing very much, which was, to hear me speak so loud; asking me, Whether the king or queen of that country were thick of hearing? I told him, It was what I had been used to for above two years past, and that I admired as much at the voices of him and his men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But, when I spoke in that country, it was like a man talking in the streets to another looking out from the top of a steeple, unless when I was placed on a table, or held in any person's hand. I told him, I had likewise observed another thing, that, when I first got into the ship, and the

sailors stood all about me, I thought they were the most contemptible little creatures I had ever beheld. For indeed, while I was in that prince's country, I could never endure to look in a glass after mine eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious objects, because the comparison gave me so despicable a conceit of myself. The captain said, That, while we were at supper, he observed me to look at every thing with a sort of wonder, and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some disorder in my brain. I answered, It was very true: and I wondered how I could forbear, when I saw his dishes of the size of a silver three-pence, a leg of pork hardly a mouthful, a cup not so big as a nut-shell; and so I went on, describing the rest of his household-stuff and provisions, after the same manner. For, although the queen had ordered a little equipage of all things necessary for me, while I was in her service, yet my ideas were wholly taken up with what I saw on every side of me, and I winked at my own littleness, as people do at their own faults. The captain understood my raillery very well, and merrily replied with the old English proverb, That he doubted mine eyes were bigger than my belly, for he did not observe my stomach so good, although I had fasted all day; and, continuing in his mirth, protested, He would have gladly given a hundred pounds, to have seen my closet in the eagle's bill, and afterwards in its fall from so great a height into the sea; which would certainly have been a most astonishing object, worthy to have the description of it transmitted to future ages: and the comparison of Phaeton was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the conceit.

The captain, having been at Tonquin, was, in his return to England, driven north-eastward to the latitude of 44 degrees, and longitude of 143. But meeting a trade-wind two days after I came on board him, we sailed southward a long time, and coasting New-Holland, kept our course west-south-west, and then south-south-west, till we doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Our voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the reader with a journal of it. The captain called in at one or two ports, and sent in his long-boat for provisions and fresh water; but I never went out of the ship till we came into the Downs, which was on the third day of June, 1706, about nine months after my escape. I offered to leave my goods in security for payment of my freight; but the captain protested he would not receive one farthing. We took a kind leave of each other, and I made him promise he would come to see me at my house in Redriff. I hired a horse and guide for five shillings, which I borrowed of the captain.

As I was on the road, observing the littleness of the houses, the trees, the cattle, and the people, I began to think myself in Lilliput. I was afraid of trampling on every traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them stand out of the way, so that I had like to have gotten one or two broken heads for my impertinence.

When I came to my own house, for which I was forced to inquire, one of the servants opening the door, I bent down to go in, (like a goose under a grate) for fear of striking my head. My wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to reach my mouth. My daughter kneeled to ask my blessing, but I could not see her till she arose, having been so long used to stand with my head and eyes erect to above sixty feet; and then I went to take her up with one hand by the waist. I looked down upon the servants, and one or two friends who were in the house, as if they had been pigmies and I a giant. I told my wife, she had been too thrifty, for I found she had starved herself and her daughter to nothing. In short, I behaved myself so unaccountably, that they were all of the captain's opinion when he first saw me, and concluded I had lost my wits. This I mention as an instance of the great power of habit and prejudice.

In a little time, I and my family and friends came to a right understanding; but my wife protested, I should never go to sea any more, although my evil destiny so ordered, that she had not power to hinder me, as the reader may know hereafter. In the mean time, I here conclude the second part of my unfortunate voyages.

# PART III.

# A VOYAGE TO LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG, GLUBBDUBDRIB, AND JAPAN.

## CHAP. I.

*The Author sets out on his Third Voyage. Is taken by Pirates. The Malice of a Dutchman. His Arrival at an Island. He is received into Laputa.*

I HAD not been at home above ten days, when Captain William Robinson, a Cornish man, commander of the Hopewell, a stout ship of three hundred tons, came to my house. I had formerly been surgeon of another ship, where he was master and a fourth part owner, in a voyage to the Levant. He had always treated me more like a brother than an inferior officer; and, hearing of my arrival, made me a visit, as I apprehended, only out of friendship, for nothing passed more than what is usual after long absences. But, repeating his visits often, expressing his joy to find me in good health, asking, Whether I were now settled for life? adding, That he intended a voyage to the East Indies in two months; at last he plainly invited me, though with some apologies, to be surgeon of the ship; that I should have another surgeon under me, beside our two mates; that my salary should be double to the usual pay; and that, having experienced my knowledge in sea affairs, to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any engagement to follow my advice, as much as if I had shared in the command.

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a man, that I could not reject his proposal; the thirst I had of seeing the world, notwithstanding my past misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only difficulty that remained, was to persuade my wife, whose consent, however, I at last obtained, by the prospect of advantage she proposed to her children.

We set out on the 5th day of August, 1706, and arrived at Fort St George the 11th of April, 1707. We staid there three weeks to refresh our crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to Tonquin, where the captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in several months. Therefore, in hopes to defray some of the charges he must be at, he bought a sloop, loaded it with several sorts of goods, wherewith the Tonquinese usually trade to the neighbouring islands, and putting fourteen men on board, whereof three were of the country, he appointed me master of the sloop, and gave me power to traffic, while he transacted his affairs at Tonquin.

We had not sailed above three days, when a great storm arising, we were driven five days to the north-north-east, and then to the east; after which we had fair weather, but still with a pretty strong gale from the west. Upon the tenth day we were chased by two pirates, who soon overtook us; for my sloop was so deep laden, that she sailed very slow, neither were we in a condition to defend ourselves.

We were boarded about the same time by both the pirates, who entered furiously at the head of their men; but, finding us all prostrate upon our faces, (for so I gave order) they pinioned us with strong ropes, and, setting a guard upon us, went to search the sloop.

I observed among them, a Dutchman, who seemed to be of some authority, though he was not commander of either ship. He knew us by our countenances to be Englishmen, and, jabbering to us in his own language, swore we should be tied back to back, and thrown

into the sea. I spoke Dutch tolerably well; I told him who we were, and begged him, in consideration of our being Christians and Protestants, of neighbouring countries in strict alliance, that he would move the captains to take some pity on us. This inflamed his rage; he repeated his threatenings, and, turning to his companions, spoke with great vehemence in the Japanese language, as I suppose, often using the word *Christianos*.

The largest of the two pirate ships was commanded by a Japanese captain, who spoke a little Dutch, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and, after several questions, which I answered in great humility, he said, We should not die. I made the captain a very low bow, and then, turning to the Dutchman, said, I was sorry to find more mercy in a Heathen than in a brother Christian. But I had soon reason to repent those foolish words; for that malicious reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to persuade both the captains that I might be thrown into the sea, (which they would not yield to, after the promise made me that I should not die) however prevailed so far, as to have a punishment inflicted on me, worse, in all human appearance, than death itself. My men were sent by an equal division into both the pirate ships, and my sloop new manned. As to myself, it was determined that I should be set adrift in a small canoe, with paddles and a sail, and four days' provisions; which last the Japanese captain was so kind to double out of his own stores, and would permit no man to search me. I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman, standing upon the deck, loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford.

About an hour before we saw the pirates, I had taken an observation, and found we were in the latitude of 46 N. and longitude of 183. When I was at some distance from the pirates, I discovered, by my pocket-glass, several islands to the south-east. I set up my sail, the wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those islands, which I made a shift to do in about three hours. It was all rocky: however, I got many birds' eggs; and, striking fire, I kindled some heath and dry sea-weed, by which I roasted my eggs. I eat no other supper, being resolved to spare my provisions as much as I could. I passed the night under the shelter of a rock, strewing some heath under me, and slept pretty well.

The next day I sailed to another island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using a sail, and sometimes my paddles. But, not to trouble the reader with a particular account of my distresses, let it suffice, that on the fifth day I arrived at the last island in my sight, which lay south-south-east to the former.

This island was at a greater distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five hours. I encompassed it almost round, before I could find a convenient place to land in; which was a small creek, about three times the wideness of my canoe. I found the island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with tufts of grass, and sweet-smelling herbs. I took out my small provisions, and, after having refreshed myself I secured the remainder in a cave, whereof there were great numbers; I gathered plenty of eggs upon the rocks, and got a quantity of dry sea-weed and parched grass, which I designed to kindle the next day, and roast my eggs as well as I could; for I had about me my flint, steel, match, and burning-glass. I lay all night in the cave where I had lodged my provisions. My bed was the same dry grass and sea-weed which I intended for fuel. I slept very little, for the disquiets of my mind prevailed over my weariness, and kept me awake. I considered how impossible it was to preserve my life in so desolate a place, and how miserable my end must be. Yet found myself so listless and desponding, that I had not the heart to rise: and, before I could get spirits enough to creep out of my cave, the day was far advanced. I walked a while among the rocks: the sky was perfectly clear, and the sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my face from it; when, all on a sudden, it became obscure, as I thought in a manner very different from what happens by the interposition of a cloud. I turned back, and perceived a vast opaque body between me and the sun, moving forwards towards the island: it seemed to be about two miles high, and hid the sun six or seven minutes, but I did not observe the air to be much colder, or the sky more darkened, than if I had stood under the shade of a mountain. As it approached nearer over the place where I was, it appeared to be a firm substance, the bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright, from the reflection of the sea below. I stood upon a height about two hundred yards from the shore, and saw this vast body descending almost to a parallel with me, at less than an English mile distance. I took out my pocket perspective, and could plainly discover numbers of people moving up and down the sides of it, which appeared to be sloping: but what those people were doing, I was not able to distinguish.

The natural love of life gave me some inward motion of joy, and I was ready to entertain a hope, that this adventure might, some way or other, help to deliver me from the de-

solate place and condition I was in. But, at the same time, the reader can hardly conceive my astonishment, to behold an island in the air, inhabited by men, who were able (as it should seem) to rise or sink, or put it into progressive motion, as they pleased. But not being at that time in a disposition to philosophise upon this phenomenon, I rather chose to observe what course the island would take, because it seemed for a while to stand still. Yet soon after, it advanced nearer, and I could see the sides of it encompassed with several gradations of galleries and stairs, at certain intervals, to descend from one to the other. In the lowest gallery, I beheld some people fishing with long angling rods, and others looking on. I waved my cap, (for my hat was long since worn out) and my handkerchief towards the island; and upon its nearer approach, I called and shouted with the utmost strength of my voice; and then looking circumspectly, I beheld a crowd gather to that side which was most in my view. I found, by their pointing toward me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting. But I could see four or five men, running in great haste up the stairs, to the top of the island, who then disappeared. I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for orders, to some person in authority, upon this occasion.

The number of people increased, and in less than half an hour, the island was moved and raised in such a manner, that the lowest gallery appeared in a parallel of less than a hundred yards distance from the height where I stood. I then put myself in the most supplicating postures, and spoke in the humblest accent, but received no answer. Those who stood nearest over against me seemed to be persons of distinction, as I supposed by their habit. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length, one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth dialect, not unlike in sound to the Italian; and, therefore, I returned an answer in that language, hoping, at least, that the cadence might be more agreeable to his ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the people saw the distress I was in.

They made signs for me to come down from the rock, and go towards the shore, which I accordingly did; and the flying island being raised to a convenient height, the verge directly over me, a chain was let down from the lowest gallery, with a seat fastened to the bottom, to which I fixed myself, and was drawn up by pulleys.

## CHAP. II.

*The Humours and Dispositions of the Laputians described. An account of their Learning. Of the King and his Court. The Author's Reception there. The Inhabitants subject to Fear and Disquietudes. An Account of the Women.*

At my alighting, I was surrounded with a crowd of people, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better quality. They beheld me with all the marks and circumstances of wonder; neither, indeed, was I much in their debt, having never till then seen a race of mortals so singular in their shapes, habits, and countenances. Their heads were all inclined either to the right or the left; one of their eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the zenith. Their outward garments were adorned with the figures of suns, moons, and stars; interwoven with those of fiddles, flutes, harps, trumpets, guitars, harpsichords, and many other instruments of music, unknown to us in Europe. I observed, here and there, many in the habit of servants, with a blown bladder, fastened like a flail to the end of a stick, which they carried in their hands. In each bladder was a small quantity of dried peas, or little pebbles, as I was afterwards informed. With these bladders, they now and then flapped the mouths and ears of those who stood near them, of which practice I could not then conceive the meaning. It seems the minds of these people are so taken up with intense speculations, that they neither can speak, nor attend to the discourses of others, without being roused by some external action upon the organs of speech and hearing; for which reason, those persons who are able to afford it, always keep a flapper, (the original is *climenole*,) in their family, as one of their domestics; nor ever walk abroad, or make visits, without him. And the business of this officer is, when two, three, or more persons are in company, gently to strike with his bladder the mouth of him who is to speak, and the right ear of him or them to whom the speaker addresses himself. This flapper is likewise employed diligently to attend his master in his walks, and upon occasion to give him a soft slap on his eyes; because he is always so wrapped up in cogitation, that he is in manifest danger of falling down every precipice, and bouncing his head against every post; and in the streets, of justling others, or being justled himself into the kennel.

It was necessary to give the reader this information, without which he would be at the same loss with me to understand the proceed-

ings of these people, as they conducted me up the stairs to the top of the island, and from thence to the royal palace. While we were ascending, they forgot several times what they were about, and left me to myself, till their memories were again roused by their flappers; for they appeared altogether unmoved by the sight of my foreign habit and countenance, and by the shouts of the vulgar, whose thoughts and minds were more disengaged.

At last we entered the palace, and proceeded into the chamber of presence, where I saw the king seated on his throne, attended on each side by persons of prime quality. Before the throne, was a large table filled with globes and spheres, and mathematical instruments of all kinds. His majesty took not the least notice of us, although our entrance was not without sufficient noise, by the concourse of all persons belonging to the court. But he was then deep in a problem; and we attended at least an hour before we could solve it. There stood by him, on each side, a young page with flaps in their hands, and when they saw he was at leisure, one of them gently struck his mouth, and the other his right ear; at which he startled like one awaked on the sudden, and looking towards me and the company I was in, recollected the occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before. He spoke some words, whereupon immediately a young man with a flap came up to my side, and flapped me gently on the right ear; but I made signs, as well as I could, that I had no occasion for such an instrument; which, as I afterwards found, gave his majesty, and the whole court, a very mean opinion of my understanding. The king, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several questions, and I addressed myself to him in all the languages I had. When it was found I could neither understand nor be understood, I was conducted by his order to an apartment in his palace, (this prince being distinguished above all his predecessors for his hospitality to strangers,) where two servants were appointed to attend me. My dinner was brought, and four persons of quality, whom I remembered to have seen very near the king's person, did me the honour to dine with me. We had two courses, of three dishes each. In the first course, there was a shoulder of mutton cut into an equilateral triangle, a piece of beef into a rhomboides, and a pudding into a cycloid. The second course was two ducks trussed up in the form of fiddles; sausages and puddings, resembling flutes and hautboys, and a breast of veal in the shape of a harp. The servants cut our bread into cones, cylinders, parallelograms, and several other mathematical figures.

While we were at dinner, I made bold to ask the names of several things in their language, and those noble persons, by the assistance of their flappers, delighted to give me answers, hoping to raise my admiration of their great abilities, if I could be brought to converse with them. I was soon able to call for bread and drink, or whatever else I wanted.

After dinner my company withdrew, and a person was sent to me by the king's order, attended by a flapper. He brought with him pen, ink, and paper, and three or four books, giving me to understand by signs, that he was sent to teach me the language. We sat together four hours, in which time I wrote down a great number of words in columns, with the translations over-against them; I likewise made a shift to learn several short sentences. For my tutor would order one of my servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a bow, to sit, or to stand, or walk, and the like. Then I took down the sentence in writing. He showed me also, in one of his books, the figures of the sun, moon, and stars, the zodiac, the tropics, and polar circles, together with the denominations of many planes and solids. He gave me the names and descriptions of all the musical instruments, and the general terms of art in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my words, with their interpretation, in alphabetical order. And thus, in a few days, by the help of a very faithful memory, I got some insight into their language.

The word, which I interpret the flying or floating island, is in the original *Laputa*, whereof I could never learn the true etymology. *Lap*, in the old obsolete language, signifies high; and *untuh*, a governor; from which, they say, by corruption, was derived *Laputa*, from *Lapuntah*. But I do not approve of this derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I venture to offer to the learned among them, a conjecture of my own, that Laputa was *quasi lap outed*; *lap*, signifying properly, the dancing of the sun-beams in the sea, and *outed*, a wing; which, however, I shall not obtrude, but submit to the judicious reader.

Those to whom the king had intrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a tailor to come next morning, and take measure for a suit of clothes. This operator did his office after a different manner from those of his trade in Europe. He first took my altitude by a quadrant, and then, with rule and compasses, described the dimensions and outline of my whole body, all which he entered upon paper; and, in six days, brought my clothes very ill made, and quite out of shape, by happening to mistake a figure in the calculation.

But my comfort was, that I observed such accidents very frequent, and little regarded.

During my confinement for want of clothes, and by an indisposition that held me some days longer, I much enlarged my dictionary; and when I went next to court, was able to understand many things the king spoke, and to return him some kind of answers. His majesty had given orders, that the island should move north-east and by east, to the vertical point over Lagado, the metropolis of the whole kingdom below, upon the firm earth. It was about ninety leagues distant, and our voyage lasted four days and a half. I was not in the least sensible of the progressive motion made in the air by the island. On the second morning, about eleven o'clock, the king himself in person, attended by his nobility, courtiers, and officers, having prepared all their musical instruments, played on them for three hours without intermission, so that I was quite stunned with the noise; neither could I possibly guess the meaning, till my tutor informed me. He said, That the people of their island had their ears always adapted to hear the music of the spheres, which always played at certain periods, and the court was now prepared to bear their part, in whatever instrument they most excelled.

In our journey towards Lagado, the capital city, his majesty ordered that the island should stop over certain towns and villages, from whence he might receive the petitions of his subjects. And, to this purpose, several packthreads were let down, with small weights at the bottom. On these packthreads the people strung their petitions, which mounted up directly, like the scraps of paper fastened by school-boys at the end of the string that holds their kite. Sometimes we received wine and victuals from below, which were drawn up by pulleys.

The knowledge I had in mathematics gave me great assistance in acquiring their phraseology, which depended much upon that science, and music; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their ideas are perpetually conversant in lines and figures. If they would, for example, praise the beauty of a woman, or any other animal, they describe it by rhombs, circles, parallelograms, ellipses, and other geometrical terms, or by words of art drawn from music, needless here to repeat. I observed, in the king's kitchen, all sorts of mathematical and musical instruments, after the figures of which they cut up the joints that were served to his majesty's table.

Their houses are very ill built, the walls bevil, without one right angle in any apartment; and this defect arises from the contempt they bear to practical geometry, which they despise as vulgar and mechanic; those instructions they give being too refined for the intellects of their workmen, which occasions perpetual mistakes. And although they are dexterous enough upon a piece of paper, in the management of the rule, the pencil, and the divider, yet, in the common actions and behaviour of life, I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy people, nor so slow and perplexed in their conceptions upon all other subjects, except those of mathematics and music. They are very bad reasoners, and vehemently given to opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right opinion, which is seldom their case. Imagination, fancy, and invention, they are wholly strangers to, nor have any words in their language by which those ideas can be expressed; the whole compass of their thoughts and mind being shut up within the two forementioned sciences.

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the astronomical part, have great faith in judicial astrology, although they are ashamed to own it publicly. But what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the strong disposition I observed in them towards news and politics, perpetually inquiring into public affairs, giving their judgments in matters of state, and passionately disputing every inch of a party opinion. I have indeed observed the same disposition among most of the mathematicians I have known in Europe, although I could never discover the least analogy between the two sciences; unless those people suppose, that because the smallest circle has as many degrees as the largest, therefore the regulation and management of the world require no more abilities, than the handling and turning of a globe: but I rather take this quality to spring from a very common infirmity of human nature, inclining us to be most curious and conceited in matters where we have least concern, and for which we are least adapted by study or nature.

These people are under continual disquietudes, never enjoying a minute's peace of mind; and their disturbances proceed from causes which very little affect the rest of mortals. Their apprehensions arise from several changes they dread in the celestial bodies. For instance, that the earth, by the continual approaches of the sun towards it, must, in course of time, be absorbed, or swallowed up. That the face of the sun, will, by degrees, be incrusted with its own effluvia, and give no more light to the world. That the earth very narrowly escaped a brush from the tail of the last comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to ashes; and that the next, which they have calculated for one-and-thirty years hence, will probably destroy us. For if, in

its perihelion, it should approach within a certain degree of the sun, (as by their calculations they have reason to dread) it will receive a degree of heat, ten thousand times more intense than that of red-hot glowing iron; and, in its absence from the sun, carry a blazing tail, ten hundred thousand and fourteen miles long; through which, if the earth should pass at the distance of one hundred thousand miles from the nucleus, or main body of the comet, it must, in its passage, be set on fire, and reduced to ashes. That the sun, daily spending its rays, without any nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated; which must be attended with the destruction of this earth, and of all the planets that receive their light from it.

They are so perpetually alarmed with the apprehensions of these, and the like impending dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their beds, nor have any relish for the common pleasures and amusements of life. When they meet an acquaintance in the morning, the first question is about the sun's health, how he looked at his setting and rising, and what hopes they have to avoid the stroke of the approaching comet. This conversation they are apt to run into with the same temper that boys discover in delighting to hear terrible stories of spirits and hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to bed for fear.

The women of the island have abundance of vivacity; they contemn their husbands, and are exceedingly fond of strangers, whereof there is always a considerable number from the continent below, attending at court, either upon affairs of the several towns and corporations, or their own particular occasions; but are much despised, because they want the same endowments. Among these, the ladies choose their gallants; but the vexation is, that they act with too much ease and security; for the husband is always so rapt in speculation, that the mistress and lover may proceed to the greatest familiarities before his face, if he be but provided with paper and implements, and without his flapper at his side.

The wives and daughters lament their confinement to the island, although I think it the most delicious spot of ground in the world; and although they live here in the greatest plenty and magnificence, and are allowed to do whatever they please, they long to see the world, and take the diversions of the metropolis, which they are not allowed to do without a particular license from the king; and this is not easy to be obtained, because the people of quality have found, by frequent experience, how hard it is to persuade their women to return from below. I was told, that a great court lady, who had several children,—is married to the prime minister, the richest subject in the kingdom, a very graceful person, extremely fond of her, and lives in the finest palace of the island,—went down to Lagado on the pretence of health, there hid herself for several months, till the king sent a warrant to search for her; and she was found in an obscure eating-house, all in rags, having pawned her clothes to maintain an old deformed footman, who beat her every day, and in whose company she was taken, much against her will. And, although her husband received her with all possible kindness, and without the least reproach, she soon after contrived to steal down again with all her jewels, to the same gallant, and has not been heard of since.

This may, perhaps, pass with the reader rather for an European or English story, than for one of a country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the caprices of womenkind are not limited by any climate or nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined.

In about a month's time, I had made a tolerable proficiency in their language, and was able to answer most of the king's questions, when I had the honour to attend him. His majesty discovered not the least curiosity to inquire into the laws, government, history, religion, or manners of the countries where I had been; but confined his questions to the state of mathematics, and received the account I gave him with great contempt and indifference, though often roused by his flapper on each side.

## CHAP. III.

*A Phenomenon solved by modern Philosophy and Astronomy. The Laputians' great Improvements in the latter. The King's Method of suppressing Insurrections.*

I DESIRED leave of this prince to see the curiosities of the island, which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my tutor to attend me. I chiefly wanted to know, to what cause in art or in nature it owed its several motions, whereof I will now give a philosophical account to the reader.

The Flying, or Floating Island, is exactly circular, its diameter 7837 yards, or about four miles and a half, and consequently contains ten thousand acres. It is three hundred yards thick. The bottom, or under-surface, which appears to those who view it below, is one even regular plate of adamant, shooting up to the height of about two hundred yards

Above it lie the several minerals, in their usual order, and over all is a coat of rich mould, ten or twelve feet deep. The declivity of the upper-surface, from the circumference to the centre, is the natural cause why all the dews and rains, which fall upon the island, are conveyed in small rivulets towards the middle, where they are emptied into four large basins, each of about half a mile in circuit, and two hundred yards distant from the centre. From these basins the water is continually exhaled by the sun in the day-time, which effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the power of the monarch to raise the island above the region of clouds and vapours, he can prevent the falling of dews and rain whenever he pleases. For the highest clouds cannot rise above two miles, as naturalists agree, at least they were never known to do so in that country.

At the centre of the island there is a chasm, about fifty yards in diameter, whence the astronomers descend into a large dome, which is therefore called *flandona gagnole*, or the astronomer's cave, situated at the depth of a hundred yards beneath the upper-surface of the adamant. In this cave are twenty lamps continually burning, which, from the reflection of the adamant, cast a strong light into every part. The place is stored with great variety of sextants, quadrants, telescopes, astrolabes, and other astronomical instruments. But the greatest curiosity, upon which the fate of the island depends, is a loadstone of a prodigious size, in shape resembling a weaver's shuttle. It is in length six yards, and in the thickest part at least three yards over. This magnet is sustained by a very strong axle of adamant passing through its middle, upon which it plays, and is poised so exactly, that the weakest hand can turn it. It is hooped round with a hollow cylinder of adamant, four feet deep, as many thick, and twelve yards in diameter, placed horizontally, and supported by eight adamantine feet, each six yards high. In the middle of the concave side, there is a groove twelve inches deep, in which the extremities of the axle are lodged, and turned round as there is occasion.

The stone cannot be moved from its place by any force, because the hoop and its feet are one continued piece with that body of adamant which constitutes the bottom of the island.

By means of this loadstone, the island is made to rise and fall, and move from one place to another. For, with respect to that part of the earth over which the monarch presides, the stone is endued at one of its sides with an attractive power, and at the other with a repulsive. Upon placing the magnet erect, with its attracting end towards the earth, the island descends; but, when the repelling extremity points downwards, the island mounts directly upwards. When the position of the stone is oblique, the motion of the island is so too; for, in this magnet, the forces always act in lines parallel to its direction.

By this oblique motion, the island is conveyed to different parts of the monarch's dominions. To explain the manner of its progress, let *A B* represent a line drawn cross the dominions of Balnibarbi, let the line *c d* represent the loadstone, of which let *d* be the repelling end, and *c* the attracting end, the island being over *C*: let the stone be placed in position *c d*, with its repelling end downwards; then the island will be driven upwards obliquely towards *D*. When it is arrived at *D*, let the stone be turned upon its axle, till its attracting end points towards *E*, and then the island will be carried obliquely towards *E*; where, if the stone be again turned upon its axle, till it stands in the position *E F*, with its repelling point downwards, the island will rise obliquely towards *F*, where, by directing the attracting end towards *G*, the island may be carried to *G*, and from *G* to *H*, by turning the stone, so as to make its repelling extremity point directly downward. And thus, by changing the situation of the stone, as often as there is occasion, the island is made to rise and fall by turns in an oblique direction, and by those alternate risings and fallings, (the obliquity being not considerable) is conveyed from one part of the dominions to the other.

But it must be observed, that this island cannot move beyond the extent of the dominions below, nor can it rise above the height of four miles. For which, the astronomers (who have written large systems concerning the stone) assign the following reason: that the magnetic virtue does not extend beyond the distance of four miles, and that the mineral, which acts upon the stone in the bowels of the earth, and in the sea about six leagues distant from the shore, is not diffused through the whole globe, but terminated with the limits of the king's dominions; and it was easy, from the great advantage of such a superior situation, for a prince to bring under his obedience whatever country lay within the attraction of that magnet.

When the stone is put parallel to the plane of the horizon, the island stands still; for, in that case, the extremities of it being at equal distance from the earth, act with equal force, the one in drawing downwards, the other in pushing upwards, and consequently no motion can ensue.

This loadstone is under the care of certain astronomers, who, from time to time, give it such positions as the monarch directs. They

spend the greatest part of their lives in observing the celestial bodies, which they do by the assistance of glasses, far excelling ours in goodness. For, although their largest telescopes do not exceed three feet, they magnify much more than those of a hundred with us, and show the stars with greater clearness. This advantage has enabled them to extend their discoveries much farther than our astronomers in Europe: for they have made a catalogue of ten thousand fixed stars, whereas the largest of ours do not contain above one-third part of that number. They have likewise discovered two lesser stars, or satellites, which revolve about Mars; whereof the innermost is distant from the centre of the primary planet exactly three of his diameters, and the outermost, five; the former revolves in the space of ten hours, and the latter in twenty-one and a half; so that the squares of their periodical times are very near in the same proportion with the cubes of their distance, from the centre of Mars; which evidently shows them to be governed by the same law of gravitation that influences the other heavenly bodies.

They have observed ninety-three different comets, and settled their periods with great exactness. If this be true, (and they affirm it with great confidence) it is much to be wished that their observations were made public, whereby the theory of comets, which at present is very lame and defective, might be brought to the same perfection with other parts of astronomy.

The king would be the most absolute prince in the universe, if he could but prevail on a ministry to join with him; but these having their estates below on the continent, and considering that the office of a favourite has a very uncertain tenure, would never consent to the enslaving of their country.

If any town should engage in rebellion or mutiny, fall into violent factions, or refuse to pay the usual tribute, the king has two methods of reducing them to obedience. The first, and the mildest course is, by keeping the island hovering over such a town, and the lands about it, whereby he can deprive them of the benefit of the sun and the rain, and consequently afflict the inhabitants with dearth and diseases. And if the crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great stones, against which they have no defence but by creeping into cellars or caves, while the roofs of their houses are beaten to pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer to raisé insurrections, he proceeds to the last remedy, by letting the island drop directly upon their heads, which makes an universal destruction both of houses and men. However, this is an extremity to which the prince is seldom driven, neither indeed is he willing to put it in execution; nor dare his ministers advise him to an action, which, as it would render them odious to the people, so it would be a great damage to their own estates, which lie all below; for the island is the king's demesne.

But there is still indeed a more weighty reason, why the kings of this country have been always averse from executing so terrible an action, unless upon the utmost necessity. For, if the town intended to be destroyed should have in it any tall rocks, as it generally falls out in the larger cities, a situation probably chosen at first with a view to prevent such a catastrophe; or if it abound in high spires, or pillars of stone, a sudden fall might endanger the bottom or under surface of the island, which, although it consist, as I have said, of one entire adamant two hundred yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a shock, or burst, by approaching too near the fires from the houses below, as the backs both of iron and stone will often do in our chimneys. Of all this the people are well appriaed, and understand how far to carry their obstinacy, where their liberty or property is concerned. And the king, when he is highest provoked, and most determined to press a city to rubbish, orders the island to descend with great gentleness, out of a pretence of tenderness to his people, but indeed for fear of breaking the adamantine bottom; in which case, it is the opinion of all their philosophers, that the loadstone could no longer hold it up, and the whole mass would fall to the ground.

By a fundamental law of this realm, neither the king, nor either of his two elder sons, are permitted to leave the island; nor the queen, till she is past child-bearing.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Author leaves Laputa, is conveyed to Balnibarbi, arrives at the Metropolis. A Description of the Metropolis and the Country adjoining. The Author hospitably received by a great Lord. His Conversation with that Lord.*

Although I cannot say that I was ill treated in this island, yet I must confess I thought myself too much neglected, not without some degree of contempt. For neither prince nor people appeared to be curious in any part of knowledge, except mathematics and music, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that account very little regarded.

On the other side, after having seen all the curiosities of the island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those

people. They were indeed excellent in two sciences, for which I have great esteem, and wherein I am not unversed; but, at the same time, so abstracted and involved in speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable companions. I conversed only with women, tradesmen, flappers, and court-pages, during two months of my abode there; by which at last I rendered myself extremely contemptible; yet these were the only people from whom I could ever receive a reasonable answer.

I had obtained, by hard study, a good degree of knowledge in their language: I was weary of being confined to an island where I received so little countenance, and resolved to leave it with the first opportunity.

There was a great lord at court, nearly related to the king, and for that reason alone, used with respect. He was universally reckoned the most ignorant and stupid person among them. He had performed many eminent services for the crown, had great natural and acquired parts, adorned with integrity and honour; but so ill an ear for music, that his detractors reported he had been often known to beat time in the wrong place; neither could his tutors, without extreme difficulty, teach him to demonstrate the most easy proposition in the mathematics. He was pleased to show me many marks of favour, often did me the honour of a visit, desired to be informed in the affairs of Europe, the laws and customs, the manners and learning of the several countries where I had travelled. He listened to me with great attention, and made very wise observations on all I spoke. He had two flappers attending him for state, but never made use of them, except at court and in visits of ceremony; and would always command them to withdraw when we were alone together.

I entreated this illustrious person to intercede in my behalf with his majesty, for leave to depart, which he accordingly did, as he was pleased to tell me, with regret; for indeed he had made me several offers very advantageous, which however I refused, with expressions of the highest acknowledgment.

On the 16th of February I took leave of his majesty and the court. The king made me a present to the value of about two hundred pounds English, and my protector his kinsman as much more; together with a letter of recommendation to a friend of his in Lagado, the metropolis: the island being then hovering over a mountain about two miles from it, I was let down from the lowest gallery, in the same manner as I had been taken up.

The continent, as far as it is subject to the monarch of the Flying Island, passes under the general name of *Balnibarbi*; and the metropolis, as I said before, is called *Lagado*. I felt some little satisfaction in finding myself on firm ground. I walked to the city without any concern, being clad like one of the natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the person's house to whom I was recommended, presented my letter from his friend the grandee in the island, and was received with much kindness. This great lord, whose name was Munodi, ordered me an apartment in his own house, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable manner.

The next morning after my arrival, he took me in his chariot to see the town, which is about half the bigness of London; but the houses very strangely built, and most of them out of repair. The people in the streets walked fast, looked wild, their eyes fixed, and were generally in rags. We passed through one of the town gates, and went about three miles into the country, where I saw many labourers working with several sorts of tools in the ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any expectation either of corn or grass, although the soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd appearances, both in town and country; and I made bold to desire my conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me, what could be meant by so many busy heads, hands, and faces, both in the streets and the fields, because I did not discover any good effects they produced; but, on the contrary, never knew a soil so unhappily cultivated, houses so ill contrived and so ruinous, or a people whose countenances and habit expressed so much misery and want.

This lord Munodi was a person of the first rank, and had been some years governor of Lagado; but, by a cabal of ministers, was discharged for insufficiency. However, the king treated him with tenderness, as a well-meaning man, but of a low contemptible understanding.

When I gave that free censure of the country and its inhabitants, he made no farther answer than by telling me, that I had not been long enough among them to form a judgment; and that the different nations of the world had different customs; with other common topics to the same purpose. But, when we returned to his palace, he asked me how I liked the building, what absurdities I observed, and what quarrel I had with the dress or looks of his domestics? This he might safely do; because every thing about him was magnificent, regular, and polite. I answered, that his excellency's prudence, quali-

ty, and fortune, had exempted him from those defects, which folly and beggary had produced in others. He said, if I would go with him to his country-house, about twenty miles distant, where his estate lay, there would be more leisure for this kind of conversation. I told his excellency that I was entirely at his disposal; and accordingly we set out next morning.

During our journey, he made me observe the several methods used by farmers in managing their lands; which to me were wholly unaccountable; for, except in some very few places, I could not discover one ear of corn, or blade of grass. But in three hours travelling, the scene was wholly altered; we came into a most beautiful country: farmers' houses, at small distances, neatly built; the fields enclosed, containing vine-yards, corn-grounds, and meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful prospect. His excellency observed my countenance to clear up; he told me with a sigh, that there his estate began, and would continue the same, till we should come to his house. That his countrymen ridiculed and despised him, for managing his affairs no better, and for setting so ill an example to the kingdom; which, however, was followed by very few, such as were old, and wilful, and weak, like himself.

We came at length to the house, which was, indeed, a noble structure, built according to the best rules of ancient architecture. The fountains, gardens, walks, avenues, and groves, were all disposed with exact judgment and taste. I gave due praises to every thing I saw, whereof his excellency took not the least notice till after supper; when, there being no third companion, he told me, with a very melancholy air, that he doubted he must throw down his houses in town and country, to rebuild them after the present mode; destroy all his plantations, and cast others into such a form as modern usage required, and give the same directions to his tenants, unless he would submit to incur the censure of pride, singularity, affectation, ignorance, caprice, and perhaps increase his majesty's displeasure. That the admiration I appeared to be under would cease or diminish, when he had informed me of some particulars which, probably, I never heard of at court; the people there being too much taken up in their own speculations, to have regard to what passed here below.

The sum of his discourse was to this effect: That, about forty years ago, certain persons went up to Laputa, either upon business or diversion, and, after five months continuance, came back with a very little smattering in mathematics, but full of volatile spirits acquired in that airy region. That these persons, upon their return, began to dislike the management of every thing below, and fell into schemes of putting all arts, sciences, languages, and mechanics, upon a new foot. To this end, they procured a royal patent for erecting an academy of projectors in Lagado; and the humour prevailed so strongly among the people, that there is not a town of any consequence in the kingdom without such an academy. In these colleges, the professors contrive new rules and methods of agriculture and building, and new instruments and tools for all trades and manufactures; whereby, as they undertake, one man shall do the work of ten; a palace may be built in a week, of materials so durable as to last for ever without repairing; all the fruits of the earth shall come to maturity at whatever season we think fit to choose, and increase a hundred fold more than they do at present; with innumerable other happy proposals. The only inconvenience is, that none of these projects are yet brought to perfection; and, in the mean time, the whole country lies miserably waste, the houses in ruins, and the people without food or clothes. By all which, instead of being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent upon prosecuting their schemes, driven equally on by hope and despair: that, as for himself, being not of an enterprising spirit, he was content to go on in the old forms, to live in the houses his ancestors had built, and act as they did, in every part of life, without innovation. That some few other persons of quality and gentry had done the same, but were looked on with an eye of contempt and ill-will, as enemies to art, ignorant, and ill commonwealth's men, preferring their own ease and sloth before the general improvement of their country.

His lordship added, That he would not, by any farther particulars, prevent the pleasure I should certainly take in viewing the grand academy, whither he was resolved I should go. He only desired me to observe a ruined building, upon the side of a mountain about three miles distant, of which he gave me this account: That he had a very convenient mill within half a mile of his house, turned by a current from a large river, and sufficient for his own family, as well as a great number of his tenants. That about seven years ago, a club of those projectors came to him with proposals to destroy this mill, and build another on the side of that mountain, on the long ridge whereof a long canal must be cut for a repository of water, to be conveyed up by pipes and engines to supply the mill: because the wind and air upon a height agitated the water, and thereby made it fitter for motion; and because the water, descending down a declivity, would turn the mill with

half the current of a river, whose course is more upon a level. He said, That, being then not very well with the court, and pressed by many of his friends, he complied with the proposal; and, after employing a hundred men for two years, the work miscarried, the projectors went off, laying the blame entirely upon him, railing at him ever since, and putting others upon the same experiment, with equal assurance of success, as well as equal disappointment.

In a few days we came back to town; and his excellency, considering the bad character he had in the academy, would not go with me himself, but recommended me to a friend of his, to bear me company thither. My lord was pleased to represent me as a great admirer of projects, and a person of much curiosity and easy belief; which, indeed, was not without truth; for I had myself been a sort of projector in my younger days.

## CHAP. V.

*The Author permitted to see the Grand Academy of Lagado. The Academy largely described. The Arts wherein the Professors employ themselves.*

This academy is not an entire single building, but a continuation of several houses on both sides of a street, which, growing waste, was purchased and applied to that use.

I was received very kindly by the warden, and went for many days to the academy. Every room has in it one or more projectors; and, I believe, I could not be in fewer than five hundred rooms.

The first man I saw was of a meagre aspect, with sooty hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged, and singed in several places. His clothes, shirt, and skin, were all of the same colour. He had been eight years upon a project for extracting sun-beams out of cucumbers, which were to be put in phials hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw inclement summers. He told me he did not doubt, that, in eight years more, he should be able to supply the governor's gardens with sunshine at a reasonable rate; but he complained that his stock was low, and entreated me to give him something as an encouragement to ingenuity, especially since this had been a very dear season for cucumbers. I made him a small present, for my lord had furnished me with money on purpose, because he knew their practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I went into another chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible stink. My conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a whisper, to give no offence, which would be highly resented; and therefore I durst not so much as stop my nose. The projector of this cell was the most ancient student of the academy: his face and beard were of a pale yellow; his hands and clothes daubed over with filth. When I was presented to him, he gave me a close embrace, a compliment I could well have excused. His employment, from his first coming into the academy, was an operation to reduce human excrement to its original food, by separating the several parts, removing the tincture which it receives from the gall, making the ordure exhale, and scumming off the saliva. He had a weekly allowance from the society of a vessel filled with human ordure, about the bigness of a Bristol barrel.

I saw another at work to calcine ice into gun-powder, who likewise showed me a treatise he had written concerning the malleability of fire, which he intended to publish.

There was a most ingenious architect, who had contrived a new method for building houses, by beginning at the roof, and working downward to the foundation; which he justified to me by the like practice of those two prudent insects, the bee and the spider.

There was a man born blind, who had several apprentices in his own condition; their employment was to mix colours for painters, which their master taught them to distinguish, by feeling and smelling. It was indeed my misfortune to find them at that time not very perfect in their lessons, and the professor himself happened to be generally mistaken. This artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole fraternity.

In another apartment, I was highly pleased with a projector who had found a device of ploughing the ground with hogs, to save the charges of ploughs, cattle, and labour. The method is this: In an acre of ground you bury, at six inches distance, and eight deep, a quantity of acorns, dates, chesnuts, and other mast or vegetables, whereof these animals are fondest; then you drive six hundred or more of them into the field, where, in a few days, they will root up the whole ground in search of their food, and make it fit for sowing, at the same time manuring it with their dung; it is true, upon experiment, they found the charge and trouble very great, and they had little or no crop. However, it is not doubted that this invention may be capable of great improvement.

I went into another room, where the walls and ceiling were all hung round with cobwebs, except a narrow passage for the artist to go in and out. At my entrance, he called aloud to me, not to disturb his webs. He lamented the fatal mistake the world had been

so long in, of using silk-worms, while we had such plenty of domestic insects, who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave, as well as spin. And he proposed farther, That, by employing spiders, the charge of dying silks should be wholly saved; whereof I was fully convinced, when he showed me a vast number of flies most beautifully coloured, wherewith he fed his spiders, assuring us, That the webs would take a tincture from them; and, as he had them of all hues, he hoped to fit every body's fancy, as soon as he could find proper food for the flies, of certain gums, oils, and other glutinous matter, to give a strength and consistence to the threads.

There was an astronomer, who had undertaken to place a sun-dial upon the great weathercock on the town-house, by adjusting the annual and diurnal motions of the earth and sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental turnings of the wind.

I was complaining of a small fit of the colic, upon which my conductor led me into a room where a great physician resided, who was famous for curing that disease, by contrary operations from the same instrument. He had a large pair of bellows, with a long slender muzzle of ivory; this he conveyed eight inches up the anus, and drawing in the wind, he affirmed he could make the guts as lank as a dried bladder. But when the disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the muzzle while the bellows were full of wind, which he discharged into the body of the patient; then withdrew the instrument to replenish it, clapping his thumb strongly against the orifice of the fundament; and this being repeated three or four times, the adventitious wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it (like water put into a pump,) and the patient recovered. I saw him try both experiments upon a dog, but could not discern any effect from the former. After the latter, the animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a discharge as was very offensive to me and my companion. The dog died on the spot, and we left the doctor endeavouring to recover him by the same operation.

I visited many other apartments, but shall not trouble my reader with all the curiosities I observed, being studious of brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something, when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them, "The universal artist." He told us he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life. He had two large rooms full of wonderful curiosities, and fifty men at work. Some were condensing air into a dry tangible substance, by extracting the nitre, and letting the aqueous or fluid particles percolate; others softening marble for pillows and pin-cushions; others petrifying the hoofs of a living horse, to preserve them from foundering. The artist himself was at that time busy upon two great designs; the first, to sow land with chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal virtue to be contained, as he demonstrated by several experiments, which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was, by a certain composition of gums, minerals, and vegetables, outwardly applied, to prevent the growth of wool upon two young lambs; and he hoped, in a reasonable time, to propagate the breed of naked sheep all over the kingdom.

We crossed a walk to the other part of the academy, where, as I have already said, the projectors in speculative learning resided.

The first professor I saw, was in a very large room, with forty pupils about him. After salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a frame, which took up the greatest part of both the length and breadth of the room, he said, Perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a project for improving speculative knowledge, by practical and mechanical operations. But the world would soon be sensible of its usefulness; and, he flattered himself, that a more noble exalted thought never sprang in any other man's head. Every one knew how laborious the usual method is of attaining to arts and sciences; whereas, by his contrivance, the most ignorant person, at a reasonable charge, and with a little bodily labour, might write books in philosophy, poetry, politics, laws, mathematics, and theology, without the least assistance from genius or study. He then led me to the frame, about the sides whereof all his pupils stood in ranks. It was twenty feet square, placed in the middle of the room. The superficies was composed of several bits of wood, about the bigness of a die, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender wires. These bits of wood were covered, on every square, with paper pasted on them; and on these papers were written all the words of their language, in their several moods, tenses, and declensions, but without any order. The professor then desired me to observe, for he was going to set his engine at work. The pupils, at his command, took each of them hold of an iron handle, whereof there were forty fixed round the edges of the frame, and giving them a sudden turn, the whole disposition of the words was entirely changed. He then commanded six-and-thirty of the lads to read the

several lines softly, as they appeared upon the frame; and, where they found three or four words together that might make part of a sentence, they dictated to the four remaining boys, who were scribes. This work was repeated three or four times, and, at every turn, the engine was so contrived, that the words shifted into new places, as the square bits of wood moved upside down.

Six hours a-day the young students were employed in this labour; and the professor showed me several volumes in large folio, already collected, of broken sentences, which he intended to piece together, and, out of those rich materials, to give the world a complete body of all arts and sciences; which, however, might be still improved, and much expedited, if the public would raise a fund for making and employing five hundred such frames in Lagado, and oblige the managers to contribute in common their several collections.

He assured me, That this invention had employed all his thoughts from his youth; that he had emptied the whole vocabulary into his frame, and made the strictest computation of the general proportion there is in books between the numbers of particles, nouns, and verbs, and other parts of speech.

I made my humblest acknowledgment to this illustrious person, for his great communicativeness; and promised, if ever I had the good fortune to return to my native country, that I would do him justice, as the sole inventor of this wonderful machine; the form and contrivance of which I desired leave to delineate on paper, as in the figure here annexed. I told him, although it were the custom of our learned in Europe to steal inventions from each other, who had thereby at least this advantage, that it became a controversy which was the right owner; yet I would take such caution, that he should have the honour entire, without a rival.

We next went to the school of languages, where three professors sat in consultation upon improving that of their own country.

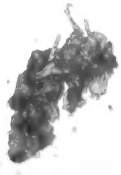
The first project was to shorten discourse, by cutting polysyllables into one, and leaving out verbs and participles, because, in reality, all things imaginable are but nouns.

The other project was a scheme for entirely abolishing all words whatsoever, and this was urged as a great advantage in point of health, as well as brevity. For it is plain, that every word we speak is, in some degree, a diminution of our lungs by corrosion, and, consequently, contributes to the shortening of our lives. An expedient was therefore offered, that, since words are only names for things, it would be more convenient for all men to carry about them such things as were necessary to express a particular business they are to discourse on. And this invention would certainly have taken place, to the great ease, as well as health of the subject, if the women, in conjunction with the vulgar and illiterate, had not threatened to raise a rebellion, unless they might be allowed the liberty to speak with their tongues, after the manner of their forefathers; such constant irreconcileable enemies to science are the common people. However, many of the most learned and wise adhere to the new scheme of expressing themselves by things, which has only this inconvenience attending it, that, if a man's business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be obliged, in proportion, to carry a greater bundle of things upon his back, unless he can afford one or two strong servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of these sages almost sinking under the weight of their packs, like pedlars among us; who, when they met in the street, would lay down their loads, open their sacks, and hold conversation for an hour together, then put up their implements, help each other to resume their burdens, and take their leave.

But for short conversations, a man may carry implements in his pockets, and under his arms, enough to supply him; and in his house, he cannot be at a loss. Therefore the room where company meet who practise this art, is full of all things, ready at hand, requisite to furnish matter for this kind of artificial converse.

Another great advantage proposed by this invention was, that it would serve as an universal language, to be understood in all civilized nations, whose goods and utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their uses might easily be comprehended. And thus ambassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign princes, or ministers of state, to whose tongues they were utter strangers.

I was at the mathematical school, where the master taught his pupils after a method scarce imaginable to us in Europe. The proposition and demonstration were fairly written on a thin wafer, with ink composed of a cephalic tincture. This the student was to swallow upon a fasting stomach, and for three days following eat nothing but bread and water. As the wafer digested, the tincture mounted to his brain, bearing the proposition along with it. But the success has not hitherto been answerable, partly by some error in the *quantum* or composition, and partly by the perverseness of lads, to whom this bolus is so nauseous, that they generally steal aside, and discharge it upwards, before it can operate; neither have they been yet persuaded



to use so long an abstinence as the prescription requires.

## CHAP. VI.

*A further Account of the Academy. The Author proposes some Improvements, which are honourably received.*

In the school of political projectors, I was but ill entertained; the professors appearing, in my judgment, wholly out of their senses; which is a scene that never fails to make me melancholy. These unhappy people were proposing schemes for persuading monarchs to choose favourites upon the score of their wisdom, capacity, and virtue; of teaching ministers to consult the public good; of rewarding merit, great abilities, and eminent services; of instructing princes to know their true interest, by placing it on the same foundation with that of their people; of choosing for employments, persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild impossible chimeras, that never entered before into the heart of man to conceive; and confirmed in me the old observation, That there is nothing so extravagant and irrational, which some philosophers have not maintained for truth.

But, however, I shall so far do justice to this part of the academy, as to acknowledge that all of them were not so visionary. There was a most ingenious doctor, who seemed to be perfectly versed in the whole nature and system of government. This illustrious person had very usefully employed his studies, in finding out effectual remedies for all diseases and corruptions, to which the several kinds of public administration are subject, by the vices or infirmities of those who govern, as well as by the licentiousness of those who are to obey. For instance; whereas all writers and reasoners have agreed, that there is a strict universal resemblance between the natural and the political body; can there be any thing more evident, than that the health of both must be preserved, and the diseases cured by the same prescriptions? It is allowed, that senates and great councils are often troubled with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant humours; with many diseases of the head, and more of the heart; with strong convulsions, with grievous contractions of the nerves and sinews in both hands, but especially the right; with spleen, flatus, vertigoes, and deliriums; with scrofulous tumours, full of fetid purulent matter; with sour frothy ructations; with canine appetites, and crudeness of digestion, beside many others needless to mention. This doctor therefore proposed, That, upon the meeting of the senate, certain physicians should attend at the three first days of their sitting, and at the close of each day's debate feel the pulses of every senator; after which, having maturely considered and consulted upon the nature of the several maladies, and the methods of cure, they should, on the fourth day, return to the senate house, attended by their apothecaries stored with proper medicines; and before the members sat, administer to each of them lenitives, aperitives, abstersives, corrosives, restringents, palliatives, laxatives, cephalalgics, icterics, apophlegmatics, acoustics, as their several cases required; and, according as these medicines should operate, repeat, alter, or omit them, at the next meeting.

This project could not be of any great expence to the public; and might, in my poor opinion, be of much use for the dispatch of business, in those countries where senates have any share in the legislative power; beget unanimity, shorten debates, open a few mouths which are now closed, and close many more which are now open; curb the petulancy of the young, and correct the positiveness of the old; rouse the stupid, and damp the pert.

Again: because it is a general complaint, that the favourites of princes are troubled with short and weak memories; the same doctor proposed, That whoever attended a first minister, after having told his business, with the utmost brevity and in the plainest words, should, at his departure, give the said minister a tweak by the nose, or a kick on the belly, or tread on his corns, or lug him thrice by both ears, or run a pin into his breech, or pinch his arm black and blue, to prevent forgetfulness: and at every levee day, repeat the same operation, till the business were done, or absolutely refused.

He likewise directed, That every senator in the great council of a nation, after he had delivered his opinion, and argued in the defence of it, should be obliged to give his vote directly contrary; because, if that were done, the result would infallibly terminate in the good of the public.

When parties in a state are violent, he offered a wonderful contrivance to reconcile them. The method is this: You take a hundred leaders of each party; you dispose them into couples of such whose heads are nearest of a size; then let two nice operators saw off the occiput of each couple at the same time, in such a manner, that the brain may be equally divided. Let the occiputs, thus cut off, be interchanged, applying each to the head of his opposite party-man. It seems indeed to be a work that requires some exactness, but the professor assured us, That if it were dexterously performed, the cure would be in-

fallible. For he argued thus; That the two half brains being left to debate the matter between themselves within the space of one skull, would soon come to a good understanding, and produce that moderation, as well as regularity of thinking, so much to be wished for in the heads of those who imagine they come into the world only to watch and govern its motion: and as to the difference of brains, in quantity or quality, among those who are directors in faction, the doctor assured us, from his own knowledge, that it was a perfect trifle.

I heard a very warm debate between two professors, about the most commodious and effectual ways and means of raising money, without grieving the subject. The first affirmed, The justest method would be, to lay a certain tax upon vices and folly; and the sum fixed upon every man to be rated, after the fairest manner, by a jury of his neighbours. The second was of an opinion directly contrary; To tax those qualities of body and mind, for which men chiefly value themselves; the rate to be more or less, according to the degrees of excelling: the decision whereof should be left entirely to their own breast. The highest tax was upon men, who are the greatest favourites of the other sex, and the assessments, according to the number and nature of the favours they have received; for which, they are allowed to be their own vouchers. Wit, valour, and politeness, were likewise proposed to be largely taxed, and collected in the same manner, by every person's giving his own word for the quantum of what he possessed. But as to honour, justice, wisdom, and learning, they should not be taxed at all; because they are qualifications of so singular a kind, that no man will either allow them in his neighbour, or value them in himself.

The women were proposed to be taxed according to their beauty and skill in dressing, wherein they had the same privilege with the men, to be determined by their own judgment. But constancy, chastity, good sense, and good nature, were not rated, because they would not bear the charge of collecting.

To keep senators in the interest of the crown, it was proposed that the members should raffle for employments; every man first taking an oath, and giving security, that he would vote for the court, whether he won or not; after which, the losers had, in their turn, the liberty of raffling upon the next vacancy. Thus, hope and expectation would be kept alive; none would complain of broken promises, but impute their disappointments wholly to fortune, whose shoulders are broader and stronger than those of a ministry.

Another professor showed me a large paper of instructions for discovering plots and conspiracies against the government. He advised great statesmen to examine into the diet of all suspected persons; their times of eating; upon which side they lay in bed; with which hand they wiped their posteriors; take a strict view of their excrements, and from the colour, the ordure, the taste, the consistence, the crudeness, or maturity of digestion, form a judgment of their thoughts and designs: because men are never so serious, thoughtful, and intent, as when they are at stool, which he found by experience: for, in such conjunctures, when he used, merely as a trial, to consider which was the best way of murdering the king, his ordure would have a tincture of green; but quite different, when he thought only of raising an insurrection or burning the metropolis.

The whole discourse was written with great acuteness, containing many observations, both curious and useful for politicians; but, as I conceived, not altogether complete. This I ventured to tell the author, and offered, if he pleased, to supply him with some additions. He received my proposition with more compliance than is usual among writers, especially those of the projecting species; professing he would be glad to receive farther information.

I told him, That in the kingdom of Tribnia, by the natives called Langdon, where I had sojourned some time in my travels, the bulk of the people consist in a manner wholly of discoverers, witnesses, informers, accusers, prosecutors, evidences, swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern instruments, all under the colours, the conduct, and the pay of ministers of state, and their deputies. The plots, in that kingdom, are usually the workmanship of those persons, who desire to raise their own characters of profound politicians; to restore new vigour to a crazy administration; to stifle or divert general discontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; and raise or sink the opinion of public credit, as either shall best answer their private advantage. It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected persons shall be accused of a plot; then, effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists, very dexterous in finding out the mysterious meanings of words, syllables, and letters: for instance, they can discover a close-stool, to signify a privy council; a flock of geese, a senate; a lame dog, an invader; the plague, a standing army; a buzzard, a prime minister; the gout, a high priest; a gibbet, a secretary of state; a chamber-pot, a committee of grandees; a sieve, a court lady; a broom, a revolution;

a mouse-trap, an employment; a bottomless pit, a treasury; a sink, a court; a cap and bells, a favourite; a broken reed, a court of justice; an empty tun, a general; a running sore, the administration.

When this method fails, they have two others more effectual, which the learned among them call acrostics and anagrams. First, they can decipher all initial letters into political meanings. Thus, *N*, shall signify a plot; *B*, a regiment of horse; *L*, a fleet at sea: or, secondly, by transposing the letters of the alphabet in any suspected paper, they can lay open the deepest designs of a discontented party. So, for example, if I should say, in a letter to a friend, "Our brother Tom has just got the piles;" a skilful decipherer would discover, that the same letters which compose that sentence, may be analysed into the following words, "Resist, —— a plot is brought home, —— the tour." And this is the anagrammatic method.

The professor made me great acknowledgements for communicating these observations, and promised to make honourable mention of me in his treatise.

I saw nothing in this country that could invite me to a longer continuance, and began to think of returning home to England.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Author leaves Lagado. Arrives at Maldonada. No Ship ready. He takes a short Voyage to Glubbdubdrib. His Reception by the Governor.*

THE continent, of which this kingdom is a part, extends itself, as I have reason to believe, eastward, to that unknown tract of America westward of California; and north, to the Pacific Ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty miles from Lagado; where there is a good port, and much commerce with the great island of Luggnagg, situated to the north-west about 29 degrees north latitude, and 140 longitude. This island of Luggnagg stands south-eastward of Japan, about a hundred leagues distant. There is a strict alliance between the Japanese emperor and the king of Luggnagg, which affords frequent opportunities of sailing from one island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my course this way, in order to my return to Europe. I hired two mules, with a guide, to show me the way, and carry my small baggage. I took leave of my noble protector, who had shown me so much favour, and made me a generous present at my departure.

My journey was without any accident or adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the port of Maldonada, (for so it is called) there was no ship in the harbour bound for Luggnagg, nor likely to be in some time. The town is about as large as Portsmouth. I soon fell into some acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A gentleman of distinction said to me, That since the ships bound for Luggnagg could not be ready in less than a month, it might be no disagreeable amusement for me to take a trip to the little island of Glubbdubdrib, above five leagues off to the south-west. He offered himself and a friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient bark for the voyage.

Glubbdubdrib, as nearly as I can interpret the word, signifies the island of sorcerers or magicians.

It is about one third as large as the Isle of Wight, and extremely fruitful: it is governed by the head of a certain tribe, who are all magicians. This tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in succession is prince or governor. He has a noble palace, and a park of about three thousand acres, surrounded by a wall of hewn stone twenty feet high. In this park are several small enclosures for cattle, corn, and gardening.

The governor and his family are served and attended by domestics of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in necromancy he has a power of calling whom he pleases from the dead, and commanding their service for twenty-four hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same persons up again in less than three months, except upon very extraordinary occasions.

When we arrived at the island, which was about eleven in the morning, one of the gentlemen who accompanied me went to the governor, and desired admittance for a stranger, who came on purpose to have the honour of attending on his highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the gate of the palace between two rows of guards, armed and dressed after a very antick manner, and something in their countenances that made my flesh creep with a horror I cannot express. We passed through several apartments, between servants of the same sort, ranked on each side as before, till we came to the chamber of presence; where, after three profound obeisances, and a few general questions, we were permitted to sit on three stools, near the lowest step of his highness's throne. He understood the language of Balnibarbi, although it were different from that of this island. He desired me to give him some account of my travels; and, to let me see that I should be treated without ceremony, he dismissed all his attendants with

a turn of his finger; at which, to my great astonishment, they vanished in an instant, like visions in a dream when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover myself in some time, till the governor assured me, that I should receive no hurt: and observing my two companions to be under no concern, who had been often entertained in the same manner, I began to take courage, and related to his highness a short history of my several adventures; yet not without some hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the place where I had seen those domestic spectres. I had the honour to dine with the governor, where a new set of ghosts served up the meat, and waited at table. I now observed myself to be less terrified than I had been in the morning. I stayed till sunset, but humbly desired his highness to excuse me for not accepting his invitation of lodging in the palace. My two friends and I lay at a private house in the town adjoining, which is the capital of this little island; and the next morning we returned to pay our duty to the governor, as he was pleased to command us.

After this manner we continued in the island for ten days, most part of every day with the governor, and at night in our lodging. I soon grew so familiarised to the sight of spirits, that, after the third or fourth time, they gave me no emotion at all; or, if I had any apprehensions left, my curiosity prevailed over them. For his highness the governor ordered me to call up whatever persons I would choose to name, and in whatever numbers, among all the dead from the beginning of the world to the present time, and command them to answer any questions I should think fit to ask; with this condition, that my questions must be confined within the compass of the times they lived in. And one thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me the truth, for lying was a talent of no use in the lower world.

I made my humble acknowledgments to his highness for so great a favour. We were in a chamber, from whence there was a fair prospect into the park. And because my first inclination was to be entertained with scenes of pomp and magnificence, I desired to see Alexander the Great at the head of his army, just after the battle of Arbela; which, upon a motion of the governor's finger, immediately appeared in a large field, under the window where we stood. Alexander was called up into the room; it was with great difficulty that I understood his Greek, and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his honour, that he was not poisoned, but died of a bad fever by excessive drinking.

Next, I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who told me, he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp.

I saw Cæsar and Pompey at the head of their troops, just ready to engage. I saw the former in his last great triumph. I desired that the senate of Rome might appear before me in one large chamber, and a modern representative, in counterview, in another. The first seemed to be an assembly of heroes and demi-gods; the other, a knot of pedlars, pickpockets, highwaymen and bullies.

The governor, at my request, gave the sign for Cæsar and Brutus to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound veneration at the sight of Brutus, and could easily discover the most consummate virtue, the greatest intrepidity and firmness of mind, the truest love of his country, and general benevolence for mankind, in every lineament of his countenance. I observed with much pleasure, that these two persons were in good intelligence with each other; and Cæsar freely confessed to me, that the greatest actions of his own life were not equal, by many degrees, to the glory of taking it away. I had the honour to have much conversation with Brutus; and was told, that his ancestor Junius, Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato the younger, Sir Thomas More, and himself, were perpetually together: a sextumvirate, to which all the ages of the world cannot add a seventh.

It would be tedious to trouble the reader with relating what vast numbers of illustrious persons were called up, to gratify that insatiable desire I had, to see the world in every period of antiquity placed before me. I chiefly fed mine eyes with beholding the destroyers of tyrants and usurpers, and the restorers of liberty to oppressed and injured nations. But it is impossible to express the satisfaction I received in my own mind, after such a manner, as to make it a suitable entertainment to the reader.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *A further Account of Glubbdubdrib. Ancient and modern History corrected.*

HAVING a desire to see those ancients who were most renowned for wit and learning, I set apart one day on purpose. I proposed that Homer and Aristotle might appear at the head of all their commentators; but these were so numerous, that some hundreds were forced to attend in the court and outward rooms of the palace. I knew, and could distinguish those two heroes, at first sight, not only from the crowd, but from each other. Homer was the taller and comelier person of the two, walked very erect for one of his age, and his

eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld. Aristotle stooped much, and made use of a staff. His visage was meagre, his hair lank and thin, and his voice hollow. I soon discovered that both of them were perfect strangers to the rest of the company, and had never seen or heard of them before. And I had a whisper from a ghost, who shall be nameless, that these commentators always kept in the most distant quarters from their principals, in the lower world, through a consciousness of shame and guilt, because they had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those authors to posterity. I introduced Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved, for he soon found they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet. But Aristotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him; and he asked them, whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves?

I then desired the governor to call up Descartes and Gassendi, with whom I prevailed to explain their systems to Aristotle. This great philosopher freely acknowledged his own mistakes in natural philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon conjecture, as all men must do; and he found, that Gassendi, who had made the doctrine of Epicurus as palatable as he could, and the vortices of Descartes were equally to be exploded. He predicted the same fate to attraction, whereof the present learned are such zealous assertors. He said, that new systems of nature were but new fashions, which would vary in every age; and even those who pretend to demonstrate them from mathematical principles, would flourish but a short period of time, and be out of vogue when that was determined.

I spent five days in conversing with many others of the ancient learned. I saw most of the first Roman emperors. I prevailed on the governor to call up Eliogabalus's cooks to dress us a dinner, but they could not show us much of their skill, for want of materials. A helot of Agesilaus made us a dish of Spartan broth, but I was not able to get down a second spoonful.

The two gentlemen, who conducted me to the island, were pressed by their private affairs to return in three days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern dead, who had made the greatest figure, for two or three hundred years past, in our own and other countries of Europe; and having been always a great admirer of old illustrious families, I desired the governor would call up a dozen or two of kings, with their ancestors in order, for eight or nine generations. But my disappointment was grievous and unexpected; for, instead of a long train with royal diadems, I saw in one family two fiddlers, three spruce courtiers, and an Italian prelate. In another, a barber, an abbot, and two cardinals. I have too great a veneration for crowned heads, to dwell any longer on so nice a subject. But as to counts, marquisses, dukes, earls, and the like, I was not so scrupulous. And I confess, it was not without some pleasure, that I found myself able to trace the particular features, by which certain families are distinguished, up to their originals. I could plainly discover whence one family derives a long chin; why a second has abounded with knaves for two generations, and fools for two more; why a third happened to be crackbrained, and a fourth to be sharpers; whence it came, what Polydore Virgil says of a certain great house, *Nec vir fortis, nec fœmina casta*; how cruelty, falsehood, and cowardice, grew to be characteristics, by which certain families are distinguished as much as by their coats of arms; who first brought the pox into a noble house, which has lineally descended in scrofulous tumours to their posterity. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an interruption of lineages, by pages, lackeys, valets, coachmen, gamesters, fiddlers, players, captains, and pickpockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern history; for having strictly examined all the persons of greatest name in the courts of princes, for a hundred years past, I found how the world had been misled by prostitute writers, to ascribe the greatest exploits in war, to cowards; the wisest counsel, to fools; sincerity, to flatterers; Roman virtue, to betrayers of their country; piety, to atheists; chastity, to sodomites; truth, to informers: how many innocent and excellent persons had been condemned to death or banishment, by the practising of great ministers upon the corruption of judges, and the malice of factions; how many villains had been exalted to the highest places of trust, power, dignity, and profit: how great a share in the motions and events of courts, councils, and senates, might be challenged by bawds, whores, pimps, parasites, and buffoons. How low an opinion I had of human wisdom and integrity, when I was truly informed of the springs and motives of great enterprises and revolutions in the world, and of the contemptible accidents to which they owed their success!

Here I discovered the roguery and ignorance of those who pretend to write anecdotes, or secret history; who send so many kings to their graves with a cup of poison; will repeat the discourse between a prince and chief minister, where no witness was by; unlock the thoughts and cabinets of ambassadors and secretaries of state; and have the

perpetual misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the true cause of many great events that have surprised the world; how a whore can govern the back-stairs, the back-stairs a council, and the council a senate. A general confessed in my presence, That he got a victory purely by the force of cowardice and ill conduct; and an admiral, That, for want of proper intelligence, he beat the enemy, to whom he intended to betray the fleet. Three kings protested to me, That in their whole reigns they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided: neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they showed, with great strength of reason, That the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business.

I had the curiosity to inquire, in a particular manner, by what method great numbers had procured to themselves high titles of honour, and prodigious estates; and I confined my inquiry to a very modern period; however, without grating upon present times, because I would be sure to give no offence even to foreigners; for I hope the reader need not to be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country, in what I say upon this occasion. A great number of persons concerned were called up; and, upon a very slight examination, discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. Perjury, oppression, subordination, fraud, pandarism, and the like infirmities, were among the most excusable arts they had to mention; and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, great allowance. But when some confessed they owed their greatness and wealth to sodomy, or incest; others, to the prostituting of their own wives and daughters; others, to the betraying of their country or their prince; some, to poisoning; more, to the perverting of justice, in order to destroy the innocent; I hope I may be pardoned, if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration, which I am naturally apt to pay to persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity, by us their inferiors.

I had often read of some great services done to princes and states, and desired to see the persons by whom those services were performed. Upon inquiry, I was told, That their names were to be found on no record, except a few of them, whom history has represented as the vilest of rogues and traitors. As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected looks, and in the meanest habit; most of them telling me, they died in poverty and disgrace, and the rest on a scaffold or a gibbet.

Among others, there was one person, whose case appeared a little singular. He had a youth about eighteen years old standing by his side. He told me, He had for many years been commander of a ship; and in the sea fight at Actium, had the good fortune to break through the enemy's great line of battle, sink three of their capital ships, and take a fourth, which was the sole cause of Antony's flight, and of the victory that ensued; that the youth standing by him, his only son, was killed in the action. He added, That upon the confidence of some merit, the war being at an end, he went to Rome, and solicited at the court of Augustus to be preferred to a greater ship, whose commander had been killed; but, without any regard to his pretensions, it was given to a boy who had never seen the sea, the son of Libertina, who waited on one of the emperor's mistresses. Returning back to his own vessel, he was charged with neglect of duty, and the ship given to a favourite page of Publicola, the vice-admiral; whereupon he retired to a poor farm at a great distance from Rome, and there ended his life. I was so curious to know the truth of this story, that I desired Agrippa might be called, who was admiral in that fight. He appeared, and confirmed the whole account; but with much more advantage to the captain, whose modesty had extenuated or concealed a great part of his merit.

I was surprised to find corruption grown so high and so quick in that empire, by the force of luxury so lately introduced, which made me less wonder at many parallel cases in other countries, where vices of all kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole praise, as well as pillage, has been engrossed by the chief commander, who, perhaps, had the least title to either.

As every person called up made exactly the same appearance he had done in the world, it gave me melancholy reflections to observe how much the race of human kind was degenerated among us, within these hundred years past. How the pox, under all its consequences and denominations, had altered every lineament of an English countenance, shortened the size of bodies, unbraced the nerves, relaxed the sinews and muscles, introduced a sallow complexion, and rendered the flesh loose and rancid.

I descended so low as to desire some English yeoman of the old stamp might be summoned to appear, once so famous for the simplicity of their manners, diet, and dress; for justice in their dealings; for their true spirit of liberty; for their valour, and love of

their country. Neither could I be wholly unmoved, after comparing the living with the dead, when I considered how all these pure native virtues were prostituted for a piece of money by their grand children, who, in selling their votes, and managing at elections, have acquired every vice and corruption that can possibly be learned in a court.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Author returns to Maldonada. Sails to the Kingdom of Luggnagg. The Author confined. He is sent for to Court. The Manner of his Admittance. The King's great Lenity to his Subjects.*

THE day of our departure being come, I took leave of his highness, the governor of Glubbdubdrib, and returned with my two companions to Maldonada, where, after a fortnight's waiting, a ship was ready to sail for Luggnagg. The two gentlemen, and some others, were so generous and kind as to furnish me with provisions, and see me on board. I was a month in this voyage. We had one violent storm, and were under a necessity of steering westward to get into the trade-wind, which holds for above sixty leagues. On the 21st of April, 1708, we sailed into the river of Clumegnig, which is a sea-port town at the south-east point of Luggnagg. We cast anchor within a league of the town, and made a signal for a pilot. Two of them came on board in less than half an hour, by whom we were guided between certain shoals and rocks, which are very dangerous in the passage, to a large basin, where a fleet may ride in safety within a cable's length of the town-wall.

Some of our sailors, whether out of treachery or inadvertence, had informed the pilots, that I was a stranger and a great traveller; whereof these gave notice to a custom-house officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This officer spoke to me in the language of Balnibarbi, which, by the force of much commerce, is generally understood in that town, especially by seamen and those employed in the customs. I gave him a short account of some particulars, and made my story as plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my country, and call myself a Hollander, because my intentions were for Japan, and I knew the Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to enter into that kingdom. I therefore told the officer, That, having been shipwrecked on the coast of Balnibarbi, and cast on a rock, I was received up into Laputa, or the Flying Island, (of which he had often heard) and was now endeavouring to get to Japan, whence I might find a convenience of returning to my own country. The officer said, I must be confined till he could receive orders from court; for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an answer in a fortnight. I was carried to a convenient lodging, with a sentry placed at the door; however, I had the liberty of a large garden, and was treated with humanity enough, being maintained all the time at the king's charge. I was invited by several persons, chiefly out of curiosity, because it was reported that I came from countries very remote, of which they had never heard.

I hired a young man, who came in the same ship, to be an interpreter; he was a native of Luggnagg, but had lived some years at Maldonada, and was a perfect master of both languages. By his assistance, I was able to hold a conversation with those who came to visit me; but this consisted only of their questions, and my answers.

The dispatch came from court about the time we expected. It contained a warrant for conducting me and my retinue to *Traldragdubh*, or *Trildrogdrib*, for it is pronounced both ways, as near as I can remember, by a party of ten horse. All my retinue was that poor lad for an interpreter, whom I persuaded into my service, and, at my humble request, we had each of us a mule to ride on. A messenger was dispatched half a day's journey before us, to give the king notice of my approach, and to desire, That his majesty would please to appoint a day and hour, when it would be his gracious pleasure that I might have the honour to lick the dust before his footstool. This is the court style, and I found it to be more than matter of form. For, upon my admittance, two days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl upon my belly, and lick the floor as I advanced; but, on account of my being a stranger, care was taken to have it made so clean, that the dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar grace, not allowed to any but persons of the highest rank, when they desire an admittance. Nay, sometimes the floor is strewed with dust on purpose, when the person to be admitted happens to have powerful enemies at court. And I have seen a great lord with his mouth so crammed, that when he had crept to the proper distance from the throne, he was not able to speak a word. Neither is there any remedy, because it is capital for those who receive an audience to spit or wipe their mouths in his majesty's presence.—There is indeed another custom, which I cannot altogether approve of; when the king has a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle, indulgent manner, he commands the floor to be strewed with a certain brown powder of a

deadly composition, which, being licked up, infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. But, in justice to this prince's great clemency, and the care he has of his subjects' lives, (wherein it were much to be wished that the monarchs of Europe would imitate him) it must be mentioned for his honour, that strict orders are given to have the infected parts of the floor well washed after every such execution; which, if his domestics neglect, they are in danger of incurring his royal displeasure. I myself heard him give directions that one of his pages should be whipped, whose turn it was to give notice about washing the floor after an execution, but maliciously had omitted it; by which neglect, a young lord of great hopes coming to an audience, was unfortunately poisoned, although the king at that time had no design against his life. But this good prince was so gracious as to forgive the poor page his whipping, upon promise that he would do so no more, without special orders.

To return from this digression; when I had crept within four yards of the throne, I raised myself gently upon my knees, and then striking my forehead seven times against the ground, I pronounced the following words, as they had been taught me the night before: *Inckpling gloffthrobb squut scrumm blhiop mlashnalt zwin tnodbalkuffh hithiophad gurdlubh asht.* This is the compliment, established by the laws of the land, for all persons admitted to the king's presence. It may be rendered into English thus: "May your celestial majesty outlive the sun eleven moons and a half!" To this the king returned some answer, which, although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed: *Flute drin yalerick dwuldom prastrad mirpush*, which properly signifies, "My tongue is in the mouth of my friend;" and, by this expression was meant, that I desired leave to bring my interpreter; whereupon the young man, already mentioned, was accordingly introduced, by whose intervention I answered as many questions as his majesty could put in above an hour. I spoke in the Balnibarbian tongue, and my interpreter delivered my meaning in that of Luggnagg.

The king was much delighted with my company, and ordered his *bliffmarklub*, or high chamberlain, to appoint a lodging in the court for me and my interpreter, with a daily allowance for my table, and a large purse of gold for my common expences.

I stayed three months in this country, out of perfect obedience to his majesty, who was pleased highly to favour me, and made me very honourable offers. But I thought it more consistent with prudence and justice, to pass the remainder of my days with my wife and family.

## CHAP. X.

*The Luggnaggians commended. A particular Description of the Struldbrugs, with many Conversations between the Author and some eminent Persons upon that Subject.*

THE Luggnaggians are a polite and generous people; and, although they are not without some share of that pride which is peculiar to all eastern countries, yet they show themselves courteous to strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the court. I had many acquaintance, and among persons of the best fashion, and being always attended by my interpreter, the conversation we had was not disagreeable.

One day, in much good company, I was asked by a person of quality, Whether I had seen any of their *struldbrugs*, or immortals? I said, I had not; and desired he would explain to me, what he meant by such an appellation, applied to a mortal creature. He told me, that sometimes, though very rarely, a child happened to be born in a family with a red circular spot in the forehead, directly over the left eyebrow, which was an infallible mark that it should never die. The spot, as he described it, was about the compass of a silver threepence, but in the course of time grew larger, and changed its colour; for at twelve years old it became green, so continued till five-and-twenty, then turned to a deep blue: at five-and-forty it grew coal-black, and as large as an English shilling, but never admitted any farther alteration. He said, these births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above eleven hundred *struldbrugs*, of both sexes, in the whole kingdom, of which he computed about fifty in the metropolis, and, among the rest, a young girl born about three years ago; that these productions were not peculiar to any family, but a mere effect of chance, and the children of the *struldbrugs* themselves were equally mortal with the rest of the people.

I freely own myself to have been struck with inexpressible delight upon hearing this account: and the person who gave it me happening to understand the Balnibarbian language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into expressions, perhaps a little too extravagant. I cried out, as in a rapture: Happy nation, where every child has at least a chance for being immortal! Happy people, who enjoy so many living ex-

amples of ancient virtue, and have masters ready to instruct them in the wisdom of all former ages! but happiest, beyond all comparison, are those excellent *struldbrugs*, who, being born exempt from that universal calamity of human nature, have their minds free and disengaged, without the weight and depression of spirits caused by the continual apprehension of death! I discovered my admiration, that I had not observed any of these illustrious persons at court; the black spot on the forehead being so remarkable a distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it; and it was impossible that his majesty, a most judicious prince, should not provide himself with a good number of such wise and able counsellors. Yet, perhaps the virtue of those reverend sages was too strict for the corrupt and libertine manners of a court. And we often find by experience, that young men are too opinionated and volatile to be guided by the sober dictates of their seniors. However, since the king was pleased to allow me access to his royal person, I was resolved, upon the very first occasion, to deliver my opinion to him on this matter freely and at large, by the help of my interpreter; and whether he would please to take my advice or not, yet in one thing I was determined, that, his majesty having frequently offered me an establishment in this country, I would, with great thankfulness, accept the favour, and pass my life here in the conversation of those superior beings, the *struldbrugs*, if they would please to admit me.

The gentleman, to whom I addressed my discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the language of Balnibarbi, said to me, with a sort of smile, which usually arises from pity to the ignorant, That he was glad of any occasion to keep me among them, and desired my permission to explain to the company what I had spoke. He did so, and they talked together for some time in their own language, whereof I understood not a syllable, neither could I observe by their countenances, what impression my discourse had made on them. After a short silence, the same person told me, that his friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious remarks I had made, on the great happiness and advantages of immortal life, and they were desirous to know, in a particular manner, what scheme of living I should have formed to myself, if it had fallen to my lot to have been born a *struldbrug*.

I answered, it was easy to be eloquent on so copious and delightful a subject, especially to me, who had been often apt to amuse myself with visions of what I should do, if I were a king, a general, or a great lord: and upon this very case, I had frequently run over the whole system how I should employ myself, and pass the time, if I were sure to live for ever.

That, if it had been my good fortune to come into the world a *struldbrug*, as soon as I could discover my own happiness, by understanding the difference between life and death, I would first resolve, by all arts and methods whatsoever, to procure myself riches. In the pursuit of which, by thrift and management, I might reasonably expect, in about two hundred years, to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom. In the second place, I would, from my earliest youth, apply myself to the study of arts and sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in learning. Lastly, I would carefully record every action and event of consequence, that happened in the public, impartially draw the characters of the several successions of princes and great ministers of state, with my own observations on every point. I would exactly set down the several changes in customs, language, fashions of dress, diet, and diversions. By all which acquirements, I should be a living treasure of knowledge and wisdom, and certainly become the oracle of the nation.

I would never marry after threescore, but live in a hospitable manner, yet still on the saving side. I would entertain myself in forming and directing the minds of hopeful young men, by convincing them, from my own remembrance, experience, and observation, fortified by numerous examples, of the usefulness of virtue in public and private life. But my choice and constant companions should be a set of my own immortal brotherhood; among whom, I would elect a dozen from the most ancient, down to my own contemporaries. Where any of these wanted fortunes, I would provide them with convenient lodges round my own estate, and have some of them always at my table; only mingling a few of the most valuable among you mortals, whom length of time would harden me to lose with little or no reluctance, and treat your posterity after the same manner; just as a man diverts himself with the annual succession of pinks and tulips in his garden, without regretting the loss of those which withered the preceding year.

These *struldbrugs* and I would mutually communicate our observations and memorials, through the course of time; remark the several gradations by which corruption steals into the world, and oppose it in every step, by giving perpetual warning and instruction to mankind; which, added to the strong influence of our own example, would probably prevent that continual degeneracy of human nature, so justly complained of in all ages.

Add to this, the pleasure of seeing the various revolutions of states and empires; the changes in the lower and upper world; ancient cities in ruins, and obscure villages become the seats of kings; famous rivers lessening into shallow brooks; the ocean leaving one coast dry, and overwhelming another; the discovery of many countries yet unknown; barbarity overrunning the politest nations, and the most barbarous become civilized. I should then see the discovery of the longitude, the perpetual motion, the universal medicine, and many other great inventions, brought to the utmost perfection.

What wonderful discoveries should we make in astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own predictions; by observing the progress and returns of comets, with the changes of motion in the sun, moon, and stars!

I enlarged upon many other topics, which the natural desire of endless life, and sublunary happiness, could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the sum of my discourse had been interpreted, as before, to the rest of the company, there was a good deal of talk among them in the language of the country, not without some laughter at my expence. At last, the same gentleman who had been my interpreter, said, he was desired by the rest, to set me right in a few mistakes, which I had fallen into through the common imbecility of human nature, and upon that allowance was less answerable for them. That this breed of *struldbrugs* was peculiar to their country, for there were no such people either in Balnibarbi or Japan, where he had the honour to be ambassador from his majesty, and found the natives in both those kingdoms very hard to believe that the fact was possible: and it appeared from my astonishment when he first mentioned the matter to me, that I received it as a thing wholly new, and scarcely to be credited. That in the two kingdoms above mentioned, where, during his residence, he had conversed very much, he observed long life to be the universal desire and wish of mankind. That whoever had one foot in the grave, was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That the oldest had still hopes of living one day longer, and looked on death as the greatest evil, from which nature always prompted him to retreat. Only in this island of Luggnagg, the appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual example of the *struldbrugs* before their eyes.

That the system of living contrived by me, was unreasonable and unjust, because it supposed a perpetuity of youth, health, and vigour, which no man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he may be in his wishes. That the question therefore was not, whether a man would choose to be always in the prime of youth, attended with prosperity and health; but how he would pass a perpetual life under all the usual disadvantages, which old age brings along with it. For although few men will avow their desires of being immortal, upon such hard conditions, yet in the two kingdoms before mentioned, of Balnibarbi and Japan, he observed that every man desired to put off death some time longer, let it approach ever so late; and he rarely heard of any man who died willingly, except he were incited by the extremity of grief or torture. And he appealed to me, whether in those countries I had travelled, as well as my own, I had not observed the same general disposition.

After this preface he gave me a particular account of the *struldbrugs* among them. He said, they commonly acted like mortals, till about thirty years old; after which, by degrees, they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession; for otherwise, there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too few to form a general observation by. When they came to fourscore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more, which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative, but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grand-children. Envy and impotent desires are their prevailing passions. But those objects against which their envy seems principally directed, are the vices of the younger sort, and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure; and whenever they see a funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to a harbour of rest to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of any thing, but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect. And for the truth or particulars of any fact, it is safer to depend on common tradition, than upon their best recollections. The least miserable among them, appear to be those who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories; these need with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad qualities which abound in others.

If a *struldbrug* happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved of course, by the courtesy of the kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two comes to be fourscore. For the law thinks it is a reasonable indul-

gence, that those who are condemned, without any fault of their own, to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their misery doubled by the load of a wife.

As soon as they have completed the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately succeed to their estates, only a small pittance is reserved for their support; and the poor ones are maintained at the public charge. After that period, they are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit; they cannot purchase lands, or take leases; neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds.

At ninety, they lose their teeth and hair; they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get, without relish or appetite. The diseases they were subject to still continue, without increasing or diminishing. In talking, they forget the common appellation of things, and the names of persons, even of those who are their nearest friends and relations. For the same reason, they never can amuse themselves with reading, because their memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a sentence to the end; and by this defect, they are deprived of the only entertainment, whereof they might otherwise be capable.

The language of this country being always upon the flux, the *struldbrugs* of one age do not understand those of another; neither are they able, after two hundred years, to hold any conversation (farther than by a few general words) with their neighbours the mortals; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country.

This was the account given me of the *struldbrugs*, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by some of my friends; but although they were told, that I was a great traveller, and had seen all the world, they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question; only desired I would give them *slumskudask*, or a token of remembrance; which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law, that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance.

They are despised and hated by all sorts of people. When one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly: so that you may know their age by consulting the register, which, however, has not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least has been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are, is by asking them what kings or great persons they can remember, and then consulting history; for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old.

They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld; and the women more horrible than the men. Beside the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness, in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described; and among half a dozen, I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them.

The reader will easily believe, that, from what I had heard and seen, my keen appetite for perpetuity of life was much abated. I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing visions I had formed; and thought no tyrant could invent a death, into which I would not run with pleasure, from such a life. The king heard of all that had passed between me and my friends upon this occasion, and rallied me very pleasantly; wishing I could send a couple of *struldbrugs* to my own country, to arm our people against the fear of death; but this, it seems, is forbidden by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, or else I should have been well content with the trouble and expence of transporting them.

I could not but agree, that the laws of this kingdom relative to the *struldbrugs*, were founded upon the strongest reasons, and such as any other country would be under the necessity of enacting, in the like circumstances. Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequent of old age, those immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation, and engross the civil power, which, for want of abilities to manage, must end in the ruin of the public.

## CHAP. XI.

*The Author leaves Luggnagg, and sails to Japan. From thence he returns in a Dutch Ship to Amsterdam, and from Amsterdam to England.*

I THOUGHT this account of the *struldbrugs* might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way; at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels that has come to my hands: and if I am deceived, my excuse must be, that it is necessary for travellers, who describe the same country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same parts

eulars, without deserving the censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them.

There is indeed a perpetual commerce between this kingdom and the great empire of Japan; and it is very probable, that the Japanese authors may have given some account of the *struldbrugs*; but my stay in Japan was so short, and I was so entirely a stranger to the language, that I was not qualified to make any inquiries. But I hope the Dutch, upon this notice, will be curious and able enough to supply my defects.

His majesty having often pressed me to accept some employment in his court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my native country, was pleased to give me his license to depart; and honoured me with a letter of recommendation, under his own hand, to the emperor of Japan. He likewise presented me with four hundred and forty-four large pieces of gold, (this nation delighting in even numbers) and a red diamond, which I sold in England for eleven hundred pounds.

On the 6th of May, 1709, I took a solemn leave of his majesty, and all my friends. This prince was so gracious, as to order a guard to conduct me to Glanguenstald, which is a royal port to the south-west part of the island. In six days I found a vessel ready to carry me to Japan, and spent fifteen days in the voyage. We landed at a small port-town called Xamoschi, situated on the south-east part of Japan; the town lies on the western point, where there is a narrow strait leading northward into a long arm of the sea, upon the north-west part of which, Yedo the metropolis stands. At landing, I showed the custom-house officers my letter from the king of Luggnagg to his imperial majesty. They knew the seal perfectly well; it was as broad as the palm of my hand. The impression was, a king lifting up a lame beggar from the earth. The magistrates of the town, hearing of my letter, received me as a public minister: they provided me with carriages and servants, and bore my charges to Yedo; where I was admitted to an audience, and delivered my letter, which was opened with great ceremony, and explained to the emperor by an interpreter; who then gave me notice, by his majesty's order, that I should signify my request, and, whatever it were, it should be granted, for the sake of his royal brother of Luggnagg. This interpreter was a person employed to transact affairs with the Hollanders: he soon conjectured, by my countenance, that I was an European, and therefore repeated his majesty's commands in Low Dutch, which he spoke perfectly well. I answered, as I had before determined, that I was a Dutch merchant, shipwrecked in a very remote country, whence I had travelled by sea and land to Luggnagg, and then took shipping for Japan; where I knew my countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an opportunity of returning into Europe: I therefore most humbly entreated his royal favour, to give order that I should be conducted in safety to Nangasac. To this I added another petition, that for the sake of my patron the king of Luggnagg, his majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the ceremony imposed on my countrymen, of trampling upon the crucifix; because I had been thrown into this kingdom by my misfortunes, without any intention of trading. When this latter petition was interpreted to the emperor, he seemed a little surprised; and said, he believed I was the first of my countrymen who ever made any scruple in this point; and that he began to doubt, whether I was a real Hollander or not; but rather suspected I must be a Christian. However, for the reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the king of Luggnagg, by an uncommon mark of his favour, he would comply with the singularity of my humour: but the affair must be managed with dexterity, and his officers should be commanded to let me pass, as it were by forgetfulness. For he assured me, that if the secret should be discovered by my countrymen the Dutch, they would cut my throat in the voyage. I returned my thanks, by the interpreter, for so unusual a favour; and some troops being at that time on their march to Nangasac, the commanding officer had orders to convey me safe thither, with particular instructions about the business of the crucifix.

On the 9th day of June, 1709, I arrived at Nangasac, after a very long and troublesome journey. I soon fell into the company of some Dutch sailors belonging to the Amboyna of Amsterdam, a stout ship of 450 tons. I had lived long in Holland, pursuing my studies at Leyden, and I spoke Dutch well. The seamen soon knew whence I came last; they were curious to inquire into my voyages and course of life. I made up a story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest part. I knew many persons in Holland; I was able to invent names for my parents, whom I pretended to be obscure people in the province of Gelderland. I would have given the captain (one Theodorus Vangrult) what he pleased to ask for my voyage to Holland; but understanding I was a surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual rate, on condition that I would serve him in the way of my calling. Before we took shipping, I was often asked by some of the crew, whether I had performed the ceremony above mentioned? I evaded the question by general answers; that I had satisfied the emperor

and court in all particulars. However, a malicious rogue of a skipper went to an officer, and pointing to me, told him, I had not yet trampled on the crucifix: but the other, who had received instructions to let me pass, gave the rascal twenty strokes on the shoulders with a bamboo; after which I was no more troubled with such questions.

Nothing happened worth mentioning in this voyage. We sailed with a fair wind to the Cape of Good Hope, where we staid only to take in fresh water. On the 10th of April, 1710, we arrived safe at Amsterdam, having lost only three men by sickness in the voyage, and a fourth, who fell from the foremast into the sea, not far from the coast of Guinea. From Amsterdam I soon after set sail for England, in a small vessel belonging to that city.

On the 16th of April we put in at the Downs. I landed next morning, and saw, once more, my native country, after an absence of five years and six months complete. I went straight to Redriff, where I arrived the same day at two in the afternoon, and found my wife and family in good health.

## PART IV.

# A VOYAGE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE HOUYHNHNMS.

### CHAP. I.

*The Author sets out as Captain of a Ship. His Men conspire against him. Confine him a long Time to his Cabin. Set him on Shore in an unknown Land. He travels up into the Country. The Yahoos, a strange Sort of Animal, described. The Author meets two Houyhnhnms.*

I CONTINUED at home with my wife and children about five months, in a very happy condition, if I could have learned the lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor wife big with child, and accepted an advantageous offer made me to be captain of the Adventure, a stout merchantman of 350 tons: for I understood navigation well, and being grown weary of a surgeon's employment at sea, which, however, I could exercise upon occasion, I took a skilful young man of that calling, one Robert Purefoy, into my ship. We set sail from Portsmouth upon the 7th day of September, 1710; on the 14th, we met with captain Pocock of Bristol, at Teneriffe, who was going to the bay of Campechy to cut logwood. On the 16th, he was parted from us by a storm; I heard, since my return, that his ship foundered, and none escaped, but one cabin-boy. He was an honest man, and a good sailor, but a little too positive in his own opinions, which was the cause of his destruction, as it had been of several others. For, if he had followed my advice, he might have been safe at home with his family at this time, as well as myself.

I had several men died in my ship of calentures, so that I was forced to get recruits out of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, where I touched, by the direction of the merchants who employed me; which I had soon too much cause to repent; for I found afterwards, that most of them had been buccaneers. I had fifty hands on board; and my orders were, that I should trade with the Indians in the South Sea, and make what discoveries I could. These rogues, whom I had picked up, debauched my other men, and they all formed a conspiracy to seize the ship, and secure me; which they did one morning, rushing into my cabin, and binding me hand and foot, threatening to throw me overboard, if I offered to stir. I told them, I was their prisoner, and would submit. This they made me swear to do, and then they unbound me, only fastening one of my legs with a chain, near my bed, and placed a sentry at my door with his piece charged, who was commanded to shoot me dead, if I attempted my liberty. They sent me down victuals and drink, and took

the government of the ship to themselves. Their design was to turn pirates, and plunder the Spaniards, which they could not do, till they got more men. But first they resolved to sell the goods in the ship, and then go to Madagascar for recruits, several among them having died since my confinement. They sailed many weeks, and traded with the Indians; but I knew not what course they took, being kept a close prisoner in my cabin, and expecting nothing less than to be murdered, as they often threatened me.

Upon the 9th day of May, 1711, one James Welch came down to my cabin, and said he had orders from the captain to set me ashore. I expostulated with him, but in vain; neither would he so much as tell me who their new captain was. They forced me into the long-boat, letting me put on my best suit of clothes, which were as good as new, and take a small bundle of linen, but no arms, except my hanger; and they were so civil as not to search my pockets, into which I conveyed what money I had, with some other little necessaries. They rowed about a league, and then set me down on a strand. I desired them to tell me what country it was. They all swore they knew no more than myself; but said, that the captain (as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the lading, to get rid of me in the first place, where they could discover land. They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste for fear of being overtaken by the tide, and so bade me farewell.

In this desolate condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm ground, where I sat down on a bank to rest myself, and consider what I had best to do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the country, resolving to deliver myself to the first savages I should meet, and purchase my life from them by some bracelets, glass rings, and other toys, which sailors usually provide themselves with in those voyages, and whereof I had some about me. The land was divided by long rows of trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great plenty of grass, and several fields of oats. I walked very circumspectly, for fear of being surprised, or suddenly shot with an arrow from behind, or on either side. I fell into a beaten road, where I saw many tracks of human feet, and some of cows, but most of horses. At last I beheld several animals in a field, and one or two of the same kind sitting in trees. Their shape was very singular and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an opportunity of distinctly marking their form. Their heads and breasts were covered with a thick hair, some frizzled, and others lank; they had beards like goats, and a long ridge of hair down their backs, and the fore parts of their legs and feet; but the rest of their bodies was bare, so that I might see their skins, which were of a brown buff colour. They had no tails, nor any hair at all on their buttocks, except about the anus; which, I presume, nature had placed there to defend them, as they sat on the ground; for this posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind-feet. They climbed high trees as nimbly as a squirrel, for they had strong extended claws before and behind, terminating in sharp points, and hooked. They would often spring, and bound, and leap, with prodigious agility. The females were not so large as the males; they had long lank hair on their head, but none on their faces, nor any thing more than a sort of down on the rest of their bodies, except about the *anus* and *pudenda*. The dugs hung between their fore-feet, and often reached almost to the ground as they walked. The hair of both sexes was of several colours, brown, red, black, and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld, in all my travels, so disagreeable an animal, or one against which I naturally conceived so great an antipathy. So that, thinking I had seen enough, full of contempt and aversion I got up, and pursued the beaten road, hoping it might direct me to the cabin of some Indian. I had not got far, when I met one of these creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways every feature of his visage, and stared, as at an object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his fore-paw, whether out of curiosity or mischief, I could not tell: but I drew my hanger, and give him a good blow with the flat side of it, for I durst not strike with the edge, fearing the inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know that I had killed or maimed any of their cattle. When the beast felt the smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next field, howling, and making odious faces; but I ran to the body of a tree, and leaning my back against it, kept them off by waving my hanger. Several of this cursed brood, getting hold of the branches behind, leapt up into the tree, whence they began to discharge their excrements upon my head; however, I escaped pretty well by sticking close to the stem of the tree, but was almost stifled with the filth, which fell about me on every side.

In the midst of this distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could; at which I ventured to leave the tree, and pursue the road, wondering what it

was that could put them into this fright. But looking on my left hand, I saw a horse walking softly in the field, which my persecutors having sooner discovered, was the cause of their flight. The horse started a little when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my face with manifest tokens of wonder. He viewed my hands and feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my journey, but he placed himself directly in the way, yet, looking with very mild aspect, never offering the least violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time; at last I took the boldness to reach my hand towards his neck, with a design to stroke it, using the common style and whistle of jockeys when they are going to handle a strange horse. But this animal seemed to receive my civilities with disdain, shook his head, and bent his brows, softly raising up his right fore-foot to remove my hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself in some language of his own.

While he and I were thus employed, another horse came up, who, applying himself first in a very formal manner, they gently struck each other's right hoof before, neighing several times by turns, and varying the sound, which seemed to be almost articulate. They went some paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking side by side, backward and forward, like persons deliberating upon some affair of weight, but often turning their eyes towards me, as it were to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such actions and behaviour in brute beasts, and concluded with myself, that, if the inhabitants of this country were endued with a proportionable degree of reason, they must needs be the wisest people upon earth. This thought gave me so much comfort, that I resolved to go forward, until I could discover some house or village, or meet with any of the natives, leaving the two horses to discourse together as they pleased. But the first, who was a dapple gray, observing me to steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a tone, that I fancied myself to understand what he meant; whereupon I turned back, and came near to him, to expect his farther commands, but concealing my fear as much as I could, for I began to be in some pain how this adventure might terminate; and the reader will easily believe I did not much like my present situation.

The two horses came up close to me, looking with great earnestness upon my face and hands. The gray steed rubbed my hat all round with his right fore-hoof, and discomposed it so much, that I was forced to adjust it better, by taking it off, and settling it again; whereat both he and his companion (who was a brown bay) appeared to be much surprised: The latter felt the lappet of my coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new signs of wonder. He stroked my right hand, seeming to admire the softness and colour, but he squeezed it so hard between his hoof and his pastern, that I was forced to roar; after which they both touched me with all possible tenderness. They were under great perplexity about my shoes and stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various gestures, not unlike those of a philosopher when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult phenomenon.

Upon the whole, the behaviour of these animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded they must needs be magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some design, and seeing a stranger in the way, resolved to divert themselves with him, or, perhaps, were really amazed at the sight of a man so very different in habit, feature, and complexion, from those who might probably live in so remote a climate. Upon the strength of this reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following manner: Gentlemen, if you be conjurors, as I have good cause to believe, you can understand any language; therefore I make bold to let your worships know that I am a poor distressed Englishman, driven by his misfortunes upon your coast; and I entreat one of you to let me ride upon his back, as if he were a real horse, to some house or village where I can be relieved. In return of which favour, I will make you a present of this knife and bracelet, taking them out of my pocket. The two creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great attention; and, when I had ended, they neighed frequently towards each other, as if they were engaged in serious conversation. I plainly observed that their language expressed the passions very well, and the words might, with little pains, be resolved into an alphabet more easily than the Chinese.

I could frequently distinguish the word *Yahoo*, which was repeated by each of them several times; and although it was impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet, while the two horses were busy in conversation, I endeavoured to practise this word upon my tongue; and, as soon as they were silent, I boldly pronounced *Yahoo*, in a loud voice, imitating at the same time, as near as I could, the neighing of a horse, at which they were both visibly surprised; and the gray repeated the same word twice, as if he meant to teach me the right accent; wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and

found myself perceivably to improve every time, though very far from any degree of perfection. Then the bay tried me with a second word, much harder to be pronounced, but, reducing it to the English orthography, may be spelt thus, *Houyhnhnm*. I did not succeed in this so well as in the former; but, after two or three farther trials, I had better fortune, and they both appeared amazed at my capacity.

After some further discourse, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two friends took their leaves, with the same compliment of striking each other's hoof, and the gray made me signs that I should walk before him; wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better director. When I offered to slacken my pace, he would cry, *hhuun, hhuun*. I guessed his meaning, and gave him to understand, as well as I could, that I was weary, and not able to walk faster; upon which he would stand a while to let me rest.

## CHAP. II.

*The Author conducted by a Houyhnhnm to his House. The House described. The Author's Reception. The Food of the Houyhnhnms. The Author in Distress for Want of Meat. Is at last relieved. His Manner of Feeding in this Country.*

HAVING travelled about three miles, we came to a long kind of building, made of timber stuck in the ground, and wattled across: the roof was low, and covered with straw. I now began to be a little comforted, and took out some toys, which travellers usually carry for presents to the savage Indians of America, and other parts, in hopes the people of the house would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The horse made me a sign to go in first. It was a large room, with a smooth clay floor, and a rack and manger extending the whole length on one side. There were three nags and two mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their hams, which I very much wondered at, but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestic business: these seemed but ordinary cattle. However, this confirmed my first opinion, that a people who could so far civilize brute animals, must needs excel in wisdom all the nations of the world. The gray came in just after, and thereby prevented any ill treatment which the others might have given me. He neighed to them several times in a style of authority, and received answers.

Beyond this room, there were three others, reaching the length of the house, to which you passed through three doors, opposite to each other, in the manner of a vista: we went through the second room towards the third. Here the gray walked in first, beckoning me to attend: I waited in the second room, and got ready my presents for the master and mistress of the house: they were two knives, three bracelets of false pearls, a small looking-glass, and a bead neck-lace. The horse neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear some answers in a human voice, but I heard no other returns than in the same dialect, only one or two a little shriller than his. I began to think that this house must belong to some person of great note among them, because there appeared so much ceremony before I could gain admittance. But, that a man of quality should be served all by horses, was beyond my comprehension. I feared my brain was disturbed by my sufferings and misfortunes. I roused myself, and looked about me in the room where I was left alone: this was furnished like the first, only after a more elegant manner. I rubbed my eyes often, but the same objects still occurred. I pinched my arms and sides to awake myself, hoping I might be in a dream. I then absolutely concluded that all these appearances could be nothing else but necromancy and magic. But I had no time to pursue these reflections; for the gray horse came to the door, and made me a sign to follow him into the third room, where I saw a very comely mare, together with a colt and foal, sitting on their haunches upon matts of straw, not unartfully made, and perfectly neat and clean.

The mare, soon after my entrance, rose from her mat, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my hands and face, gave me a most contemptuous look, and turning to the horse, I heard the word *Yahoo* often repeated betwixt them, the meaning of which word I could not then comprehend, although it was the first I had learned to pronounce. But I was soon better informed, to my everlasting mortification; for the horse, beckoning to me with his head, and repeating the *hhuun, hhuun*, as he did upon the road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of court, where was another building at some distance from the house. Here we entered, and I saw three of those detestable creatures which I first met after my landing, feeding upon roots and the flesh of some animals, which I afterwards found to be that of asses and dogs, and now and then a cow, dead by accident or disease. They were all tied by the neck with strong withes fastened to a beam: they held their food between the claws of their fore-feet, and tore it with their teeth.

The master horse ordered a sorrel nag, one of his servants, to untie the largest of these animals, and take him into the yard. The beast and I were brought close together, and our countenances diligently compared, both by master and servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word *Yahoo*. My horror and astonishment are not to be described, when I observed, in this abominable animal, a perfect human figure; the face of it indeed was flat and broad, the nose depressed, the lips large, and the mouth wide; but these differences are common to all savage nations, where the lineaments of the countenance are distorted by the natives suffering their infants to lie grovelling on the earth, or by carrying them on their backs, nuzzling with their face against the mother's shoulders. The fore-feet of the *Yahoo* differed from my hands in nothing else but the length of the nails, the coarseness and brownness of the palms, and the hairiness on the backs. There was the same resemblance between our feet, with the same differences, which I knew very well, though the horses did not because of my shoes and stockings; the same in every part of our bodies, except as to hairiness and colour, which I have already described.

The great difficulty that seemed to stick with the two horses was, to see the rest of my body so very different from that of a *Yahoo*; for which I was obliged to my clothes, whereof they had no conception. The sorrel nag offered me a root, which he held (after their manner, as we shall describe in its proper place) between his hoof and pastern. I took it in my hand, and, having smelt it, returned it to him again as civilly as I could. He brought out of the *Yahoos'* kennel a piece of ass's flesh: but it smelt so offensively, that I turned from it with loathing: He then threw it to the *Yahoo*, by whom it was greedily devoured. He afterwards showed me a wisp of hay, and a fetlock full of oats; but I shook my head, to signify that neither of these were food to me. And indeed I now apprehended that I must absolutely starve, if I did not get to some of my own species; for as to those filthy *Yahoos*, although there were few greater lovers of mankind at that time than myself, yet I confess I never saw any sensitive being so detestable on all accounts; and the more I came near them, the more hateful they grew, while I stayed in that country. This the master horse observed by my behaviour, and therefore sent the *Yahoo* back to his kennel. He then put his fore-hoof to his mouth, at which I was much surprised, although he did it with ease, and with a motion that appeared perfectly natural; and made other signs, to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an answer as he was able to apprehend; and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a cow passing by, whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a desire to go and milk her. This had its effect; for he led me back into the house, and ordered a mare-servant to open a room, where a good store of milk lay in earthen and wooden vessels, after a very orderly and cleanly manner. She gave me a large bowlful, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed.

About noon I saw coming towards the house a kind of vehicle drawn like a sledge by four *Yahoos*. There was in it an old steed, who seemed to be of quality: he alighted with his hind feet forward, having by accident got a hurt in his left fore-foot. He came to dine with our horse, who received him with great civility. They dined in the best room, and had oats boiled in milk for the second course, which the old horse eat warm, but the rest cold. Their mangers were placed circular in the middle of the room, and divided into several partitions, round which they sat on their haunches, upon bosses of straw. In the middle was a large rack, with angles answering to every partition of the manger; so that each horse and mare eat their own hay, and their own mash of oats and milk, with much decency and regularity. The behaviour of the young colt and foal appeared very modest, and that of the master and mistress extremely cheerful and complaisant to their guest. The gray ordered me to stand by him; and much discourse passed between him and his friend concerning me, as I found by the stranger's often looking on me, and the frequent repetition of the word *Yahoo*.

I happened to wear my gloves, which the master gray observing, seemed perplexed, discovering signs of wonder what I had done to my fore-feet. He put his hoof three or four times to them, as if he would signify, that I should reduce them to their former shape; which I presently did, pulling off both my gloves, and putting them into my pocket. This occasioned further talk; and I saw the company was pleased with my behaviour, whereof I soon found the good effects. I was ordered to speak the few words I understood; and while they were at dinner, the master taught me the names for oats, milk, fire, water, and some others, which I could readily pronounce after him, having from my youth a great facility in learning languages.

When dinner was done, the master horse took me aside, and by signs and words made me understand the concern he was in that I

had nothing to eat. Oats in their tongue are called *hlunnh*. This word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refused them at first, yet, upon second thoughts, I considered that I could contrive to make of them a kind of bread, which might be sufficient, with milk, to keep me alive till I could make my escape to some other country, and to creatures of my own species. The horse immediately ordered a white mare-servant of his family to bring me a good quantity of oats in a sort of wooden tray. These I heated before the fire, as well as I could, and rubbed them till the husks came off, which I made a shift to winnow from the grain: I ground and beat them between two stones, then took water, and made them into a paste or cake, which I toasted at the fire, and ate warm with milk. It was at first a very insipid diet, though common enough in many parts of Europe, but grew tolerable by time; and having been often reduced to hard fare in my life, this was not the first experiment I had made, how easily nature is satisfied. And I cannot but observe, that I never had one hour's sickness while I staid in this island. It is true, I sometimes made a shift to catch a rabbit, or bird, by springes made of *Yahoos'* hairs; and I often gathered wholesome herbs, which I boiled, and eat as sallads with my bread; and now and then, for a rarity, I made a little butter, and drank the whey. I was at first at a great loss for salt, but custom soon reconciled me to the want of it; and I am confident that the frequent use of salt among us is an effect of luxury, and was first introduced only as a provocative to drink, except where it is necessary for preserving flesh in long voyages, or in places remote from great markets: for we observe no animal to be fond of it but man: and as to myself, when I left this country, it was a great while before I could endure the taste of it in any thing that I ate.

This is enough to say upon the subject of my diet, wherewith other travellers fill their books, as if the readers were personally concerned whether we fare well or ill. However, it was necessary to mention this matter, lest the world should think it impossible that I could find sustenance for three years, in such a country, and among such inhabitants.

When it grew towards evening, the master horse ordered a place for me to lodge in: it was but six yards from the house, and separated from the stable of the *Yahoos*. Here I got some straw, and covering myself with my own clothes, slept very sound. But I was in a short time better accommodated, as the reader shall know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my way of living.

## CHAP. III.

*The Author studies to learn the Language. The Houyhnhnm, his Master, assists in teaching him. The Language described. Several Houyhnhnms of Quality come out of Curiosity to see the Author. He gives his Master a short Account of his Voyage.*

My principal endeavour was to learn the language, which my master (for so I shall henceforth call him) and his children, and every servant of his house, were desirous to teach me; for they looked upon it as a prodigy, that a brute animal should discover such marks of a rational creature. I pointed to every thing, and inquired the name of it, which I wrote down in my journal book when I was alone; and corrected my bad accent, by desiring those of the family to pronounce it often. In this employment a sorrel nag, one of the under servants, was very ready to assist me.

In speaking, they pronounce through the nose and throat; and their language approaches nearest to the High Dutch, or German, of any I know in Europe; but is much more graceful and significant. The emperor Charles V. made almost the same observation, when he said, that if he were to speak to his horse, it should be in High Dutch.

The curiosity and impatience of my master were so great, that he spent many hours of his leisure to instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a *Yahoo*; but my teachableness, civility, and cleanliness, astonished him; which were qualities altogether opposite to those animals. He was most perplexed about my clothes, reasoning sometimes with himself, whether they were a part of my body; for I never pulled them off till the family were asleep, and got them on before they waked in the morning. My master was eager to learn whence I came; how I acquired those appearances of reason which I discovered in all my actions; and to know my story from my own mouth; which he hoped he should soon do, by the great proficiency I made in learning and pronouncing their words and sentences. To help my memory, I formed all I learned into the English alphabet, and writ the words down, with the translations. This last, after some time, I ventured to do in my master's presence. It cost me much trouble to explain to him what I was doing; for the inhabitants have not the least idea of books or literature.

In about ten weeks time I was able to understand most of his questions, and in three

months could give him some tolerable answers. He was extremely curious to know from what part of the country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational creature; because the *Yahoos*, (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my head, hands, and face, that were only visible,) with some appearance of cunning, and the strongest disposition to mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all brutes. I answered, that I came over the sea, from a far place, with many others of my own kind, in a great hollow vessel, made of the bodies of trees: that my companions forced me to land on this coast, and then left me to shift for myself. It was with some difficulty, and by the help of many signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, that I must needs be mistaken, or that I said the thing which was not; for they have no word in their language to express lying or falsehood. He knew it was impossible that there could be a country beyond the sea, or that a parcel of brutes could move a wooden vessel whither they pleased upon water. He was sure no *Houyhnhnm* alive could make such a vessel, nor would trust *Yahoos* to manage it.

The word *Houyhnhnm*, in their tongue, signifies a *horse*, and, in its etymology, *the perfection of nature*. I told my master that I was at a loss for expression, but would improve as fast as I could; and hoped, in a short time, I should be able to tell him wonders. He was pleased to direct his own mare, his colt and foal, and the servants of the family, to take all opportunities of instructing me; and every day, for two or three hours, he was at the same pains himself. Several horses and mares of quality in the neighbourhood came often to our house, upon the report spread of a wonderful *Yahoo*, that could speak like a *Houyhnhnm*, and seemed, in his words and actions, to discover some glimmerings of reason. These delighted to converse with me: they put many questions, and received such answers as I was able to return. By all these advantages I made so great a progress, that, in five months from my arrival, I understood whatever was spoken, and could express myself tolerably well.

The *Houyhnhnms*, who came to visit my master out of a design of seeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right *Yahoo*, because my body had a different covering from others of my kind. They were astonished to observe me without the usual hair or skin, except on my head, face, and hands: but I discovered that secret to my master, upon an accident which happened about a fortnight before.

I have already told the reader, that every night, when the family were gone to bed, it was my custom to strip, and cover myself with my clothes. It happened, one morning early, that my master sent for me by the sorrel nag, who was his valet: When he came, I was fast asleep, my clothes fallen off on one side, and my shirt above my waist. I awaked at the noise he made, and observed him to deliver his message in some disorder; after which he went to my master, and in a great fright, gave him a very confused account of what he had seen. This I presently discovered; for going, as soon as I was dressed, to pay my attendance upon his honour, he asked me the meaning of what his servant had reported, that I was not the same thing when I slept, as I appeared to be at other times; that his valet assured him some part of me was white, some yellow, at least not so white, and some brown.

I had hitherto concealed the secret of my dress, in order to distinguish myself, as much as possible, from that cursed race of *Yahoos*; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. Besides, I considered that my clothes and shoes would soon wear out, which already were in a declining condition, and must be supplied by some contrivance, from the hides of *Yahoos*, or other brutes; whereby the whole secret would be known. I therefore told my master, that in the country whence I came, those of my kind always covered their bodies with the hairs of certain animals prepared by art, as well for decency as to avoid the inclemencies of air, both hot and cold; of which, as to my own person, I would give him immediate conviction, if he pleased to command me; only desiring his excuse, if I did not expose those parts that nature taught us to conceal. He said, My discourse was all very strange, but especially the last part; for he could not understand why nature should teach us to conceal what nature had given: that neither himself nor family were ashamed of any part of their bodies; but, however, I might do as I pleased. Whereupon I first unbuttoned my coat, and pulled it off: I did the same with my waistcoat: I drew off my shoes, stockings, and breeches: I let my shirt down to my waist, and drew up the bottom, fastening it like a girdle about my middle, to hide my nakedness.

My master observed the whole performance with great signs of curiosity and admiration. He took up all my clothes in his pastern, one piece after another, and examined them diligently; he then stroked my body very gently, and looked round me several times; after which he said, it was plain I must be a perfect *Yahoo*; but that I differed very much from the rest of my species, in the softness, whiteness, and smoothness of my skin; my want of hair in several parts of my body; the

shape and shortness of my claws behind and before; and my affectation of walking continually on my two hinder feet. He desired to see no more, and gave me leave to put on my clothes again, for I was shuddering with cold.

I expressed my uneasiness at his giving me so often the appellation of *Yahoo*, an odious animal, for which I had so utter a hatred and contempt: I begged he would forbear applying that word to me, and make the same order in his family and among his friends whom he suffered to see me. I requested likewise, that the secret of my having a false covering to my body might be known to none but himself, at least as long as my present clothing should last; for, as to what the sorrel nag his valet had observed, his honour might command him to conceal it.

All this my master very graciously consented to; and thus the secret was kept till my clothes began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several contrivances that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the mean time, he desired I would go on with my utmost diligence to learn their language, because he was more astonished at my capacity for speech and reason, than at the figure of my body, whether it were covered or not; adding, that he waited with some impatience to hear the wonders which I promised to tell him.

Thenceforward he doubled the pains he had been at to instruct me; he brought me into all company, and made them treat me with civility; because, he told them privately, this would put me into good humour, and make me more diverting.

Every day, when I waited on him, beside the trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several questions concerning myself, which I answered as well as I could; and by these means he had already received some general ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several steps by which I advanced to a more regular conversation; but the first account I gave of myself in any order and length was to this purpose:—

That I came from a very far country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own species; that we travelled upon the seas in a great hollow vessel made of wood, and larger than his honour's house. I described the ship to him in the best terms I could, and explained, by the help of my handkerchief displayed, how it was driven forward by the wind. That, upon a quarrel among us, I was set on shore on this coast, where I walked forward, without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the persecution of those execrable *Yahoos*. He asked me, Who made the ship, and how it was possible that the *Houyhnhnms* of my country would leave it to the management of brutes? My answer was, That I durst proceed no further in my relation, unless he would give me his word and honour that he would not be offended, and then I would tell him the wonders I had so often promised. He agreed; and I went on, by assuring him that the ship was made by creatures like myself; who, in all the countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing rational animals; and that, upon my arrival hither, I was as much astonished to see the *Houyhnhnms* act like rational beings, as he, or his friends, could be, in finding some marks of reason in a creature he was pleased to call a *Yahoo*; to which I owned my resemblance in every part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal nature. I said farther, That if good fortune ever restored me to my native country, to relate my travels hither, as I resolved to do, every body would believe that I said the thing that was not, that I invented the story out of my own head: and, (with all possible respect to himself, his family, and friends, and under his promise of not being offended,) our countrymen would hardly think it probable that a *Houyhnhnm* should be the presiding creature of a nation, and a *Yahoo* the brute.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Houyhnhnm's Notion of Truth and Falsehood. The Author's Discourse disapproved by his Master. The Author gives a more particular Account of himself, and the Accidents of his Voyage.*

My master heard me with great appearances of uneasiness in his countenance; because doubting, or not believing, are so little known in this country, that the inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such circumstances. And I remember, in a frequent discourses with my master concerning the nature of manhood, in other parts of the world, having occasion to talk of lying and false representation, it was with great difficulty that he comprehended what I meant, although he had otherwise a most acute judgment; for he argued thus: That the use of speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive information of facts; now, if any one said the thing which was not, these ends were defeated, because I cannot properly be said to understand him; and I am so far from receiving information, that he leaves me worse than in ignorance; for I am led to believe a thing black, when it is

white; and short, when it is long. And these were all the notions he had concerning that faculty of lying, so perfectly well understood, and so universally practised, among human creatures.

To return from this digression. When I asserted that the *Yahoos* were the only governing animals in my country, which my master said was altogether past his conception, he desired to know, Whether we had *Houyhnhnms* among us, and what was their employment? I told him, We had great numbers; that in summer they grazed in the fields, and in winter were kept in houses with hay and oats, where *Yahoo* servants were employed to rub their skins smooth, comb their manes, pick their feet, serve them with food, and make their beds.—I understand you well, said my master: it is now very plain, from all you have spoken, that whatever share of reason the *Yahoos* pretend to, the *Houyhnhnms* are your masters. I heartily wish our *Yahoos* would be so tractable.—I begged his honour would please to excuse me from proceeding any further, because I was very certain that the account he expected from me would be highly displeasing. But he insisted in commanding me to let him know the best and the worst. I told him he should be obeyed. I owned that the *Houyhnhnms* among us, whom we called horses, were the most generous and comely animal we had; that they excelled in strength and swiftness; and when they belonged to persons of quality, were employed in travelling, racing, or drawing chariots: they were treated with much kindness and care, till they fell into diseases, or became foundered in the feet; but then they were sold, and used to all kind of drudgery till they died; after which, their skins were stript, and sold for what they were worth, and their bodies left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey. But the common race of horses had not so good fortune; being kept by farmers and carriers, and other mean people, who put them to greater labour, and fed them worse. I described, as well as I could, our way of riding; the shape and use of a bridle, a saddle, a spur, and a whip; of harness and wheels. I added, That we fastened plates of a certain hard substance, called iron, at the bottom of their feet, to preserve their hoofs from being broken by the stony ways, on which we often travelled.

My master, after some expressions of great indignation, wondered how we dared to venture upon a *Houyhnhnm's* back; for he was sure that the weakest servant in his house would be able to shake off the strongest *Yahoo*, or, by lying down, and rolling on his back, squeeze the brute to death. I answered, That our horses were trained up, from three or four years old, to the several uses we intended them for; that if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for carriages; that they were severely beaten, while they were young, for any mischievous tricks; that the males, designed for the common use of riding or draught, were generally castrated about two years after their birth, to take down their spirits, and make them more tame and gentle; that they were indeed sensible of rewards and punishments; but his honour would please to consider, that they had not the least tincture of reason, any more than the *Yahoos* in this country.

It put me to the pains of many circumlocutions to give my master a right idea of what I spoke; for their language does not abound in variety of words, because their wants and passions are fewer than among us. But it is impossible to express his noble resentment at our savage treatment of the *Houyhnhnm* race; particularly after I had explained the manner and use of castrating horses among us, to hinder them from propagating their kind, and to render them more servile. He said, If it were possible there could be any country where *Yahoos* alone were endued with reason, they certainly must be the governing animal: because reason in time will always prevail against brutal strength. But, considering the frame of our bodies, and especially of mine, he thought no creature of equal bulk was so ill contrived for employing that reason in the common offices of life; whereupon he desired to know whether those among whom I lived resembled me or the *Yahoos* of his country. I assured him, that I was as well shaped as most of my age; but the younger, and the females, were much more soft and tender, and the skins of the latter generally as white as milk. He said, I differed indeed from other *Yahoos*, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed; but, in point of real advantage, he thought I differed for the worse. That my nails were of no use either to my fore or hinder feet. As to my fore-feet, he could not properly call them by that name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the ground; that I generally went with them uncovered; neither was the covering I sometimes wore on them of the same shape, or so strong as that on my feet behind. That I could not walk with any security, for if either of my hinder feet slipped, I must inevitably fall. He then began to find fault with other parts of my body: The flatness of my face, the prominence of my nose, mine eyes placed directly in front, so that I could not look on either side without turning my head: that I was not able to feed myself, without lifting

one of my fore-feet to my mouth; and therefore nature had placed those joints to answer that necessity. He knew not what could be the use of those several clefts and divisions in my feet behind; that these were too soft to bear the hardness and sharpness of stones, without a covering made from the skin of some other brute; that my whole body wanted a fence against heat and cold, which I was forced to put on and off every day, with tediousness and trouble. And lastly, that he observed every animal in this country naturally to abhor the *Yahoos*, whom the weaker avoided, and the stronger drove from them. So that, supposing us to have the gift of reason, he could not see how it were possible to cure that natural antipathy which every creature discovered against us; nor, consequently, how we could tame and render them serviceable. However, he would, as he said, debate the matter no farther, because he was more desirous to know my own story, the country where I was born, and the several actions and events of my life before I came hither.

I assured him how extremely desirous I was that he should be satisfied on every point; but I doubted much whether it would be possible for me to explain myself on several subjects, whereof his honour could have no conception, because I saw nothing in his country to which I could resemble them; that, however, I would do my best, and strive to express myself by similitudes, humbly desiring his assistance when I wanted proper words; which he was pleased to promise me.

I said, My birth was of honest parents, in an island called England, which was remote from his country as many days journey as the strongest of his honour's servants could travel in the annual course of the sun; that I was bred a surgeon, whose trade it is to cure wounds and hurts in the body, gotten by accident or violence; that my country was governed by a female man, whom we called queen; that I left it to get riches, whereby I might maintain myself and family, when I should return; that, in my last voyage, I was commander of the ship, and had about fifty *Yahoos* under me, many of which died at sea, and I was forced to supply them by others picked out from several nations; that our ship was twice in danger of being sunk; the first time by a great storm, and the second by striking against a rock.—Here my master interposed, by asking me, How I could persuade strangers, out of different countries, to venture with me, after the losses I had sustained, and the hazards I had run?—I said, They were fellows of desperate fortunes, forced to fly from the places of their birth on account of their poverty or their crimes. Some were undone by lawsuits; others spent all they had in drinking, whoring, and gaming; others fled for treason; many for murder, theft, poisoning, robbery, perjury, forgery, coining false money, for committing rapes, or sodomy, for flying from their colours, or deserting to the enemy; and most of them had broken prison: None of these durst return to their native countries, for fear of being hanged, or of starving in a jail; and therefore they were under a necessity of seeking a livelihood in other places.

During this discourse, my master was pleased to interrupt me several times. I had made use of many circumlocutions in describing to him the nature of the several crimes for which most of our crew had been forced to fly their country. This labour took up several days conversation, before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a loss to know what could be the use or necessity of practising those vices: to clear up which, I endeavoured to give some ideas of the desire of power and riches; of the terrible effects of lust, intemperance, malice, and envy. All this I was forced to define and describe by putting cases, and making suppositions. After which, like one whose imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he would lift up his eyes with amazement and indignation. Power, government, war, law, punishment, and a thousand other things, had no terms wherein that language could express them, which made the difficulty almost insuperable, to give my master any conception of what I meant. But, being of an excellent understanding, much improved by contemplation and converse, he at last arrived at a competent knowledge of what human nature, in our parts of the world, is capable to perform, and desired I would give him some particular account of that land which we call Europe, but especially of my own country.

## CHAP. V.

*The Author, at his Master's Command, informs him of the State of England. The Causes of War among the Princes of Europe. The Author begins to explain the English Constitution.*

THE reader may please to observe, that the following extract of many conversations I had with my master contains a summary of the most material points which were discoursed at several times for above two years; his honour often desiring fuller satisfaction, as I farther improved in the *Houyhnhnm* tongue. I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole state of Europe; I discoursed of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences;

and the answers I gave to all the questions he made, as they arose upon several subjects, were a fund of conversation not to be exhausted. But I shall here only set down the substance of what passed between us concerning my own country, reducing it in order as well as I can, without any regard to time or other circumstances, while I strictly adhere to truth. My only concern is, that I shall hardly be able to do justice to my master's arguments and expressions, which must needs suffer by my want of capacity, as well as by a translation into our barbarous English.

In obedience, therefore, to his honour's commands, I related to him the revolution under the Prince of Orange; the long war with France, entered into by the said prince, and renewed by his successor, the present queen, wherein the greatest powers of Christendom were engaged, and which still continued. I computed, at his request, that about a million of *Yahoos* might have been killed in the whole progress of it; and perhaps a hundred, or more cities taken, and five times as many ships burnt or sunk.

He asked me, What were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another? I answered, They were innumerable; but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern: sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinions has cost many millions of lives: for instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine; whether whistling be a vice or a virtue; whether it be better to kiss a post, or throw it into the fire; what is the best colour for a coat, whether black, white, red, or gray; and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean, with many more. Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference in opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrels with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon, because the enemy is too strong, and sometimes because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of a war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominions round and compact. If a prince sends forces into a nation where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another, to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he has driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood or marriage is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater their disposition to quarrel. Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud; and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons, the trade of a soldier is held the most honourable of all others; because a soldier is a *Yahoo* hired to kill, in cold blood, as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

There is likewise a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their troops to richer nations, for so much a-day to each man: of which they keep three-fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance: Such are those in many northern parts of Europe.

What you have told me, said my master, upon the subject of war, does, indeed, discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to: however, it is happy that the shame is greater than the danger; and that nature has left you utterly incapable of doing much mischief: For your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpose, unless by consent. Then as to the claws upon your feet, before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our *Yahoos* would drive a dozen of yours before him. And therefore, in recounting the numbers of those who have been killed in battle, I cannot but think you have said the thing which is not.

I could not forbear shaking my head, and smiling a little at his ignorance. And being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, muskets, carabines, pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea-fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans,

limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses feet, flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewed with carcasses, left for food to dogs, and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning and destroying. And to set forth the valour of my own dear countrymen, I assured him that I had seen them blow up a hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators.

I was going on to more particulars, when my master commanded me silence. He said, Whoever understood the nature of *Yahoos* might easily believe it possible for so vile an animal to be capable of every action I had named, if their strength and cunning equalled their malice. But as my discourse had increased his abhorrence of the whole species, so he found it gave him a disturbance in his mind, to which he was wholly a stranger before. He thought his ears, being used to such abominable words, might, by degrees, admit them with less detestation: that although he hated the *Yahoos* of this country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious qualities, than he did a *gnnayh* (a bird of prey) for its cruelty, or a sharp stone for cutting his hoof. But when a creature pretending to reason could be capable of such enormities, he dreaded least the corruption of that faculty might be worse than brutality itself. He seemed, therefore, confident, that, instead of reason, we were only possessed of some quality fitted to increase our natural vices; as the reflection from a troubled stream returns the image of an ill-shapen body, not only larger, but more distorted.

He added, that he had heard too much upon the subject of war, both in this and some former discourses. There was another point which a little perplexed him at present. I had informed him that some of our crew left their country on account of being ruined by law; that I had already explained the meaning of the word; but he was at a loss how it should come to pass, that the law, which was intended for every man's preservation, should be any man's ruin. Therefore he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the present practice in my own country; because he thought nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretended to be, in showing us what he ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his honour, that law was a science in which I had not much conversed, farther than by employing advocates, in vain, upon some injustices that had been done me: however, I would give him all the satisfaction I was able.

I said, There was a society of men among us, bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid. To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example, if my neighbour has a mind to my cow, he has a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now, in this case, I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages: first, my lawyer, being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill will. The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the law. And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow. The first is, to gain over my adversary's lawyer with a double fee, who will then betray his client, by insinuating that he has justice on his side. The second way is, for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the cow to belong to my adversary: and this, if it be skilfully done, will certainly bespeak the favour of the bench. Now your honour is to know, that these judges are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers, who are grown old or lazy; and having been biassed all their lives against truth and equity, lie under such a fatal necessity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known some of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the faculty, by doing any thing unbecoming their nature or their office.

It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever has been done before may legally be done again; and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities to justify the most iniquitous opinions; and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading, they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause, but are loud, violent, and tedious in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned, they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary has to my cow; but whether the said cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her

in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years, come to an issue.

It is likewise to be observed, that this society has a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide whether the field left me by my ancestors for six generations belongs to me, or to a stranger three hundred miles off.

In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in power, after which, he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all due forms of law.

Here my master interposing, said, It was a pity that creatures endowed with such prodigious abilities of mind, as these lawyers, by the description I gave of them, must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be instructors of others in wisdom and knowledge. In answer to which I assured his honour, that in all points out of their own trade they were usually the most ignorant and stupid generation among us, the most despicable in common conversation, avowed enemies to all knowledge and learning, and equally disposed to pervert the general reason of mankind in every other subject of discourse as in that of their own profession.

## CHAP. VI.

*A Continuation of the State of England under Queen Anne. The Character of a First Minister of State in European Courts.*

My master was yet wholly at a loss to understand what motives could incite this race of lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves, and engage in a confederacy of injustice, merely for the sake of injuring their fellow-animals: neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying they did it for hire: Whereupon I was at much pains to describe to him the use of money, the materials it was made of, and the value of the metals; that when a *Yahoo* had got a great store of this precious substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to; the finest clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks, and have his choice of the most beautiful females. Therefore, since money alone was able to perform all these feats, our *Yahoos* thought they could never have enough of it to spend, or to save, as they found themselves inclined, from their natural bent, either to profusion or avarice; that the rich man enjoyed the fruit of the poor man's labour, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former; that the bulk of our people were forced to live miserably, by labouring every day for small wages, to make a few live plentifully.

I enlarged myself much on these, and many other particulars to the same purpose; but his honour was still to seek; for he went upon a supposition that all animals had a title to their share in the productions of the earth, and especially those who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know, what these costly meats were, and how any of us happened to want them? Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my head, with the various methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink as for sauces, and innumerable other conveniencies. I assured him that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better female *Yahoos* could get her breakfast, or a cup to put it in. He said, that must needs be a miserable country, which cannot furnish food for its own inhabitants. But what he chiefly wondered at was, how such vast tracts of ground as I described should be wholly without fresh water, and the people put to the necessity of sending over the sea for drink. I replied, that England (the dear place of my nativity) was computed to produce three times the quantity of food more than its inhabitants are able to consume, as well as liquors extracted from grain, or pressed out of the fruit of certain trees, which made excellent drink, and the same proportion in every other convenience of life. But in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, whence, in return, we brought the materials of diseases, folly, and vice, to spend among ourselves. Hence it follows, of necessity, that vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, pimping, flattering, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, scribbling, stargazing, poisoning, whoring, canting, libelling, free-thinking, and the like occupations: every one of which terms I was at much pains to make him understand.

That wine was not imported among us from foreign countries to supply the want of

water or other drinks, but because it was a sort of liquid which made us merry, by putting us out of our senses, diverted all melancholy thoughts, begat wild extravagant imaginations in the brain, raised our hopes and banished our fears, suspended every office of reason for a time, and deprived us of the use of our limbs, till we fell into a profound sleep; although it must be confessed that we always awaked sick and dispirited, and that the use of this liquor filled us with diseases which made our lives uncomfortable and short.

But, beside all this, the bulk of our people supported themselves by furnishing the necessities or conveniences of life to the rich, and to each other. For instance, when I am at home, and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my body the workmanship of a hundred tradesmen, the building and furniture of my house employ as many more, and five times the number to adorn my wife.

I was going on to tell him of another sort of people who get their livelihood by attending the sick, having, upon some occasions, informed his honour that many of my crew had died of diseases. But here it was with the utmost difficulty that I brought him to apprehend what I meant. He could easily conceive that a *Houyhnhnm* grew weak and heavy a few days before his death, or, by some accident, might hurt a limb; but that nature, who works all things to perfection, should suffer any pains to breed in our bodies, he thought impossible, and desired to know the reason of so unaccountable an evil.

I told him we fed on a thousand things which operated contrary to each other; that we ate when we were not hungry, and drank without the provocation of thirst; that we sat whole nights drinking strong liquors, without eating a bit, which disposed us to sloth, inflamed our bodies, and precipitated or prevented digestion; that prostitute female *Yahoos* acquired a certain malady, which bred rottenness in the bones of those who fell into their embraces; that this, and many other diseases, were propagated from father to son, so that great numbers come into the world with complicated maladies upon them; that it would be endless to give him a catalogue of all diseases incident to human bodies, for they would not be fewer than five or six hundred, spread over every limb and joint; in short, every part, external and intestine, having diseases appropriated to itself: To remedy which, there was a sort of people bred up among us in the profession, or the pretence, of curing the sick. And because I had some skill in the faculty, I would, in gratitude to his honour, let him know the whole mystery and method by which they proceed.

Their fundamental is, that all diseases arise from repletion, whence they conclude, that a great evacuation of the body is necessary, either through the natural passage, or upwards at the mouth. Their next business is, from herbs, minerals, gums, oils, shells, salts, juices, sea-weed, excrements, barks of trees, serpents, toads, frogs, spiders, dead men's flesh and bones, birds, beasts, and fishes, to form a composition, for smell and taste, the most abominable, nauseous, and detestable, they can possibly contrive, which the stomach immediately rejects with loathing, and this they call a vomit; or else, from the same store-house, with some other poisonous additions, they command us to take in at the orifice above or below (just as the physician then happens to be disposed) a medicine equally annoying and disgustful to the bowels, which, relaxing the belly, drives down all before it; and this they call a purge, or a clyster. For nature (as the physicians allege) having intended the superior anterior orifice only for the intromission of solids and liquids, and the inferior posterior for ejection, these artists, ingeniously considering that in all diseases nature is forced out of her seat, therefore, to replace her in it, the body must be treated in a manner directly contrary, by interchanging the use of each orifice, forcing solids and liquids in at the anus, and making evacuations at the mouth.

But, besides real diseases, we are subject to many that are only imaginary, for which the physicians have invented imaginary cures: these have their several names, and so have the drugs that are proper for them; and with these our female *Yahoos* are always infested.

One great excellency in this tribe is their skill at prognostics, wherein they seldom fail; their predictions in real diseases, when they rise to any degree of malignity, generally portending death, which is always in their power, when recovery is not; and therefore, upon any unexpected signs of amendment, after they have pronounced their sentence, rather than be accused as false prophets, they know how to approve their sagacity to the world, by a seasonable dose.

They are likewise of special use to husbands and wives who are grown weary of their mates, to eldest sons, to great ministers of state, and often to princes.

I had formerly, upon occasion, discoursed with my master upon the nature of government in general, and particularly of our own excellent constitution, deservedly the wonder and envy of the whole world. But having here accidentally mentioned a minister of state, he commanded me, some time after, to inform him what species of *Yahoo* I particularly meant by that appellation.

I told him that a first or chief minister of

state, who was the person I intended to describe, was a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger; at least, makes use of no other passions, but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles; that he applies his words to all uses, except to the indication of his mind; that he never tells a truth, but with an intent that you should take it for a lie; nor a lie, but with a design that you should take it for a truth; that those he speaks worst of behind their backs are in the surest way of preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others, or to yourself, you are from that day forlorn. The worst mark you can receive is a promise, especially when it is confirmed with an oath; after which every wise man retires, and gives over all hopes.

There are three methods by which a man may rise to be chief minister. The first is, by knowing how, with prudence, to dispose of a wife, a daughter, or a sister; the second, by betraying or undermining his predecessor; and the third is, by a furious zeal in public assemblies, against the corruptions of the court. But a wise prince would rather choose to employ those who practise the last of these methods; because such zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the will and passions of their master. That these ministers, having all employments at their disposal, preserve themselves in power by bribing the majority of a senate or great council; and at last, by an expedient, called an act of indemnity, (whereof I described the nature to him,) they secure themselves from after reckonings, and retire from the public laden with the spoils of the nation.

The palace of chief minister is a seminary to breed up others in his own trade: the pages, lackeys, and porter, by imitating their master, become ministers of state in their several districts, and learn to excel in the three principal ingredients of insolence, lying, and bribery. Accordingly, they have a subaltern court paid to them by persons of the best rank; and sometimes, by the force of dexterity and impudence, arrive, through several gradations, to be successors to their lord.

He is usually governed by a decayed wench, or favourite footman, who are the tunnels through which all graces are conveyed, and may properly be called, in the last resort, the governors of the kingdom.

One day, in discourse, my master having heard me mention the nobility of my country, was pleased to make me a compliment which I could not pretend to deserve: That he was sure I must have been born of some noble family because I far exceeded in shape, colour, and cleanliness, all the *Yahoos* of his nation, although I seemed to fail in strength and agility, which must be imputed to my different way of living from those other brutes; and, besides, I was not only endowed with the faculty of speech, but likewise with some rudiments of reason, to a degree that, with all his acquaintance, I passed for a prodigy.

He made me observe, that among the *Houyhnhnms*, the white, the sorrel, and the iron-gray, were not so exactly shaped as the bay, the dapple-gray, and the black; nor born with equal talents of mind, or a capacity to improve them: and therefore continued always in the condition of servants, without ever aspiring to match out of their own race, which, in that country, would be reckoned monstrous and unnatural.

I made his honour my most humble acknowledgments for the good opinion he was pleased to conceive of me, but assured him, at the same time, That my birth was of the lower sort, having been born of plain honest parents, who were just able to give me a tolerable education; that nobility among us was altogether a different thing from the idea he had of it; that our young noblemen are bred from their childhood in idleness and luxury; that as soon as years will permit, they consume their vigour, and contract odious diseases among lewd females; and when their fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some woman of mean birth, disagreeable person, and unsound constitution, (merely for the sake of money,) whom they hate and despise; that the productions of such marriages are generally scrofulous, ricketty, or deformed children; by which means the family seldom continues above three generations, unless the wife takes care to provide a healthy father, among her neighbours and domestics, in order to improve and continue the breed; that a weak, diseased body, a meagre countenance, and sallow complexion, are the true marks of noble blood; and a healthy, robust appearance is so disgraceful in a man of quality, that the world concludes his real father to have been a groom or a coachman. The imperfections of his mind run parallel with those of his body, being a composition of spleen, dulness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality, and pride.

Without the consent of this illustrious body, no law can be enacted, repealed, or altered; and these nobles have likewise the decision of all our possessions, without appeal.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Author's great Love of his Native Country. His Master's Observations upon the Constitution and Administration of England, as described by the Author, with Parallel Cases and Comparisons. His Master's Observations upon Human Nature.*

THE reader may be disposed to wonder how I could prevail on myself to give so free a representation of my own species, among a race of mortals who are already too apt to conceive the vilest opinion of human kind, from that entire congruity between me and their *Yahoos*. But I must freely confess, that the many virtues of those excellent quadrupeds, placed in opposite view to human corruptions, had so far opened my eyes, and enlarged my understanding, that I began to view the actions and passions of man in a very different light, and to think the honour of my own kind not worth managing; which, besides, it was impossible for me to do, before a person of so acute judgment as my master, who daily convinced me of a thousand faults in myself, whereof I had not the least perception before, and which, with us, would never be numbered, even among human infirmities. I had likewise learned, from his example, an utter detestation of all falsehood or disguise; and truth appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing every thing to it.

Let me deal so candidly with the reader, as to confess that there was yet a much stronger motive for the freedom I took in my representation of things. I had not yet been a year in this country, before I contracted such a love and veneration for the inhabitants, that I entered on a firm resolution never to return to humankind, but to pass the rest of my life among these admirable *Houyhnhnms*, in the contemplation and practice of every virtue, where I could have no example or incitement to vice. But it was decreed by fortune, my perpetual enemy, that so great a felicity should not fall to my share. However, it is now some comfort to reflect, that in what I said of my countrymen I extenuated their faults as much as I durst before so strict an examiner, and upon every article gave as favourable a turn as the matter would bear. For, indeed, who is there alive that will not be swayed by his bias and partiality to the place of his birth?

I have related the substance of several conversations I had with my master during the greatest part of the time I had the honour to be in his service, but have, indeed, for brevity sake, omitted much more than is here set down.

When I had answered all his questions, and his curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied, he sent for me one morning early, and commanded me to sit down at some distance, (an honour which he had never before conferred upon me). He said, He had been very seriously considering my whole story, as far as it related both to myself and my country; that he looked upon us as a sort of animals, to whose share, by what accident he could not conjecture, some small pittance of reason had fallen, whereof we made no other use, than, by its assistance, to aggravate our natural corruptions, and to acquire new ones, which nature had not given us; that we disarmed ourselves of the few abilities she had bestowed, had been very successful in multiplying our original wants, and seemed to spend our whole lives in vain endeavours to supply them by our own inventions; that as to myself, it was manifest I had neither the strength nor agility of a common *Yahoo*; that I walked firmly on my hinder feet, had found out a contrivance to make my claws of no use or defence, and to remove the hair from my chin, which was intended as a shelter from the sun and the weather: lastly, that I could neither run with speed, nor climb trees like my brethren, as he called them, the *Yahoos* in his country.

That our institutions of government and law were plainly owing to our gross defects in reason, and by consequence in virtue; because reason alone is sufficient to govern a rational creature; which was therefore a character we had no pretence to challenge, even from the account I had given of my own people; although he manifestly perceived, that, in order to favour them, I had concealed many particulars, and often said the thing which was not.

He was the more confirmed in this opinion, because, he observed, that, as I agreed in every feature of my body with other *Yahoos*, except where it was to my real disadvantage in point of strength, speed, and activity, the shortness of claws, and some other particulars, where nature had no part; so, from the representation I had given him of our lives, our manners, and our actions, he found as near a resemblance in the disposition of our minds. He said, The *Yahoos* were known to hate one another more than they did any different species of animals; and the reason usually assigned was, the odiousness of their own shapes, which all could see in the rest, but not in themselves. He had therefore begun to think it not unwise in us to cover our bodies, and by that invention conceal many of our deformi-

ties from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But he now found he had been mistaken, and that the dissensions of those brutes in his country were owing to the same cause with ours, as I had described them. For if, said he, you throw among five *Yahoos* as much food as would be sufficient for fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the ears, each single one impatient to have all to itself; and therefore a servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a distance from each other; that if a cow died of age or accident, before a *Houyhnhnm* could secure it for his own *Yahoos*, those in the neighbourhood would come in herds to seize it, and then would ensue such a battle as I had described, with terrible wounds, made by their claws, on both sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another, for want of such convenient instruments of death as we had invented. At other times, the like battles have been fought between the *Yahoos* of several neighbourhoods, without any visible cause; those of one district watching all opportunities to surprise the next, before they are prepared. But if they find their project has miscarried, they return home, and, for want of enemies, engage in what I call a civil war among themselves.

That in some fields of his country there are certain shining stones of several colours, whereof the *Yahoos* are violently fond; and when part of these stones is fixed in the earth, as it sometimes happens, they will dig with their claws for whole days to get them out; then carry them away, and hide them by heaps in their kennels; but still looking round with great caution, for fear their comrades should find out their treasure. My master said, He could never discover the reason of this unnatural appetite, or how these stones could be of any use to a *Yahoo*; but now he believed it might proceed from the same principle of avarice which I had ascribed to mankind: that he had once, by way of experiment, privately removed a heap of these stones from the place where one of his *Yahoos* had buried it; whereupon the sordid animal, missing his treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole herd to the place, there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tearing the rest, began to pine away, would neither eat, nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a servant privately to convey the stones into the same hole, and hide them as before; which, when his *Yahoo* had found, he presently recovered his spirits and good humour, but took care to remove them to a better hiding-place, and has ever since been a very serviceable brute.

My master further assured me, which I also observed myself, That in the fields where the shining stones abound, the fiercest and most frequent battles are fought, occasioned by perpetual inroads of the neighbouring *Yahoos*.

He said, it was common, when two *Yahoos* discovered such a stone in a field, and were contending which of them should be the proprietor, a third would take the advantage, and carry it away from them both; which my master would needs contend to have some kind of resemblance with our suits at law; wherein I thought it for our credit not to undeceive him; since the decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many decrees among us; because the plaintiff and defendant there lost nothing beside the stone they contended for; whereas our courts of equity would never have dismissed the cause, while either of them had any thing left.

My master, continuing his discourse, said, There was nothing that rendered the *Yahoos* more odious than their undistinguishing appetite to devour every thing that came in their way, whether herbs, roots, berries, the corrupted flesh of animals, or all mingled together: and it was peculiar in their temper, that they were fonder of what they could get by rapine or stealth, at a greater distance, than much better food provided for them at home. If their prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst; after which, nature had pointed out to them a certain root that gave them a general evacuation.

There was also another kind of root, very juicy, but somewhat rare and difficult to be found, which the *Yahoos* sought for with much eagerness, and would suck it with great delight: it produced in them the same effects that wine has upon us. It would make them sometimes hug, and sometimes tear one another: they would howl, and grin, and chatter, and reel, and tumble, and then fall asleep in the mud.

I did indeed observe that the *Yahoos* were the only animals in this country subject to any diseases; which, however, were much fewer than horses have among us, and contracted, not by any ill treatment they met with, but by the nastiness and greediness of that sordid brute. Neither has their language any more than a general appellation for those maladies, which is borrowed from the name of the beast, and called *hnea-yahoo*, or *Yahoo's-evil*; and the cure prescribed is a mixture of their own dung and urine, forcibly put down the *Yahoo's* throat. This I have since often known to have been taken with success, and do here freely recommend it to my countrymen, for the public good, as an admirable specific against all diseases produced by repletion.

As to learning, government, arts, manufac-

tures, and the like, my master confessed, he could find little or no resemblance between the *Yahoos* of that country and those in ours; for he only meant to observe what parity there was in our natures. He had heard, indeed, some curious *Houyhnhnms* observe, that in most herds there was a sort of ruling *Yahoo*, (as among us there is generally some leading or principal stag in a park,) who was always more deformed in body, and mischievous in disposition, than any of the rest; that this leader had usually a favourite as like himself as he could get, whose employment was to lick his master's feet and posteriors, and drive the female *Yahoos* to his kennel; for which he was now and then rewarded with a piece of ass's flesh. This favourite is hated by the whole herd, and therefore, to protect himself, keeps always near the person of his leader. He usually continues in office till a worse can be found; but the very moment he is discarded, his successor, at the head of all the *Yahoos* in that district, young and old, male and female, come in a body, and discharge their excrements upon him, from head to foot. But how far this might be applicable to our courts, and favourites, and ministers of state, my master said I could best determine.

I durst make no return to this malicious insinuation, which debased human understanding below the sagacity of a common hound, who has judgment enough to distinguish and follow the cry of the ablest dog in the pack, without being ever mistaken.

My master told me, There were some qualities remarkable in the *Yahoos*, which he had not observed me to mention, or at least very slightly, in the accounts I had given him of humankind. He said, Those animals, like other brutes, had their females in common; but in this they differed, that the she *Yahoo* would admit the males while she was pregnant; and that the hes would quarrel and fight with the females, as fiercely as with each other; both which practices were such degrees of infamous brutality, as no other sensitive creature ever arrived at.

Another thing he wondered at in the *Yahoos*, was their strange disposition to nastiness and dirt; whereas there appears to be a natural love of cleanliness in all other animals. As to the two former accusations, I was glad to let them pass without any reply, because I had not a word to offer upon them in defence of my species, which otherwise I certainly had done from my own inclinations. But I could have easily vindicated humankind from the imputation of singularity upon the last article, if there had been any swine in that country, (as, unluckily for me, there were not,) which, although it may be a sweeter quadruped than a *Yahoo*, cannot, I humbly conceive, in justice, pretend to more cleanliness; and so his honour himself must have owned, if he had seen their filthy way of feeding, and their custom of wallowing and sleeping in the mud.

My master likewise mentioned another quality which his servants had discovered in several *Yahoos*, and to him was wholly unaccountable. He said a fancy would sometimes take a *Yahoo* to retire into a corner, to lie down, and howl and groan, and spurn away all that came near him, although he were young and fat, wanted neither food nor water; nor did the servant imagine what could possibly ail him. And the only remedy they found was, to set him to hard work, after which he would infallibly come to himself. To this I was silent, out of partiality to my own kind; yet here I could plainly discover the true seeds of spleen, which only seizes on the lazy, the luxurious, and the rich; who, if they were forced to undergo the same regimen, I would undertake for the cure.

His honour had farther observed, that a female *Yahoo* would often stand behind a bank or a bush, to gaze on the young males passing by, and then appear, and hide, using many antic gestures and grimaces; at which time it was observed that she had a most offensive smell; and when any of the males advanced, would slowly retire, looking often back, and with a counterfeit show of fear, run off into some convenient place, where she knew the male would follow her.

At other times, if a female stranger came among them, three or four of her own sex would get about her, and stare, and chatter, and grin, and smell her all over, and then turn off, with gestures that seemed to express contempt and disdain.

Perhaps my master might refine a little in these speculations, which he had drawn from what he observed himself, or had been told him by others: however, I could not reflect, without some amazement, and much sorrow, that the rudiments of lewdness, coquetry, censure, and scandal, should have place by instinct in womankind.

I expected every moment that my master would accuse the *Yahoos* of those unnatural appetites in both sexes, so common among us. But Nature, it seems, has not been so expert a school-mistress; and these politer pleasures are entirely the productions of Art and Reason on our side of the globe.

## CHAP. VIII.

*The Author relates several Particulars of the Yahoos. The great Virtues of the Houyhnhnms. The Education and Exercise of their Youth. Their General Assembly.*

As I ought to have understood human nature much better than I supposed it possible for my master to do, so it was easy to apply the character he gave of the *Yahoos* to myself and my countrymen: and I believed I could yet make farther discoveries, from my own observation. I therefore often begged his honour to let me go among the herds of *Yahoos* in the neighbourhood; to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced that the hatred I bore these brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his honour ordered one of his servants, a strong sorrel nag, very honest and good natured, to be my guard; without whose protection I durst not undertake such adventures; for I have already told the reader how much I was pestered by these odious animals upon my first arrival: and I afterward failed very narrowly, three or four times, of falling into their clutches, when I happened to stray at any distance without my hanger. And I have reason to believe they had some imagination that I was of their own species; which I often assisted myself, by stripping up my sleeves, and showing my naked arms and breasts in their sight, when my protector was with me. At which times they would approach as near as they durst, and imitate my actions, after the manner of monkeys, but ever with great signs of hatred; as a tame jackdaw, with cap and stockings, is always persecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.

They are prodigiously nimble from their infancy. However, I once caught a young male of three years old, and endeavoured, by all marks of tenderness, to make it quiet; but the little imp fell a squalling, and scratching, and biting, with such violence, that I was forced to let it go; and it was high time; for a whole troop of old ones came about us at the noise, but finding the cub was safe, (for away it run,) and my sorrel nag being by, they durst not venture near us. I observed the young animal's flesh to smell very rank, and the stink was somewhat between a weasel and a fox, but much more disagreeable. I forgot another circumstance, (and perhaps I might have the reader's pardon if it were wholly omitted,) that while I held the odious vermin in my hands, it voided its filthy excrements, of a yellow liquid substance, all over my clothes; but by good fortune there was a small brook hard by, where I washed myself as clean as I could, although I durst not come into my master's presence until I were sufficiently aired.

By what I could discover, the *Yahoos* appear the most unteachable of all animals; their capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry burdens. Yet I am of opinion this defect arises chiefly from a perverse, restive disposition; for they are cunning, malicious, treacherous, and revengeful. They are strong and hardy, but of a cowardly spirit, and by consequence insolent, abject and cruel. It is observed, that the red haired of both sexes are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest, whom yet they much exceed in strength and activity.

The *Houyhnhnms* keep the *Yahoos* for present use in huts not far from the house; but the rest are sent abroad to certain fields, where they dig up roots, eat several kinds of herbs, and search about for carrion, or sometimes catch weasels and *lahumuhs*, (a sort of wild rat,) which they greedily devour. Nature has taught them to dig deep holes with their nails on the side of a rising ground, wherein they lie by themselves; only the kennels of the females are larger, sufficient to hold two or three cubs.

They swim from their infancy like frogs, and are able to continue long under water, where they often take fish, which the females carry home to their young. And upon this occasion I hope the reader will pardon my relating an odd adventure.

Being one day abroad with my protector the sorrel nag, and the weather exceeding hot, I entreated him to let me bathe in a river that was near. He consented, and I immediately stripped myself stark naked, and went down softly into the stream. It happened that a young female *Yahoo*, standing behind a bank, saw the whole proceeding, and inflamed by desire, as the nag and I conjectured, came running with all speed, and leaped into the water, within five yards of the place where I bathed. I was never in my life so terribly frightened. The nag was grazing at some distance, not suspecting any harm. She embraced me after a most lewd some manner. I roared as loud as I could, and the nag came galloping towards me, whereupon she quitted her grasp with the utmost reluctancy, and leaped upon the opposite bank, where she stood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my clothes.

This was a matter of diversion to my master and his family, as well as of mortification to myself; for now I could no longer deny that I was a real *Yahoo* in every limb and

feature, since the females had a natural propensity to me, as one of their own species. Neither was the hair of this brute of a red colour, (which might have been some excuse for an appetite a little irregular,) but black as a sloe, and her countenance did not make an appearance altogether so hideous as the rest of her kind; for I think she could not be above eleven years old.

Having lived three years in this country, the reader, I suppose, will expect that I should, like other travellers, give him some account of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal study to learn.

As these noble *Houyhnhnms* are endowed by nature with a general disposition to all virtues, and have no conceptions or ideas of what is evil in a rational creature, so their grand maxim is, to cultivate reason, and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is reason among them a point problematical, as with us, where men can argue with plausibility on both sides of the question, but strikes you with immediate conviction, as it must needs do, where it is not mingled, obscured, or discoloured, by passion and interest. I remember it was with extreme difficulty that I could bring my master to understand the meaning of the word *opinion*, or how a point could be disputable; because reason taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain; and beyond our knowledge we cannot do either: so that controversies, wranglings, disputes, and positiveness, in false or dubious propositions, are evils unknown among the *Houyhnhnms*. In the like manner, when I used to explain to him our several systems of natural philosophy, he would laugh, that a creature pretending to reason should value itself upon the knowledge of other people's conjectures, and in things where that knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the sentiments of Socrates, as Plato delivers them; which I mention as the highest honour I can do that prince of philosophers. I have often since reflected what destruction such doctrine would make in the libraries of Europe, and how many paths of fame would be then shut up in the learned world.

Friendship and benevolence are the two principal virtues among the *Houyhnhnms*, and these not confined to particular objects, but universal to the whole race; for a stranger from the remotest part is equally treated with the nearest neighbour, and wherever he goes, looks upon himself as at home. They preserve decency and civility in the highest degrees, but are altogether ignorant of ceremony. They have no fondness for their colts or foals, but the care they take in educating them proceeds entirely from the dictates of reason. And I observed my master to show the same affection to his neighbour's issue that he had for his own. They will have it that nature teaches them to love the whole species, and it is reason only that makes a distinction of persons, where there is a superior degree of virtue.

When the matron *Houyhnhnms* have produced one of each sex, they no longer accompany with their consorts, except they lose one of their issue by some casualty, which very seldom happens; but in such a case they meet again; or when the like accident befals a person whose wife is past bearing, some other couple bestow on him one of their own colts, and then go together again until the mother is pregnant. This caution is necessary to prevent the country from being overburdened with numbers. But the race of inferior *Houyhnhnms*, bred up to be servants, is not so strictly limited upon this article: these are allowed to produce three of each sex, to be domestics in the noble families.

In their marriages they are exactly careful to choose such colours as will not make any disagreeable mixture in the breed. Strength is chiefly valued in the male, and comeliness in the female; not upon the account of love, but to preserve the race from degenerating; for where a female happens to excel in strength, a consort is chosen with regard to comeliness.

Courtship, love, presents, jointures, settlements, have no place in their thoughts, or terms whereby to express them in their language. The young couple meet and are joined, merely because it is the determination of their parents and friends: it is what they see done every day, and they look upon it as one of the necessary actions of a reasonable being. But the violation of marriage, or any other unchastity, was never heard of; and the married pair pass their lives with the same friendship and mutual benevolence that they bear to all others of the same species who come in their way, without jealousy, fondness, quarrelling, or discontent.

In educating the youth of both sexes their method is admirable, and highly deserves our imitation. These are not suffered to taste a grain of oats, except upon certain days, till eighteen years old; nor milk, but very rarely; and in summer they graze two hours in the morning, and as many in the evening, which their parents likewise observe: but the servants are not allowed above half that time, and a great part of their grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient hours, when they can be best spared from work.

Temperance, industry, exercise, and clean-

liness, are the lessons equally enjoined to the young ones of both sexes; and my master thought it monstrous in us to give the females a different kind of education from the males, except in some articles of domestic management; whereby, as he truly observed, one half of our natives were good for nothing but bringing children into the world; and to trust the care of our children to such useless animals, he said, was yet a greater instance of brutality.

But the *Houyhnhnms* train up their youth to strength, speed, and hardiness, by exercising them in running races up and down steep hills, and over hard stony grounds; and when they are all in a sweat, they are ordered to leap over head and ears into a pond or river. Four times a-year the youth of a certain district meet to show their proficiency in running and leaping, and other feats of strength and agility, where the victor is rewarded with a song in his or her praise. On this festival the servants drive a herd of *Yahoos* into the field, laden with hay, and oats, and milk, for a repast to the *Houyhnhnms*; after which, these brutes are immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to the assembly.

Every fourth year, at the vernal equinox, there is a representative council of the whole nation, which meets in a plain about twenty miles from our house, and continues about five or six days. Here they inquire into the state and condition of the several districts; whether they abound or be deficient in hay or oats, or cows or *Yahoos*? and wherever there is any want, (which is but seldom,) it is immediately supplied by unanimous consent and contribution. Here, likewise, the regulation of children is settled; as, for instance, if a *Houyhnhnm* has two males, he changes one of them with another that has two females; and when a child has been lost by any casualty, where the mother is past breeding, it is determined what family in the district shall breed another to supply the loss.

## CHAP. IX.

*A grand Debate at the General Assembly of the Houyhnhnms, and how it was determined. The Learning of the Houyhnhnms. Their Buildings. Their Manner of Burials. The Defectiveness of their Language.*

One of these grand assemblies was held in my time, about three months before my departure, whither my master went, as the representative of our district. In this council was resumed their old debate, and indeed the only debate that ever happened in their country; whereof my master, after his return, gave me a very particular account.

The question to be debated was, Whether the *Yahoos* should be exterminated from the face of the earth? One of the members for the affirmative offered several arguments of great strength and weight, alleging, that as the *Yahoos* were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed animal which nature ever produced, so they were the most restive and indocible, mischievous and malicious. They would privately suck the teats of the *Houyhnhnm* cows, kill and devour their colts, trample down their oats and grass, if they were not continually watched, and commit a thousand other extravagancies. He took notice of a general tradition, that *Yahoos* had not been always in their country; but that, many ages ago, two of these brutes appeared together upon a mountain; whether produced by the heat of the sun upon corrupted mud and slime, or from the ooze and froth of the sea, was never known: that these *Yahoos* engendered, and their brood, in a short time, grew so numerous as to overrun and infest the whole nation: that the *Houyhnhnms*, to get rid of this evil, made a general hunting, and at last enclosed the whole herd; and, destroying the vicious, every *Houyhnhnm* kept two young ones in a kennel, and brought them to such a degree of tameness, as an animal, so savage by nature, can be capable of acquiring; using them for draught and carriage: that there seemed to be much truth in this tradition; and that those creatures could not be *ylnhniamshy*, (or *aborigines* of the land,) because of the violent hatred the *Houyhnhnms*, as well as all other animals, bore them; which, although their evil disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a degree, if they had been *aborigines*; or else they would have long since been rooted out; that the inhabitants, taking a fancy to use the service of the *Yahoos*, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the breed of asses, which are a comely animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive smell, strong enough for labour, although they yield to the other in agility of body; and if their braying be no agreeable sound, it is far preferable to the horrible howlings of the *Yahoos*.

Several others declared their sentiments to the same purpose, when my master proposed an expedient to the assembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the hint from me. He approved of the tradition mentioned by the honourable member who spoke before, and confirmed, that the two *Yahoos*, said to be first seen among them, had been driven thither over the sea; that coming to land, and being forsaken by their companions, they retired to

the mountains, and, degenerating by degrees, became, in process of time, much more savage than those of their own species in the country whence these two originals came. The reason of this assertion was, that he had now in his possession a certain wonderful *Yahoo*, (meaning myself,) which most of them had heard of, and many of them had seen. He then related to them how he first found me; that my body was all covered with an artificial composure of the skins and hairs of other animals; that I spoke in a language of my own, and thoroughly learned theirs; that I had related to him the accidents which brought me thither; that when he saw me without my covering, I was an exact *Yahoo* in every part, only of a whiter colour, less hairy, and with shorter claws. He added, how I had endeavoured to persuade him, that, in my own and other countries, the *Yahoos* acted as the governing, rational animal, and held the *Houyhnhnms* in servitude; that he observed in me all the qualities of a *Yahoo*, only a little more civilised by some tincture of reason; which, however, was in a degree as far inferior to the *Houyhnhnm* race as the *Yahoos* of their country were to me; that, among other things, I mentioned a custom we had of castrating *Houyhnhnms* when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the operation was easy and safe; that it was no shame to learn wisdom from brutes, as industry is taught by the ant, and building by the swallow; (for so I translate the word *lyhannh*, although it be a much larger fowl;) that this invention might be practised upon the younger *Yahoos* here, which, beside rendering them tractable and fitter for use, would, in an age, put an end to the whole species, without destroying life; that in the mean time the *Houyhnhnms* should be exhorted to cultivate the breed of asses, which as they are in all respects more valuable brutes, so they have this advantage, to be fit for service at five years old, which the others are not till twelve.

This was all my master thought fit to tell me, at that time, of what passed in the grand council. But he was pleased to conceal one particular, which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy effect, as the reader will know in its proper place, and whence I date all the succeeding misfortunes of my life.

The *Houyhnhnms* have no letters, and consequently their knowledge is all traditional; but their happening few events of any moment among a people so well united, naturally disposed to every virtue, wholly governed by reason, and cut off from all commerce with other nations, the historical part is easily preserved, without burdening their memories. I have already observed, that they are subject to no diseases, and therefore can have no need of physicians. However, they have excellent medicines, composed of herbs, to cure accidental bruises, and cuts in the pastern or frog of the foot, by sharp stones, as well as other maims and hurts in the several parts of the body.

They calculate the year by the revolution of the sun and the moon, but use no subdivisions into weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the motions of those two luminaries, and understand the nature of eclipses; and this is the utmost progress of their astronomy.

In poetry they must be allowed to excel all other mortals, wherein the justness of their similies, and the minuteness, as well as exactness, of their descriptions, are indeed inimitable. Their verses abound very much in both of these, and usually contain either some exalted notions of friendship and benevolence, or the praises of those who were victors in races and other bodily exercises. Their buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient, but well contrived to defend them from all injuries of cold and heat. They have a kind of tree, which, at forty years old, loosens in the root, and falls with the first storm: it grows very straight, and being pointed like stakes with a sharp stone, (for the *Houyhnhnms* know not the use of iron,) they stick them erect in the ground, about ten inches asunder, and then weave in oat-straw, or sometimes wattles, between them. The roof is made after the same manner, and so are the doors.

The *Houyhnhnms* use the hollow part, between the pastern and the hoof of their feet, as we do our hands, and this with greater dexterity than I could at first imagine. I have seen a white mare of our family thread a needle (which I lent her on purpose) with that joint. They milk their cows, reap their oats, and do all the work which requires hands in the same manner. They have a kind of hard flints, which, by grinding against other stones, they form into instruments, that serve instead of wedges, axes, and hammers. With tools made of these flints they likewise cut their hay and reap their oats, which there grow naturally in several fields; the *Yahoos* draw home the sheaves in carriages, and the servants tread them in certain covered huts, to get out the grain, which is kept in stores. They make a rude kind of earthen and wooden vessels, and bake the former in the sun.

If they can avoid casualties, they die only of old age, and are buried in the obscurest places that can be found; their friends and relations expressing neither joy nor grief at their

departure; nor does the dying person discover the least regret that he is leaving the world, any more than if he were upon returning home from a visit to one of his neighbours. I remember my master having once made an appointment with a friend and his family to come to his house, upon some affair of importance: on the day fixed, the mistress and her two children came very late; she made two excuses; first for her husband, who, as she said, happened that very morning to *Ihnuwnh*. The word is strongly expressive in their language, but not easily rendered into English: it signifies, to retire to his first mother. Her excuse for not coming sooner was, that her husband dying late in the morning, she was a good while consulting her servants about a convenient place where his body should be laid: and I observed she behaved herself at our house as cheerfully as the rest. She died about three months after.

They live generally to seventy, or seventy-five years, very seldom to fourscore. Some weeks before their death they feel a gradual decay, but without pain. During this time they are much visited by their friends, because they cannot go abroad with their usual ease and satisfaction. However, about ten days before their death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the visits that have been made them by those who are nearest in the neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient sledge, drawn by *Yahoos*; which vehicle they use, not only upon this occasion, but when they grow old, upon long journeys, or when they are lamed by any accident. And therefore when the dying *Houyhnhnms* return those visits, they take a solemn leave of their friends, as if they were going to some remote part of the country, where they designed to pass the rest of their lives.

I know not whether it may be worth observing, that the *Houyhnhnms* have no word in their language to express any thing that is evil, except what they borrow from the deformities or ill qualities of the *Yahoos*. Thus they denote the folly of a servant, an omission of a child, a stone that cuts their feet, a continuance of foul or unseasonable weather, and the like, by adding to each the epithet of *Yahoo*. For instance: *hhnm Yahoo*, *whnaholm Yahoo*, *ynlhmndwihlma Yahoo*, and an ill-contrived house, *ynholmhnwrohlnw Yahoo*.

I could, with great pleasure, enlarge farther upon the manners and virtues of this excellent people: but intending in a short time to publish a volume by itself, expressly upon that subject, I refer the reader thither, and in the mean time proceed to relate my own sad catastrophe.

## CHAP. X.

*The Author's Economy and happy Life among the Houyhnhnms. His great Improvement in Virtue, by conversing with them. Their Conversations. The Author has notice given him by his Master, that he must depart from the Country. He falls into a Swoon for Grief, but submits. He contrives and finishes a Canoe by the help of a Fellow-Servant, and puts to Sea at a Venture.*

I HAD settled my little economy to my own heart's content. My master had ordered a room to be made for me, after their manner, about six yards from the house, the sides and floors of which I plastered with clay, and covered with rush-mats of my own contriving. I had beaten hemp, which there grows wild, and made a sort of ticking: this I filled with the feathers of several birds I had taken with springes made of *Yahoos'* hairs, and were excellent food. I had worked two chairs with my knife, the sorrel nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious part. When my clothes were worn to rags, I made myself others with the skins of rabbits, and of a certain beautiful animal about the same size, called *nnuhnoh*, the skin of which is covered with a fine down. Of these I also made very tolerable stockings. I soled my shoes with wood, which I cut from a tree, and fitted to the upper-leather; and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of *Yahoos* dried in the sun. I often got honey out of hollow trees, which I mingled with water, or ate with my bread. No man could more verify the truth of these two maxims, That nature is very easily satisfied; and, That necessity is the mother of invention. I enjoyed perfect health of body and tranquillity of mind; I did not feel the treachery or inconstancy of a friend, nor the injuries of a secret or open enemy; I had no occasion of bribing, flattering, or pimping, to procure the favour of any great man, or of his minion; I wanted no fence against fraud or oppression: Here was neither physician to destroy my body, nor lawyer to ruin my fortune; no informer to watch my words and actions, or forge accusations against me for hire: here were no gibers, censurers, backbiters, pickpockets, highwaymen, housebreakers, attorneys, bawds, buffoons, gamesters, politicians, wits, splenetics tedious talkers, controvertists, ravishers, murderers, robbers, virtuosoes; no leaders or followers of party and faction; no encouragers to vice by seducement or examples; no dungeons, axes, gibbets, whipping-posts, or pillories; no cheating shop-keepers or mechanics; no pride, vanity, or affectation; no fops, bullies, drunk

ards, strolling whores, or poxes; no ranting, lewd, expensive wives; no stupid, proud pedants; no importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing companions; no scoundrels raised from the dust upon the merit of their vices, or nobility thrown into it on account of their virtues; no lords, fiddlers, judges, or dancing-masters.

I had the favour of being admitted to several *Houyhnhnms* who came to visit or dine with my master; where his honour graciously suffered me to wait in the room, and listen to their discourse. Both he and his company would often descend to ask me questions, and receive my answers. I had also sometimes the honour of attending my master in his visits to others. I never presumed to speak, except in answer to a question; and then I did it with inward regret, because it was a loss of so much time for improving myself: but I was infinitely delighted with the station of an humble auditor in such conversations, where nothing passed but what was useful, expressed in the fewest and most significant words; where, as I have already said, the greatest decency was observed, without the least degree of ceremony; where no person spoke without being pleased himself, and pleasing his companions; where there was no interruption, tediousness, heat, or difference of sentiments. They have a notion, that when people are met together, a short silence does much improve conversation: this I found to be true; for during those little intermissions of talk, new ideas would arise in their minds, which very much enlivened the discourse. Their subjects are generally on friendship and benevolence, on order and economy; sometimes upon the visible operations of nature, or ancient traditions; upon the bounds and limits of virtue; upon the unerring rules of reason; or upon some determinations to be taken at the next great assembly; and often upon the various excellencies of poetry. I may add, without vanity, that my presence often gave them sufficient matter for discourse, because it afforded my master an occasion of letting his friends into the history of me and my country, upon which they were all pleased to descant, in a manner not very advantageous to humankind; and for that reason I shall not repeat what they said: only I may be allowed to observe, that his honour, to my great admiration, appeared to understand the nature of *Yahoos* much better than myself. He went through all our vices and follies, and discovered many, which I had never mentioned to him, by only supposing what qualities a *Yahoo* of their country, with a small proportion of reason, might be capable of exerting; and concluded, with too much probability, how vile, as well as miserable, such a creature must be.

I freely confess, that all the little knowledge I have, of any value, was acquired by the lectures I received from my master, and from hearing the discourses of him and his friends; to which I should be prouder to listen, than to dictate to the greatest and wisest assembly in Europe. I admired the strength, comeliness, and speed of the inhabitants; and such a constellation of virtues, in such amiable persons, produced in me the highest veneration. At first, indeed, I did not feel that natural awe which the *Yahoos* and all other animals bear towards them; but it grew upon me by degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful love and gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my species.

When I thought of my family, my friends, my countrymen, or the human race in general, I considered them, as they really were, *Yahoos* in shape and disposition, perhaps a little more civilized, and qualified with the gift of speech; but making no other use of reason, than to improve and multiply those vices whereof their brethren in this country had only the share that nature allotted them. When I happened to behold the reflection of my own form in a lake or a fountain, I turned away my face in horror and detestation of myself; and could better endure the sight of a common *Yahoo*, than of my own person.

By conversing with the *Houyhnhnms*, and looking upon them with delight, I fell to imitate their gait and gesture, which is now grown into a habit; and my friends often tell me, in a blunt way, that I trot like a horse; which, however, I take for a great compliment. Neither shall I disown, that in speaking I am apt to fall into the voice and manner of the *Houyhnhnms*, and hear myself ridiculed on that account, without the least mortification.

In the midst of all this happiness, and when I looked upon myself to be fully settled for life, my master sent for me one morning a little earlier than his usual hour. I observed by his countenance that he was in some perplexity, and at a loss how to begin what he had to speak. After a short silence, he told me, He did not know how I would take what he was going to say. That in the last general assembly, when the affair of the *Yahoos* was entered upon, the representatives had taken offence at his keeping a *Yahoo* (meaning myself) in his family, more like a *Houyhnhnm* than a brute animal; that he was known frequently to converse with me, as if he could receive some advantage or pleasure in my company; that such a practice was not agreeable to reason or nature, or a thing ever

heard of before among them. The assembly did therefore exhort him either to employ me like the rest of my species, or command me to swim back to the place whence I came. That the first of these expedients was utterly rejected by all the *Houyhnhnms* who had ever seen me at his house or their own; for they alleged, that because I had some rudiments of reason added to the natural pravity of those animals, it was to be feared I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous parts of the country, and bring them in troops by night to destroy the *Houyhnhnms'* cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous kind, and averse from labour.

My master added, That he was daily pressed by the *Houyhnhnms* of the neighbourhood to have the assembly's exhortation executed, which he could not put off much longer. He doubted it would be impossible for me to swim to another country, and therefore wished I would contrive some sort of vehicle, resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the sea; in which work I should have the assistance of his own servants, as well as those of his neighbours. He concluded, That, for his own part, he could have been content to keep me in his service as long as I lived, because he found I had cured myself of some bad habits and dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior nature was capable, to imitate the *Houyhnhnms*.

I should here observe to the reader, that a decree of the general assembly in this country is expressed by the word *hnhloayn*, which signifies an exhortation, as near as I can render it; for they have no conception how a rational creature can be compelled, but only advised or exhorted; because no person can disobey reason, without giving up his claim to be a rational creature.

I was struck with the utmost grief and despair at my master's discourse; and being unable to support the agonies I was under, I fell into a swoon at his feet. When I came to myself, he told me that he concluded I had been dead; for these people are subject to no such imbecilities of nature. I answered, in a faint voice, That death would have been too great a happiness; that although I could not blame the assembly's exhortation, or the urgency of his friends, yet, in my weak and corrupt judgment, I thought it might consist with reason to have been less rigorous; that I could not swim a league, and probably the nearest land to theirs might be distant above a hundred; that many materials, necessary for making a small vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this country; which, however, I would attempt, in obedience and gratitude to his honour, although I concluded the thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on myself as already devoted to destruction; that the certain prospect of an unnatural death was the least of my evils; for supposing I should escape with life, by some strange adventure, how could I think with temper of passing my days among *Yahoos*, and relapsing into my old corruptions, for want of examples to lead and keep me within the paths of virtue; that I knew too well upon what solid reasons all the determinations of the wise *Houyhnhnms* were founded, not to be shaken by arguments of mine, a miserable *Yahoo;* and therefore, after presenting him with my humble thanks for the offer of his servants' assistance in making a vessel, and desiring a reasonable time for so difficult a work, I told him I would endeavour to preserve a wretched being; and if ever I returned to England, was not without hopes of being useful to my own species, by celebrating the praises of the renowned *Houyhnhnms*, and proposing their virtues to the imitation of mankind.

My master, in a few words, made me a very gracious reply; allowed me the space of two months to finish my boat; and ordered the sorrel nag, my fellow-servant, (for so, at this distance, I may presume to call him,) to follow my instructions; because I told my master that his help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a tenderness for me.

In his company, my first business was to go to that part of the coast where my rebellious crew had ordered me to be set on shore. I got upon a height, and looking on every side into the sea, fancied I saw a small island towards the north-east. I took out my pocket-glass, and could then clearly distinguish it, about five leagues off, as I computed; but it appeared to the sorrel nag to be only a blue cloud; for as he had no conception of any country beside his own, so he could not be as expert in distinguishing remote objects at sea, as we who so much converse in that element.

After I had discovered this island, I considered no farther, but resolved it should, if possible, be the first place of my banishment, leaving the consequence to fortune.

I returned home, and consulting with the sorrel nag, we went into a copse at some distance, where I with my knife, and he with a sharp flint, fastened very artificially, after their manner, to a wooden handle, cut down several oak wattles, about the thickness of a walking-staff, and some larger pieces. But I shall not trouble the reader with a particular description of my own mechanics: let it suffice to say, that in six weeks time, with the help of the sorrel nag, who performed the parts that required most labour, I finished a sort of Indian canoe, but much larger, covering it with the skins of *Yahoos*, well stitched

together with hempen threads of my own making. My sail was likewise composed of the skins of the same animal; but I made use of the youngest I could get, the older being too tough and thick; and I likewise provided myself with four paddles. I laid in a stock of boiled flesh, of rabbits and fowls, and took with me two vessels, one filled with milk, and the other with water.

I tried my canoe in a large pond near my master's house, and then corrected in it what was amiss, stopping all the chinks with *Yahoos'* tallow, till I found it staunch, and able to bear me and my freight; and when it was as complete as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a carriage very gently by *Yahoos* to the sea-side, under the conduct of the sorrel nag and another servant.

When all was ready, and the day came for my departure, I took leave of my master and lady, and the whole family; my eyes flowing with tears, and my heart quite sunk with grief. But his honour, out of curiosity, and, perhaps, (if I may speak it without vanity,) partly out of kindness, was determined to see me in my canoe, and got several of his neighbouring friends to accompany him. I was forced to wait above an hour for the tide; and then observing the wind very fortunately bearing toward the island to which I intended to steer my course, I took a second leave of my master; but as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honour to raise it gently to my mouth. I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travellers are to boast of extraordinary favours they have received. But if these censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous disposition of the *Houyhnhnms*, they would soon change their opinion.

I paid my respects to the rest of the *Houyhnhnms* in his honour's company, then getting into my canoe, I pushed off from shore.

## CHAP. XI.

*The Author's dangerous Voyage. He arrives at New Holland, hoping to settle there. Is wounded with an Arrow by one of the Natives. Is seized, and carried by force into a Portuguese Ship. The great Civilities of the Captain. The Author arrives at England.*

I BEGAN this desperate voyage on February 15, 1714-15, at nine o'clock in the morning. The wind was very favourable: however, I made use at first only of my paddles; but considering I should soon be weary, and that the wind might chop about, I ventured to set up my little sail; and thus, with the help of the tide, I went at the rate of a league and a half an hour, as near as I could guess. My master and his friends continued on shore till I was almost out of sight; and I often heard the sorrel nag (who always loved me) crying out, *Hnuy illa nyha majah Yahoo*; Take care of thyself, gentle *Yahoo*.

My design was, if possible, to discover some small island uninhabited, yet sufficient, by my labour, to furnish me with the necessaries of life, which I would have thought a greater happiness than to be first minister in the politest court of Europe; so horrible was the idea I conceived of returning to live in the society, and under the government, of *Yahoos*. For in such a solitude as I desired, I could at least enjoy my own thoughts, and reflect with delight on the virtues of those inimitable *Houyhnhnms*, without any opportunity of degenerating into the vices and corruptions of my own species.

The reader may remember what I related when my crew conspired against me, and confined me to my cabin; how I continued there several weeks, without knowing what course we took; and when I was put a-shore in the long-boat, how the sailors told me, with oaths, whether true or false, That they knew not in what part of the world we were. However, I did then believe us to be about 10 degrees southward of the Cape of Good Hope, or about 45 degrees southern latitude, as I gathered from some general words I overheard among them, being, I supposed, to the south-east in their intended voyage to Madagascar. And although this were little better than conjecture, yet I resolved to steer my course eastward, hoping to reach the south-west coast of New Holland, and perhaps some such island as I desired, lying westward of it. The wind was full west; and by six in the evening I computed I had gone eastward at least eighteen leagues, when I spied a very small island about half a league off, which I soon reached. It was nothing but a rock, with one creek, naturally arched, by the force of tempests. Here I put in my canoe, and climbing a part of the rock, I could plainly discover land to the east, extending from south to north. I lay all night in my canoe, and repeating my voyage early in the morning, I arrived in seven hours to the south-east point of New Holland. This confirmed me in the opinion I have long entertained, that the maps and charts place this country at least three degrees more to the east than it really is; which thought I communicated many years ago to

my worthy friend Mr Herman Moll, and gave him my reasons for it, although he has rather chosen to follow other authors.

I saw no inhabitants in the place where I landed, and being unarmed, I was afraid of venturing far into the country. I found some shell-fish on the shore, and ate them raw, not daring to kindle a fire, for fear of being discovered by the natives. I continued three days feeding on oysters and limpits, to save my own provision; and I fortunately found a brook of excellent water, which gave me great relief.

On the fourth day, venturing out early, a little too far, I saw twenty or thirty natives upon a height, not above five hundred yards from me. They were stark naked, men, women, and children, round a fire, as I could discover by the smoke. One of them spied me, and gave notice to the rest: five of them advanced toward me, leaving the women and children at the fire. I made what haste I could to the shore, and, getting into my canoe, shoved off: the savages observing me retreat, ran after me, and before I could get far enough into the sea, discharged an arrow, which wounded me deeply on the inside of my left knee: I shall carry the mark to my grave. I apprehended the arrow might be poisoned; and paddling out of the reach of their darts, (being a calm day,) I made a shift to suck the wound, and dress it as well as I could.

I was at a loss what to do; for I durst not return to the same landing-place, but stood to the north, and was forced to paddle; for the wind, though very gentle, was against me, blowing north-west. As I was looking about for a secure landing-place, I saw a sail to the north-north-east, which appearing every minute more visible, I was in some doubt whether I should wait for them or not: but at last my detestation of the *Yahoo* race prevailed, and turning my canoe, I sailed and paddled together to the south, and got into the same creek whence I set out in the morning, choosing rather to trust myself among these barbarians, than live with European *Yahoos*. I drew up my canoe as close as I could to the shore, and hid myself behind a stone by the little brook, which, as I have already said, was excellent water.

The ship came within half a league of this creek, and sent her long-boat with vessels to take in fresh water; (for the place, it seems, was very well known;) but I did not observe it, till the boat was almost on shore, and it was too late to seek another hiding-place. The seamen, at their landing, observed my canoe, and, rummaging it all over, easily conjectured that the owner could not be far off. Four of them, well armed, searched every cranny and lurking-hole, till at last they found me, flat on my face, behind the stone. They gazed a while in admiration at my strange uncouth dress: my coat made of skins, my wooden-soled shoes, and my furred stockings; whence, however, they concluded I was not a native of the place, who all go naked. One of the seamen, in Portuguese, bid me rise, and asked who I was. I understood that language very well, and getting upon my feet, said, I was a poor *Yahoo* banished from the *Houyhnhnms*, and desired they would please to let me depart. They admired to hear me answer them in their own tongue, and saw by my complexion I must be a European; but were at a loss to know what I meant by *Yahoos* and *Houyhnhnms*; and at the same time, fell a laughing at my strange tone in speaking, which resembled the neighing of a horse. I trembled all the while, betwixt fear and hatred. I again desired leave to depart, and was gently moving to my canoe; but they laid hold of me, desiring to know what country I was of? whence I came? with many other questions. I told them I was born in England, whence I came about five years ago, and then their country and ours were at peace. I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an enemy, since I meant them no harm, but was a poor *Yahoo* seeking some desolate place where to pass the remainder of his unfortunate life.

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or saw any thing so unnatural; for it appeared to me as monstrous as if a dog or a cow should speak in England, or a *Yahoo* in *Houyhnhnmland*. The honest Portuguese were equally amazed at my strange dress, and the odd manner of delivering my words, which, however, they understood very well. They spoke to me with great humanity, and said, They were sure the captain would carry me *gratis* to Lisbon, whence I might return to my own country; that two of the seamen would go back to the ship, inform the captain of what they had seen, and receive his orders; in the mean time, unless I would give my solemn oath not to fly, they would secure me by force. I thought it best to comply with their proposal. They were very curious to know my story, but I gave them very little satisfaction, and they all conjectured that my misfortunes had impaired my reason. In two hours, the boat, which went loaden with vessels of water, returned with the captain's command to fetch me on board. I fell on my knees to preserve my liberty, but all was in vain; and the men, having tied me with cords, heaved me into the boat, whence I was taken into the ship, and thence into the captain's cabin.

His name was Pedro de Mendez; he was a very courteous and generous person. He entreated me to give some account of myself,

and desired to know what I would eat or drink; said, I should be used as well as himself; and spoke so many obliging things, that I wondered to find such civilities from a *Yahoo*. However, I remained silent and sullen; I was ready to faint at the very smell of him and his men. At last, I desired something to eat out of my own canoe; but he ordered me a chicken, and some excellent wine, and then directed that I should be put to bed in a very clean cabin. I would not undress myself, but lay on the bed-clothes, and in half an hour stole out, when I thought the crew was at dinner, and getting to the side of the ship, was going to leap into the sea, and swim for my life, rather than continue among *Yahoos*. But one of the seamen prevented me, and having informed the captain, I was chained to my cabin.

After dinner Don Pedro came to me, and desired to know my reason for so desperate an attempt; assured me, he only meant to do me all the service he was able; and spoke so very movingly, that at last I descended to treat him like an animal which had some little portion of reason. I gave him a very short relation of my voyage; of the conspiracy against me by my own men; of the country where they set me on shore, and of my five years residence there. All which he looked upon as if it were a dream or a vision; whereat I took great offence: for I had quite forgot the faculty of lying, so peculiar to *Yahoos*, in all countries where they preside, and consequently, the disposition of suspecting truth in others of their own species. I asked him, Whether it were the custom in his country to say the thing which was not? I assured him, I had almost forgot what he meant by falsehood, and if I had lived a thousand years in *Houyhnhnmland*, I should never have heard a lie from the meanest servant; that I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or not; but, however, in return for his favours, I would give so much allowance to the corruption of his nature, as to answer any objection he would please to make, and then he might easily discover the truth.

The captain, a wise man, after many endeavours to catch me tripping in some part of my story, at last began to have a better opinion of my veracity. But he added, that since I professed so inviolable an attachment to truth, I must give him my word and honour to bear him company in this voyage, without attempting any thing against my life; or else he would continue me a prisoner till we arrived at Lisbon. I gave him the promise he required; but at the same time protested, that I would suffer the greatest hardships, rather than return to live among *Yahoos*.

Our voyage passed without any considerable accident. In gratitude to the captain, I sometimes sat with him at his earnest request, and strove to conceal my antipathy against humankind, although it often broke out; which he suffered to pass without observation. But the greatest part of the day I confined myself to my cabin, to avoid seeing any of the crew. The captain had often entreated me to strip myself of my savage dress, and offered to lend me the best suit of clothes he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with any thing that had been on the back of a *Yahoo*. I only desired he would lend me two clean shirts, which, having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not so much defile me. These I changed every second day, and washed them myself.

We arrived at Lisbon, Nov. 5, 1715. At our landing the captain forced me to cover myself with his cloak, to prevent the rabble from crowding about me. I was conveyed to his own house; and at my earnest request he led me up to the highest room backwards. I conjured him to conceal from all persons what I had told him of the *Houyhnhnms*; because the least hint of such a story would not only draw numbers of people to see me, but probably put me in danger of being imprisoned, or burnt by the Inquisition. The captain persuaded me to accept a suit of clothes newly made; but I would not suffer the tailor to take my measure: however, Don Pedro being almost of my size, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred me with other necessaries, all new, which I aired for twenty-four hours, before I would use them.

The captain had no wife, nor above three servants, none of which were suffered to attend at meals; and his whole deportment was so obliging, added to very good human understanding, that I really began to tolerate his company. He gained so far upon me that I ventured to look out of the back window. By degrees I was brought into another room, whence I peeped into the street, but drew my head back in a fright. In a week's time he seduced me down to the door. I found my terror gradually lessened, but my hatred and contempt seemed to increase. I was at last bold enough to walk the street in his company, but kept my nose well stopped with rue, or sometimes with tobacco.

In ten days, Don Pedro, to whom I had given some account of my domestic affairs, put it upon me, as a matter of honour and conscience, that I ought to return to my native country, and live at home with my wife and children. He told me there was an English ship in the port just ready to sail, and he would furnish me with all things necessary. It would be tedious to repeat his arguments,

and my contradictions. He said, it was altogether impossible to find such a solitary island as I had desired to live in; but I might command in my own house, and pass my time in a manner as recluse as I pleased.

I complied at last, finding I could not do better. I left Lisbon the 24th day of November, in an English merchantman, but, who was the master, I never inquired. Don Pedro accompanied me to the ship, and lent me twenty pounds. He took kind leave of me, and embraced me at parting, which I bore as well as I could. During this last voyage I had no commerce with the master or any of his men; but, pretending I was sick, kept close in my cabin. On the 5th of December, 1715, we cast anchor in the Downs, about nine in the morning, and at three in the afternoon I got safe to my house at Redriff.

My wife and family received me with great surprise and joy, because they concluded me certainly dead; but I must freely confess the sight of them filled me only with hatred, disgust, and contempt; and the more, by reflecting on the near alliance I had to them. For although, since my unfortunate exile from the *Houyhnhnm* country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the sight of *Yahoos*, and to converse with Don Pedro de Mendez, yet my memory and imagination were perpetually filled with the virtues and ideas of those exalted *Houyhnhnms*. And when I began to consider, that by copulating with one of the *Yahoo* species I had become a parent of more, it struck me with the utmost shame, confusion, and horror.

As soon as I entered the house, my wife took me in her arms, and kissed me; at which, having not been used to the touch of that odious animal for so many years, I fell into a swoon for almost an hour. At the time I am writing, it is five years since my last return to England: during the first year, I could not endure my wife or children in my presence; the very smell of them was intolerable; much less could I suffer them to eat in the same room. To this hour they dare not presume to touch my bread, or drink out of the same cup; neither was I ever able to let one of them take me by the hand. The first money I laid out was to buy two young stone horses, which I keep in a good stable; and next to them, the groom is my greatest favourite; for I feel my spirits revived by the smell he contracts in the stable. My horses understand me tolerably well; I converse with them at least four hours every day. They are strangers to bridle or saddle; they live in great amity with me, and friendship to each other.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Author's Veracity. His Design in Publishing this Work. His Censure of those Travellers who swerve from the Truth. The Author clears himself from any sinister Ends in Writing. An Objection answered. The Method of planting Colonies. His native Country commended. The Right of the Crown to those Countries described by the Author, is justified. The Difficulty of conquering them. The Author takes his last Leave of the Reader; proposes his Manner of living for the future; gives good Advice, and concludes.*

THUS, gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and about seven months: wherein I have not been so studious of ornament, as of truth. I could perhaps, like others, have astonished thee with strange improbable tales; but I rather chose to relate plain matter of fact, in the simplest manner and style; because my principal design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.

It is easy for us who travel into remote countries, which are seldom visited by Englishmen or other Europeans, to form descriptions of wonderful animals both at sea and land. Whereas a traveller's chief aim should be to make men wiser and better, and to improve their minds by the bad, as well as good example, of what they deliver concerning foreign places.

I could heartily wish a law was enacted, that every traveller, before he were permitted to publish his voyages, should be obliged to make oath before the lord-high-chancellor, that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his knowledge; for then the world would no longer be deceived, as it usually is, while some writers, to make their works pass the better upon the public, impose the grossest falsities on the unwary reader. I have perused several books of travels with great delight in my younger days; but having since gone over most parts of the globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous accounts from my own observation, it has given me a great disgust against this part of reading, and some indignation to see the credulity of mankind so impudently abused. Therefore, since my acquaintance were pleased to think my poor endeavours might not be unacceptable to my country, I imposed on myself, as a maxim never to be swerved from, that I would strictly adhere to truth; neither indeed can I be ever under the least temptation to vary from it, while I retain in my mind the lectures and example of my noble master and the other illustrious *Houyhnhams*, of

whom I had so long the honour to be an humble hearer.

*—Nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem*
*Finxit, vanum etiam, mendacemque improba finget.*

I know very well, how little reputation is to be got by writings, which require neither genius nor learning, nor indeed any other talent, except a good memory, or an exact journal. I know likewise, that writers of travels, like dictionary-makers, are sunk into oblivion by the weight and bulk of those who come last, and therefore lie uppermost. And it is highly probable, that such travellers, who shall hereafter visit the countries described in this work of mine, may, by detecting my errors (if there be any), and adding many new discoveries of their own, justle me out of vogue, and stand in my place, making the world forget that ever I was an author. This indeed would be too great a mortification, if I wrote for fame: but as my sole intention was the public good, I cannot be altogether disappointed. For who can read of the virtues I have mentioned in the glorious *Houyhnhnms*, without being ashamed of his own vices, when he considers himself as the reasoning, governing animal of his country? I shall say nothing of those remote nations, where *Yahoos* preside; among which the least corrupted are the *Brobdingnagians*; whose wise maxims in morality and government, it would be our happiness to observe. But I forbear descanting further, and rather leave the judicious reader to his own remarks and application.

I am not a little pleased, that this work of mine can possibly meet with no censurers: for what objections can be made against a writer, who relates only plain facts, that happened in such distant countries, where we have not the least interest, with respect either to trade or negociations? I have carefully avoided every fault, with which common writers of travels are often too justly charged. Besides, I meddle not the least with any party, but write without passion, prejudice, or ill-will against any man, or number of men whatsoever. I write for the noblest end, to inform and instruct mankind; over whom I may, without breach of modesty, pretend to some superiority, from the advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished *Houyhnhnms*. I write without any view to profit or praise. I never suffer a word to pass that may look like reflection, or possibly give the least offence, even to those who are most ready to take it. So that I hope I may with justice pronounce myself an author perfectly blameless; against whom the tribes of Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflectors, Detectors, Remarkers, will never be able to find matter for exercising their talents.

I confess it was whispered to me, that I was bound in duty, as a subject of England, to have given in a memorial to a secretary of state at my first coming over; because, whatever lands are discovered by a subject, belong to the crown. But I doubt, whether our conquests, in the countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of Ferdinando Cortez over the naked Americans. The *Lilliputians*, I think, are hardly worth the charge of a fleet and army to reduce them; and I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the *Brobdingnagians*; or whether an English army would be much at their ease, with the Flying Island over their heads. The *Houyhnhnms* indeed appear not to be so well prepared for war, a science to which they are perfect strangers, and especially against missive weapons. However, supposing myself to be a minister of state, I could never give my advice for invading them. Their prudence, unanimity, unacquaintedness with fear, and their love of their country, would amply supply all defects in the military art. Imagine twenty thousand of them breaking into the midst of an European army, confounding the ranks, overturning the carriages, battering the warriors' faces into mummy by terrible yerks from their hinder hoofs; for they would well deserve the character given to Augustus, *Recalcitrat undique tutus*. But, instead of proposals for conquering that magnanimous nation, I rather wish they were in a capacity, or disposition, to send a sufficient number of their inhabitants for civilizing Europe, by teaching us the first principles of honour, justice, truth, temperance, public spirit, fortitude, chastity, friendship, benevolence, and fidelity. The names of all which virtues are still retained among us in most languages, and are to be met with in modern, as well as ancient authors; which I am able to assert from my own small reading.

But I had another reason, which made me less forward to enlarge his majesty's dominions by my discoveries. To say the truth, I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon those occasions. For instance, a crew of pirates are driven by a storm they know not whither; at length a boy discovers land from the top-mast; they go on shore to rob and plunder; they see a harmless people, are entertained with kindness; they give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it for their king; they set up a rotten plank, or a stone, for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more, by force, for a sample; return home, and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion acquired with a title by

divine right. Ships are sent with the first opportunity; the natives driven out or destroyed; their princes tortured to discover their gold; a free licence given to all acts of inhumanity and lust, the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants: and this execrable crew of butchers, employed in so pious an expedition, is a modern colony, sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous people!

But this description, I confess, does by no means affect the British nation, who may be an example to the whole world for their wisdom, care, and justice in planting colonies; their liberal endowments for the advancement of religion and learning; their choice of devout and able pastors to propagate Christianity; their caution in stocking their provinces with people of sober lives and conversations, from this the mother kingdom; their strict regard to the distribution of justice, in supplying the civil administration through all their colonies with officers of the greatest abilities, utter strangers to corruption; and, to crown all, by sending the most vigilant and virtuous governors, who have no other views than the happiness of the people over whom they preside, and the honour of the king their master.

But as those countries, which I have described, do not appear to have any desire of being conquered and enslaved, murdered or driven out by colonies; nor abound either in gold, silver, sugar, or tobacco; I did humbly conceive, they were by no means proper objects of our zeal, our valour, or our interest. However, if those whom it more concerns, think fit to be of another opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, that no European did ever visit those countries before me. I mean, if the inhabitants ought to be believed, unless a dispute may arise concerning the two *Yahoos*, said to have been seen many years ago upon a mountain in *Houyhnhnmland*.

But, as to the formality of taking possession in my sovereign's name, it never came once into my thoughts; and if it had, yet, as my affairs then stood, I should perhaps, in point of prudence and self-preservation, have put it off to a better opportunity.

Having thus answered the only objection that can ever be raised against me as a traveller, I here take a final leave of all my courteous readers, and return to enjoy my own speculations in my little garden at Redriff; to apply those excellent lessons of virtue, which I learned among the *Houyhnhnms*; to instruct the *Yahoos* of my own family, as far as I shall find them docible animals; to behold my figure often in a glass, and thus, if possible, habituate myself by time to tolerate the sight of a human creature; to lament the brutality of *Houyhnhnms* in my own country, but always treat their persons with respect, for the sake of my noble master, his family, his friends, and the whole *Houyhnhnm* race, whom these of ours have the honour to resemble in all their lineaments, however their intellectuals came to degenerate.

I began last week to permit my wife to sit at dinner with me, at the farthest end of a long table; and to answer (but with the utmost brevity) the few questions I asked her. Yet, the smell of a *Yahoo* continuing very offensive, I always keep my nose well stopped with rue, lavender, or tobacco leaves. And, although it be hard for a man late in life to remove old habits, I am not altogether out of hopes, in some time, to suffer a neighbour *Yahoo* in my company, without the apprehensions I am yet under of his teeth or his claws.

My reconcilement to the *Yahoo* kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those vices and follies only, which nature has entitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pickpocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whoremonger, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like: this is all according to the due course of things: but when I behold a lump of deformity and diseases, both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an animal, and such a vice, could tally together. The wise and virtuous *Houyhnhnms*, who abound in all excellencies that can adorn a rational creature, have no name for this vice in their language; which has no terms to express any thing that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable qualities of their *Yahoos*; among which they were not able to distinguish this of pride, for want of thoroughly understanding human nature, as it shows itself in other countries, where that animal presides. But I, who had more experience, could plainly observe some rudiments of it among the wild *Yahoos*.

But the *Houyhnhnms*, who live under the government of reason, are no more proud of the good qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a leg or an arm; which no man in his wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this subject, from the desire I have to make the society of an English *Yahoo* by any means not insupportable; and therefore I here entreat those, who have any tincture of this absurd vice, that they will not presume to come in my sight.

END OF GULLIVER'S TRAVELS.

A

# JOURNEY

TO

# THE WORLD UNDER GROUND.

BY

NICHOLAS KLIMIUS.

# A JOURNEY TO THE WORLD UNDER GROUND.

## CHAP. I.

*The Author's Descent to the Subterraneous World.*

In the year 1664, after I had passed my several examinations in the university of Copenhagen, and had deservedly obtained the character which is there called Laudable, by the votes of my judges, as well philosophers as divines, I prepared for my return into my native country, and accordingly put myself aboard a ship bound for Bergen, in Norway, dignified indeed with various marks of honour from the gentlemen of the several faculties, but in my fortunes quite impoverished. This was an evil that attended myself as well as several of the Norway students, who returned from the study of the arts and sciences into their own country stripped of all they were worth. As we had a pretty brisk gale, after a voyage of six days, we arrived at Bergen harbour. Being thus restored to my country, something wiser indeed, though by no means richer, I was supported for a time at the expence of my near relations, and led a precarious sort of life, yet not altogether indolent and inactive; for, in order to clear up by experience some points of natural philosophy, the study I had devoted myself to, I rambled over every corner of the province, with an insatiable curiosity, to explore the nature of the earth, and to search into the very bowels of our mountains. No rock so steep but I climbed it; no cavern so hideous and deep but I made a descent into it, to try if haply I could discover any thing curious and worthy the inquiry of a philosopher; for there are a multitude of things in our country of Norway hardly ever seen or heard of, which if France, Italy, Germany, or any other country so fruitful of the marvellous could boast of, nothing would be more talked of, nothing more sifted and examined.

Among those things which to me appeared most worthy of observation, there was a large and deep cave upon the top of that mountain which the natives call Floien; and because the mouth of the cave used to send forth a gentle murmuring sound, and that too by intervals, as if by its frequent sighs its jaws were now shut and now opened; hence the literati of Bergen, and particularly the celebrated Master Abeline, and Master Edward, one of our first geniuses in astronomy and natural philosophy, imagined this affair highly worthy of a philosophical inquiry; and since they themselves were too old for such an enterprise, they excited the younger inhabitants to a closer examination of the nature of the cavern, especially as at stated intervals, after the manner of human respiration, the sound being some time withheld, issued out with a certain proportional force.

What with these discourses, and what with my own natural inclination, I formed a design of entering into this cavern, and communicated my intention to some of my friends; but they by no means approved of it, plainly declaring that it was a wild and frantic undertaking. But all they could say, so far was it from extinguishing, that it did not even damp the ardour of my mind; and their advices, instead of weakening, administered fuel to my curiosity. For that eagerness with which I pursued the study of nature inspired me to face every danger, and the straitness of my private circumstances gave a spur to my natural inclination. For my own substance was quite wasted, and it seemed to me the greatest hardship to live in a state of dependence, in a country where all hopes of

preferment were cut off; where I beheld myself condemned to poverty, and every avenue to honour and advantage entirely stopped, unless I would make my way by some flagrant act of dishonour or immorality.

Thus resolved, and having got together what was requisite for such an exploit, upon a Thursday morning, when the heavens were all serene and cloudless, I left the city soon after twilight, to the end that, having finished my observations, I might return again that same day; because, being ignorant of futurity, it was not possible I should foresee that I, like another Phæton,

*Volverer in præceps, longoque per aëra tractu,*

should be flung upon another world, not to revisit my native soil till after a ten years peregrination.

This expedition was undertaken in the year of our Lord 1665, John Munthe and Lawrence Severini being consuls of Bergen, and Christiern Bertholdi and Lawrence Scandio being senators. I went out attended by four fellows I had hired, who brought with them such ropes and iron crooks as would be necessary to descend by. We went directly to Sandwic, the most commodious way to climb the mountain. Having with difficulty reached the top, we came to the place where was the fatal cave, and being tired with so troublesome a journey, we all sat down to breakfast. It was then my mind, foreboding as it were the approaching evil, first began to be dismayed. Therefore turning to my companions, Will any one, says I, undertake this task? but no reply being made, my ardour, that had languished, kindled anew. I ordered them to fasten the rope about me, and thus equipped, I commended my soul to Almighty God. Being now just ready to be let down, I gave my companions to understand what I would have done, viz. that they should continue letting down the rope till they heard me cry out, upon which signal they should stop; and if I persisted to cry out, that then they should immediately draw me up again. In my right hand I held my harpoon, or iron hook, an instrument that might be of use to me to remove whatever might obstruct my passage, and also to keep my body suspended equally between the sides of the cavern. But scarce had I descended so low as about ten or twelve cubits, when the rope broke. This accident was discovered to me by the sudden outcries of the men I had hired. But their noise soon died away; for with an amazing velocity I was hurried down into the abyss, and, like a second Pluto, allowing my harpoon to be a sceptre,

*Labor, et icta viam tellus ad Tartara fecit.*

For about the fourth part of an hour (as near as I could guess, considering the great consternation I must be in) I was in total darkness, and in the very bosom of night, when at length a thin small light, like twilight, broke in upon me, and I beheld at last a bright serene firmament. I ignorantly thought, therefore, that either by the repercussion or opposite action of the subterraneous air, or that by the force of some contrary wind, I had been thrown back, and that the cave had vomited me up again. But neither the sun, which I then surveyed, nor the heavens, or heavenly bodies, were at all known to me, since they were considerably less than those of ours. I concluded, therefore, that either all that whole mass of new heavens existed solely in imagination, excited by the vertigo my head had undergone, or else that I was arrived at the mansions of the blessed. But this last opinion I soon rejected with scorn, since I viewed myself armed with a harpoon, and dragging a mighty length of rope after me, knowing full well that a man just going to paradise has no occasion for a rope or a harpoon; and that the celestial inhabitants could not possibly be pleased with a dress which looked as if I intended, after the example of the Titans, to take heaven by violence, and to expel them from their divine abodes. At last, after the maturest consideration, I fell to imagining that I was sunk into the subterraneous world, and that the conjectures of those men are right, who hold the earth to be concave, and that within the shell or outward crust there is another lesser globe, and another firmament adorned with its own sun, stars, and planets; and the event discovered that this conjecture was right.

That violence with which I was hurried headlong had now continued for some time, when at length I perceived that it languished gradually in proportion to my approach towards a certain planet, which was the first thing I met with. That same planet increased so sensibly in bulk or magnitude, that at last without much difficulty, I could plainly distinguish mountains, vallies, and seas, through that thicker atmosphere with which it was surrounded.

*—Sicut avis quæ circum littora, circum*
*Piscosos scopulos humilis volat æquora juxta*
*Haud aliter terras inter cælumque volabam.*

Then I perceived that I did not only swim in a celestial matter or ether, but that my motion, which had hitherto been perpendicular, was now altered into a circular one. At this my hair stood on end, for I was full of apprehension lest I should be transformed into a planet, or into a satellite of the neighbouring planet, and so be whirled about in

everlasting rotation. But when I reflected, that by this metamorphosis my dignity would suffer no great diminution, and that a heavenly body, or at least an attendant upon a heavenly body, would surely move with equal solemnity to a famished philosopher, I took courage again, especially when I found, from the benefit of that pure celestial ether, that I was no longer pressed by hunger or thirst. Yet upon recollecting that I had in my pocket some of that sort of bread which the people of Bergen call bolken, and which is of an oval or oblong figure, I resolved to take it out and make an experiment whether in this situation I had any appetite; but at the first bite, perceiving it was quite nauseous, I threw it away as a thing to all intents and purposes useless. The bread thus cast away was not only suspended in air, but (what was very marvellous to behold) it described a little circular motion round my own body; and from thence I learnt the true laws of motion, by which it comes to pass, that all bodies placed in equilibrium naturally affect a circular motion. Upon this, instead of deploring my wretchedness, as I had done, for being thus the sport of fortune, I began to plume a little, finding that I was not only a simple planet, but such a planet as would have a perpetual attendant conforming itself to my motions; insomuch, that I should have the honour to be reckoned in the number of the greater heavenly bodies, or stars of the first magnitude. And, to confess my weakness, so elated was I, that if I had then met any of our consuls or senators of Bergen, I should have received them with a supercilious air, should have regarded them as atoms, and accounted them unworthy to be saluted or honoured with a touch of my harpoon.

For almost three days I remained in this condition; for as without any intermission I was whirled about the planet that was next me, I could distinguish day from night; and observing the subterraneous sun to rise and set, and retire gradually out of my sight, I could easily perceive when it was night, though it was not altogether such as it is with us, for at sunset the whole face of the firmament appeared of a bright purple, not unlike the countenance of our moon sometimes. This I took to be occasioned by the inner surface of our earth, which borrowed that light from the subterraneous sun, which sun was placed in the centre. This hypothesis I framed to myself, being not altogether a stranger to the study of astronomy.

But while I was thus amused with the thoughts of being in the neighbourhood of the gods, and was congratulating myself as a new constellation, together with my satellite that surrounded me, and hoped in a short time to be inserted in the catalogue of stars by the astronomers of the neighbouring planet, behold! an enormous winged monster hovered near me, sometimes on this side, now on that side, and by and by over my head. At first view I took it for one of the twelve heavenly signs in this new world, and accordingly hoped, that if the conjecture was right, it would be that of Virgo, since, out of the whole number of the twelve signs, that alone could yield me, in my unhappy solitude, some delight and comfort. But when the figure approached nearer to me, it appeared to be a grim, huge griffin. So great was my terror, that, unmindful of my starry dignity, to which I was newly advanced, in that disorder of my soul I drew out my university *testimonium*, which I happened to have in my pocket, to signify to this terrible adversary that I had passed my academical examination; that I was a graduate student, and could plead the privilege of my university against any one that should attack me. But my disorder beginning to cool, when I came to myself, I could not but condemn my folly; for it was yet a matter of doubt to what purpose this griffin should approach me, whether as an enemy or a friend; or, what is more likely, whether, led by the sole novelty of the thing, he had only a mind to feast his curiosity. For the sight of a human creature whirling about in air, bearing in his right hand a harpoon, and drawing after him a great length of rope like a tail, was really a phenomenon which might excite even a brute creature to behold the spectacle. For the unusual figure I then exhibited, gave to the inhabitants of the globe, round which I revolved, an occasion of divers conjectures and conversations concerning me, as I afterwards learned; for the philosophers and mathematicians would have me to be a comet, being positive that my rope was the tail; and some there were, who, from the appearance of so rare a meteor, prognosticated some impending misfortune; a plague, a famine, or some other such extraordinary catastrophe. Some also went farther, and delineated my figure, such as it appeared to them at that distance, in very accurate drawings; so that I was described, defined, painted, and engraved before ever I touched their globe. All this I afterward heard with no small pleasure, and even laughter, when I was conveyed to that planet, and had learned their language.

It must be noted, that sometimes there appear new stars, which the subterraneans call Sciscisi, or blazing stars, which they describe as something looking horrid, with fiery hair, and, after the manner of our comets, bushy on the top, so as that it projects in form of a long beard; and these, as in our world, so in that, they are reckoned ominous.

But to resume my history. The griffin advanced so near at last as to incommode me by the flapping of his wings, and even did not scruple to attack my leg with his teeth; so that now it openly appeared with what disposition he pursued me. Upon this I began to attack this troublesome animal with arms, and grasping my harpoon with both my hands, I soon curbed the insolence of my foe, obliging him to look about for a way to escape; and at last, since he persisted to annoy me, I darted my harpoon with such a force into the back of the animal between his wings, that I could not pull it out again. The wounded griffin, setting up a horrible cry, fell headlong upon the planet. As for myself, quite weary of this starry station, this new dignity, which I saw exposed to infinite hazards and evils,

*Arbitrio volucris rapior, quoque impetus egit*
*Huc sine lege ruo, longoque per aera tractu*
*In terram feror, ut de cælo stella sereno,*
*Etsi non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri.*

And now this circular motion I had described altered once more into a perpendicular one; and being for some time agitated and tossed with great violence by the opposite motions of a thicker air, at length by an easy, gentle descent, I alighted upon the aforesaid planet, together with the griffin, who soon after died of his wound.

It was night when I was conveyed to that planet. This I could gather from the sole absence of the sun, and not from the darkness; for there still remained so much light, as that I could distinctly read my university *testimonium* by it. That light by night arises from the inward surface of our earth, whose surface reflects a light like that of the moon among us; and hence, with respect to light alone, there is little difference between the nights and days, only that the sun is absent, and his absence makes the nights a little colder.

## CHAP. II.

### *His Descent upon the Planet Nazar.*

HAVING thus finished this airy voyage, and being set down upon the planet without the least hurt, I lay for a considerable time without motion, waiting till daybreak for the event. It was then I found the usual infirmities of nature return, and that I stood in great need of sleep as well as food; insomuch, that I repented I had so rashly discarded my loaf of bread.

My mind thus oppressed with various anxieties, at length I fell into a profound sleep, and had slept (as near as I could guess) two hours, when a horrible bellowing interrupting my sleep, at length entirely dispelled it. A strange variety of notions had filled my brain during this sleep. I thought I was returned into Norway, and holding forth among the students according to custom; and at one time I imagined I heard the voice of the deacon, Nicolas Andreas, chanting in the church of Fanöen, just out of the city, and that it was the noise of his voice, which, according to custom, had so cruelly wounded my ears; and agreeably to this, when I awoke, I really thought it was his horrid voice that had disturbed me; but when I saw a bull standing near me, then indeed I concluded my rest had been broke by his bellowing. Presently throwing my eyes around me, the sun now rising, I beheld every where green fertile plains and fields; some trees also appeared, but (what was most amazing) they moved, though such was the silence and stillness of the air at that time, that it would not have moved the lightest feather from its place. Immediately the bull came roaring at me, and I in my terror and consternation, seeing a tree just by me, attempted to climb it; but when I got up into it, it uttered a fine small voice, though something shrill, and not unlike an angry lady's, and presently I received, as it were from the swiftest hand, such a blow as quite stunned me, and laid me prostrate on the ground. I was almost expiring with this thunderbolt of a stroke, when I heard certain confused murmurings round me, like those in great markets, or upon full Change. Having opened my eyes, I beheld all about me a whole grove of trees, all in motion, all animated, and the plain overspread with trees and shrubs, though just before there were not above six or seven. It is not to be expressed what disorders this produced in my understanding, and how much my mind was shocked with these delusions. Sometimes I thought I must certainly dream; sometimes I thought I was haunted by spectres and evil spirits, and twenty absurder things did I imagine; but I had no time to examine these machines, or to inquire into their causes, for presently another tree advancing to me, let down one of its branches, which had at the extremity of it six large buds in the manner of fingers. With these the tree took me up from the ground and carried me off, attended by a multitude of other trees of various kinds and different sizes, all which kept muttering certain sounds, articulately indeed, but in a tone too foreign for my ears; so that I could not possibly retain any thing of them except these two words, *Pikel emi*, which I heard them very often repeat. By these words (as I afterwards understood) was meant "A monkey of an odd shape," because, from the make of my body and manner of my dress, they conjectured I

was a monkey, though of a species different from the monkeys of that country. Others took me for an inhabitant of the firmament, and that some great bird had transported me hither, a thing that had once before happened, as the history or annals of that globe can testify. But all these things I understood not till after the space of some months, in which time I became acquainted with the subterranean language; for in my present circumstances, what through fear, and what through the disorder of my intellects, I was quite regardless of myself, nor could conceive how there could be any such thing as living and speaking trees, nor to what purpose was this procession, which was very slow and solemn. But yet the voices and murmurs with which all the plains echoed seemed to indicate anger and indignation; and in good truth it was not without ample reason that they had conceived this resentment against me, for that very tree which I climbed up in my flight from the bull, was the wife of the prætor, or principal magistrate of the next city; and so the quality of the person injured aggravated the crime, for it looked as if I had a mind to violate, not a female of mean and plebeian birth, but a matron of prime rank, which was a most detested spectacle to a people of so venerable a modesty as these were. At length we arrived at the city, to which I was led captive. This city was equally remarkable for its stately edifices, and for the elegant order and proportion of the streets and highways; so lofty were the houses, that they resembled so many towers; the streets too were full of walking trees, which, by letting down their branches, saluted each other as they met; and the greater number of branches or boughs they dropt, the greater was the compliment. Thus, when an oak went out of one of the most eminent houses, the rest of the trees drew back at his approach, and let down every one of their branches; from whence it was easy to infer, that that oak was far above the vulgar sort; and, indeed, I soon understood that it was the prætor himself, and the very person whose wife I was said to have so highly affronted. Forthwith they hurried me to the prætor's house, upon my entrance into which the doors were immediately locked and bolted upon me; so that I looked upon myself as one condemned to a gaol. What greatly contributed to this fear was, that there were three guards placed without, like centinels, each of them armed with six axes, according to the number of their branches; for as many branches as they had, so many arms they had, and as many buds at the extremities, so many fingers. I observed, that on the top of the trunks or bodies of the trees their heads were placed not at all unlike human heads; and instead of roots, I saw two feet, and those very short, by reason of which the pace they used was almost as slow as that of a tortoise; so that had I been at liberty, it had been very easy for me to have escaped their hands, since my motion was perfect flying compared to theirs.

To be short, I now plainly perceived that the inhabitants of this globe were trees, and that they were endued with reason; and I was lost in wonder at that variety in which nature wantons in the formation of her creatures. These trees do by no means equal ours in height, scarce any of them exceeding the common and ordinary stature of a man; some indeed were less; these one would call flowers or shrubs, and such I conjectured were youths and infants.

Words cannot express into what a labyrinth of thought these strange appearances threw me, how many sighs they extorted from me, and how passionately I longed after the dear place of my nativity. For although these trees seemed to me to be sociable creatures, to enjoy the benefit of language, and to be endued with a certain degree or portion of reason; insomuch, that they had a right to be inserted in the class of rational animals, yet I much doubted whether they could be compared to men; I could not bring myself to think, that justice, mercy, and the other moral virtues, had any residence among them. Racked with these thoughts, my bowels yearned, and rivers of tears flowed down my cheeks. But while I was thus indulging my grief, and pouring out my silent complaints in such unmanly sorrows, the guards entered my chamber, whom I looked upon as so many Roman lictors, considering the axes they bore. These marching before me, I was led through the city to a very lofty dome in the centre of the Forum, or great market-place. I seemed to myself to be greater than a Roman consul, and to have obtained the honour of a dictator; for there were but twelve axes attended the consuls, whereas I was attended by eighteen. On the folding doors of the dome, to which I was led, a figure of Justice was carved, holding a pair of scales with her branches or arms. This image had a virgin air, an earnest look, a piercing sight, with a certain venerable dejection that made her appear not too proud, nor yet too humble. This place I clearly perceived was the senate house. Being introduced into court, the floor of which shone with marble of tessellated or Mosaic workmanship, I there beheld a tree seated on a golden tribunal, with twelve associates sitting on either hand, on so many benches, in the most exact and elegant order. The president on the tribunal was a palm-tree, of a middling stature, but easily distinguished from

the rest of the assistants by the great variety of her leaves, which were of various dyes: the inferior officers, to the number of twenty-four, guarded each side, all armed with six axes apiece. A most tremendous prospect! since from so much armour it was natural to infer they were a people that delighted in blood.

The senators, at my entrance, extended their branches toward the skies, which ceremony being ended they sat down again; and being all seated, I was brought to the bar between two trees, whose trunks or bodies were covered with sheep skins. I suspected they were lawyers, and such in good truth they were. Before they began to plead, the president wrapt her head in a garment of a dark colour. One of these advocates made a very short speech, which he thrice repeated; to which the other advocate replied with equal brevity. These pleadings were followed by a silence of half an hour; then the president, removing the covering from her head, rose up, and again extending her branches toward the sky, pronounced certain words, which I supposed contained my sentence, for at the end of the speech I was dismissed back to my old prison, and confined there, as I guessed, to be in readiness to be brought forth to punishment.

Being left alone, and revolving in my memory every thing that had happened, I could not forbear smiling at the stupidity of this people, for they seemed rather to be acting a play than exercising justice; and every thing I had seen, their gesture, their dress, and method of proceeding, seemed to savour more of the buffoonery of the stage than the awful tribunal of justice. Then I congratulated the happiness of our world, and the superiority of the Europeans to all ot[illegible]. But though I arraigned the folly and du[illegible] of this subterraneous nation, yet I was forced to own that they ought to be distinguished from the brute creation; for the elegance of the city, the symmetry of the buildings, with several other particulars, loudly proclaimed that these trees were not devoid of reason, nor altogether ignorant of the arts, especially mechanics; but then it was in this alone that I thought all their virtues, all their whole perfection, consisted.

While I was holding this silent conference with myself, a tree enters holding a lancet in his hand, who unbuttoning my bosom, and making bare my arm, opened the middle vein quite like an artist. When he had drawn as much blood as he thought sufficient, he bound up my arm with equal dexterity. This being performed, he inspected the blood with the deepest attention, and being perfectly satisfied, he walked away in a kind of silent admiration. All this confirmed me in the opinion I had entertained of the stupidity of this nation. But as soon as I had learnt the subterranean language, and all these things had been explained to me, my disdain was turned into admiration. The proceedings at law, which I had so rashly condemned, were thus explained. From the make of my body, they inferred I was an inhabitant of the firmament. I appeared to have attempted the chastity of an honourable matron, and one of prime quality; for this crime I was dragged to the bar of justice. One of the advocates or lawyers aggravated the crime, demanding the punishment due by law; the other requested, not that the punishment should be remitted, but only that it should be deferred till it could be discovered what and who I was, and of what country, whether a brute animal or a rational one. Moreover I learnt, that the action of the judges extending their branches toward heaven, was the ordinary ceremony of religion before they proceeded to trial. The lawyers were all covered with sheep skins, as emblems of innocence and impartiality in the management of their causes; and indeed all the lawyers here were men of probity, which shows that in a well-constituted government it is not impossible but that there may be honest lawyers. So severe were the laws against knavish advocates, that fraud and foul play could not escape detection, perfidiousness could find no shelter, slander no mercy, impudence no countenance, and deceit no impunity. The threefold repetition of words was made use of to assist the slowness of their perception, in which the natives of this globe were distinguished from all others; for very few could comprehend what they had only cursorily read, or understand what they had only once heard. Those whose forward capacities took a thing presently, were deemed defective in judgment, and therefore it was seldom that such were admitted to any weighty posts or offices; for they had learnt by experience, that the government had been endangered when in the hands of those who were quick of apprehension, and who were commonly styled great geniuses; but that those of slower capacities had restored to order what the others had thrown into confusion. These things were paradoxes to me, yet upon a more serious recollection they seemed not altogether absurd. But the history of the president filled me with the greatest astonishment. She was a virgin, and a native of that city, and by the then reigning sovereign was appointed Kaki, or supreme judge in the city; for among these people there was no difference of sexes observed in the distribution of public posts; but an election being made, the affairs of the republic were committed to the wisest and most

worthy. And in order to form a right judgment of the proficience, or of the intellectual endowments of every one, there were proper seminaries instituted, the chief directors of which were styled Karatti (a word that strictly signifies inquisitors). It was their office to inspect into every one's abilities, to inquire nicely into the genius of the youth, and after such inquiry to transmit annually to their prince an account or list of such as were to be admitted to all duties and posts of government, and to point out at the same time in what particular every one of them was most likely to be of service to the state. The prince, upon the receipt of such catalogue, ordered their names to be inscribed in a book, that he might never be at a loss what sort of persons to prefer to the vacant posts. The aforesaid virgin four years before had obtained a most honourable testimonial from the Karatti, and upon that account was by the sovereign appointed president of the city in which she was born. This rule they observe constantly and inviolably, because they believe that the welfare of my place will be best consulted and pursued by those who are natives of it. Palmka (that was the name of the virgin) for the space of three years governed this truly Spartan commonwealth with the highest applause, and was esteemed the wisest tree in all the city; for so great was her dulness of apprehension, that she hardly ever conceived a thing without its being three or four times repeated. But what she once apprehended she thoroughly understood, and with such acumen solved every difficulty in it, that her decrees were deemed so many oracles.

*Novit enim justum gemina suspendere lance*
*Ancipitis libræ, rectum discrevit, ubi inter*
*Carva subit, vel cum fallit pede regula raro.*

And hence there were no judicial decrees of hers, during her administration of justice, which were not confirmed and applauded by the high court of justice at Potu, the capital of the empire: therefore the institution in favour of the weaker sex, which at first view I had condemned, had nothing absurd in it upon a more accurate review. Bless me! thought I, what if the wife of our mayor of Bergen were to sit in judgment instead of her husband? What if the daughter of counsellor Sevirini, that all-accomplished young lady, were to plead at the bar instead of her stupid father? Our laws would never receive the least dishonour from them, nor would justice be so often violated. Moreover, I was of opinion, since, in the European courts of law, causes were so soon determined, that such sudden and hasty determinations, were they to undergo a strict scrutiny, would by no means pass without censure. To proceed to explain some other things. The reason of the *venæsection*, or letting blood, I understood to be this: When any one was convicted of a crime, instead of whipping, maiming, or capital punishments, he was condemned to the *venæsection*, that is, to have a vein opened; by which it should appear, whether his crime proceeded from malice, or from the vitiated blood, and whether by such an operation he could be cured: so that these courts of justice regarded the amendment, rather than the punishment of the offender. Yet the very method of amendment had a sort of punishment in it, because it was a mark of ignominy to undergo this operation by judicial sentence. If any one fell a second time into the same crime, he was deemed an unworthy member of the state, and as such was to be banished to the firmament, where all were received without distinction. But of this sort of exile we shall enlarge hereafter. Then as to the reason why upon the opening of my vein the chirurgeon was so astonished at the sight of my blood, it was this, namely, that the natives of this globe had a white fluid juice in their veins; and the whiter this was, so much the greater mark it bore of innocence and probity.

All these things, when I had perfectly learned the subterranean tongue, I thoroughly understood, and thenceforward began to form a milder judgment of a people I had too hastily censured. And though at first I was of opinion that these trees were excessively stupid and brutish, yet I soon found reason to think that they were not altogether destitute of humanity, and that therefore I was in no danger of my life; and what confirmed me in this was, that twice a day I saw my food duly brought me. This food consisted of fruits, herbs, and pulse, and my drink was a liquor the most delicious and grateful I ever tasted.

The magistrate, in whose custody I was, soon sent advice to the sovereign of the empire, who resided at Potu, (not far from this city) that a certain rational animal, of a very unusual make, had fallen into his hands. The sovereign, excited by the novelty of the thing, gave orders that I should be instructed in their language and then sent to court. Hereupon I had a language-master appointed me, under whose care in the space of six months I made so great a proficiency, that I was enabled to converse pretty readily with the natives. After having passed through this first exercise, a new order arrived from court, concerning my further instruction, by which I was commanded to be entered into the seminary, that the natural powers of my understanding might

be inquired into by the Karatti, and in what kind of learning I gave the most hopeful promises of success. All this was done with great exactness. While I was performing my exercises here, they were as careful of my body as they were of my mind; and particularly, they used their utmost art to bring me into their own shape, and accordingly they skilfully fitted artificial branches to my body.

During this, the magistrate, at whose house I lodged, every evening as I returned from the seminary entered into various conferences with me. He heard me with the utmost pleasure descanting on those things that had occurred to me in this subterranean tour. But he was above measure amazed at the description I gave him of our earth, and of that immense heaven that surrounded it, studded with infinite stars. All this he heard with the utmost avidity. But it kindled his blushes, when I told him of the trees of our globe, which were lifeless, immoveable, and fastened by the roots to the ground; nay, he beheld me with some resentment, when I attested that our trees were cut down for fuel, to heat our furnaces and dress our provisions. But considering the thing more gravely, his indignation subsided, and extending his five branches to the skies (for so many he had), he adored the wisdom of the great Creator, whose ways are past finding out; and henceforward he heard me with still greater attention. His wife, who had hitherto avoided me, when she learnt the true reason for which I was brought to judgment, and that I was deceived in the appearance of a tree, which in our country it was a customary thing to climb, now laid aside all suspicion, and was entirely reconciled. But yet, that I might not at the beginning of our reconciliation open an old wound, I declined all conversation with her, unless in the presence, and at the express command of her husband.

## CHAP. III.

### *A Description of the City of Keba.*

In the mean while, and during the course of this discipline under the Karatti, my host walked me about the city to show me whatever was curious and observable. We walked up and down without any molestation, and what was more to be admired, without any crowding or jostling; quite otherwise than it is with us, where people flock in heaps to any thing that is new and uncommon, that they may feast their curiosity: for the inhabitants of this planet have very little taste for novelty, and pursue only solid things. The name of this city is Keba, and it is the second in dignity of the whole Potuan empire. The inhabitants are so sedate and grave, you would swear they were all senators. Age is particularly honourable here; nor is there a profounder deference and veneration any where paid to it; for it carries authority, not only in its sentiments, but in its looks and nods. But I much wondered that a nation so sober, so modest as this, should be delighted with comedies, and certain ludicrous shows and spectacles, that were there exhibited. This did not seem to suit with so much gravity, which my host perceiving, Through all these dominions, says he, the subjects divide their time between things serious, and things of a gayer turn,

*Saturnumque gravem nostro Jove frangimus una.*

For, among other laudable institutions of this empire, there is an indulgence of innocent pleasures, by which it is believed the soul is strengthened, and prepared to sustain the more arduous duties, and by which those black clouds of melancholy are dispelled, which are thought to be the sources of riots, seditions, and pernicious counsels. Therefore they chequer the severer toils with sports and plays; so happily tempering seriousness with pleasantry, that the first cannot degenerate into sourness, nor the latter into impertinence. But it was not without indignation I observed that school-disputations do there make a part of the shows and theatrical performances; for at set times of the year, wagers being laid, and a reward assigned to the conquerors, the disputants engage like a couple of gladiators, and much upon the same terms that fighting cocks, or any such battling animals, do among us. Hence it was a custom among the great, to maintain a set of disputants, as we do a pack of hounds, and to give them a logical education, that they may be fit for engagement at the stated times of the year. Thus a certain wealthy citizen in three years time had made prodigious gains, even to the sum of 4000 Ricatu, from one disputant, whom he maintained for that purpose. This disputant, with an amazing volubility of tongue,

*Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis,*

by ensnaring syllogisms and every artifice of logic, by distinctions, reservations, and exceptions, eluded every opponent, and silenced whom he would. I was often present at these entertainments, and that with no small vexation; for it seemed to me a horrid and shameful thing, that such noble exercises, which give lustre to our schools, should here be prostituted on the stage; and when I called to mind that I myself, with the highest applause, had disputed in public, and had obtained the laurel, I could scarce withhold my tears; and

not only the dispute, but the method of disputing incensed me, for they hired certain stimulators, in their language Cabalci, who, when they observed the ardour of the disputants to flag, just pricked their sides with lancets to re-kindle it, and to rally their declining spirits. Other things through shame I omit, which in so polished a nation I could not but condemn. Besides these disputants, called in their tongue, by way of contempt, Masbaki, that is strictly, wranglers, there were other trials of skill between beasts, both of the wild and tame kind, and also between birds of prey, which were exhibited to the spectators at a certain price. I begged to know of my host, how it was possible that so judicious a nation could think of leaving to the theatre those noble excercises, whereby a faculty of speaking is acquired, truth is discovered, and the understanding sharpened? He replied, That formerly these exercises were in high reputation among their barbarous ancestors; but since they had been convinced by experience, that truth was rather stifled by disputes; that their youth were rendered petulant and forward thereby; that disturbances arose from them; and that the more generous studies were so much the more fettered, they turned over these exercises from the university to the play-house; and the event has showed us that, by reading, silence, and meditation, the students now make far greater advances in learning. With this reply, though very specious, I was not, however, altogether satisfied.

In this city there was an academy or school, where, with the utmost decency and solidity, the liberal arts were taught. My host introduced me into the auditory of this school on a particular day, when a Madic, or doctor of philosophy, was to be created. The whole ceremony was this: The candidate made a learned and elegant dissertation upon a problem in natural philosophy, which being ended, the governors of the school inserted his name in the register of doctors, who from thence had authority to teach publicly. My host asking how I liked it, I answered that it appeared to me a mighty dry business in comparison of our promotions. Then I explained to him how masters and doctors were created among us, namely, by exhibiting certain specimens of their skill in disputation. At this, contracting his brows, he desired to know the nature of our disputations, and in what they differ from the subterranean? I replied, That they were usually upon curious and learned subjects, particularly such as relate to the manners, language, or dress of two ancient nations who formerly flourished in Europe, and that I for my part had wrote three dissertations upon the slippers of the ancients. With that he set up such a laugh, as made the whole house ring; his wife, alarmed with the noise, flies to know the cause of it; but I was so much out of humour, that I disdained to answer her, for I thought it a burning shame, so grave and solid a matter should be treated with that ridicule and contempt; but understanding from her husband the truth of the case, she laughed as violently. This thing taking air, gave a handle to endless sneers; nay, the wife of a certain senator, of herself exceedingly prone to laugh, was so delighted, that she had like to have burst herself; and she soon after dying accidentally of a fever, it was thought her death was occasioned by that immoderate laugh, which had inflamed her lungs: they were not indeed quite certain that such was the case, however so it was whispered. She was otherwise a matron of a fine understanding, and a most useful lady, for she had seven branches, which is something rare in that sex. All the better sort of trees were much concerned at her death; she was buried at midnight without the city gates, and in the same garments she happened to have on when she died; for there is a provision by law, that no body can be buried in the city, because they believe the air may be corrupted by the effluvia of the carcases. It is also by law provided, that the dead bodies shall be interred without any funeral pomp, or rich dresses, inasmuch as all is shortly to be the food of worms; and these appeared to me to be very wise institutions: yet they had feasts in honour of the dead, and also funeral orations, which simply contained an exhortation to a virtuous life, and which placed before their eyes an image of mortality. At this the censors were present, to observe whether the orators raised or depressed the character of the deceased beyond justice; and hence the subterranean orators were extremely sparing of their encomiums, since to give immoderate praises was punishable by law. Not long after, when I was going to one of these funeral orations, I asked my host what was the state and condition of the departed hero? He replied, He was an husbandman, who died suddenly upon the road to this city. Hereupon, in my turn, I burst into an excessive laughter, retorting thus their own weapons upon them. And pray, says I, why have not bulls and oxen, those companions of husbandmen, the honour of a funeral oration? They can equally supply matter, for they can equally perform the same office. But my host desired me to spare my jests, for that in these dominions husbandmen were held in the highest esteem, on account of the great excellence of the duties they were employed in, and that no way of life was more honourable than that

of agriculture. Thus every honest and industrious farmer was regarded by the citizens as their feeder and foster-father. And hence arose the custom, that when the farmers about autumn, or in the month of Palm-trees, repair to the city with a multitude of carriages loaden with corn, the magistrates meet them without the gates, and introduce them into the city with trumpets and other instruments in concert, after the manner of a triumph. At this strange account I was struck dumb, especially recollecting the hard fate of our husbandmen, groaning under the deepest slavery, and whose employments are looked upon as low and illiberal, in comparison of those which are pandars to our pleasures, such as cooks, poulterers, perfumers, and such like; and this I fairly owned to my host, at the same time enjoining him silence, fearing lest the subterraneans should pass very unfavourable judgments upon mankind. Having promised secrecy, he carried me to the hall where the funeral oration was to be made. I own I never heard any thing executed more solidly, with greater veracity, or with so little an appearance of flattery as this; and I judged it a proper pattern, to which all funeral orations should conform. The orator first gave us a view of the virtues of the deceased, and then enumerated his vices and failings, with an admonition to his audience to avoid them.

As we returned from the hall, we met an offender in custody of three keepers; the same, by decree in court, had lately undergone the punishment of the arm, (so they call the letting blood) and was now going to be consigned over to the public hospital, or Bedlam. Upon inquiry into the reason of such sentence, I was informed, that the criminal had disputed publicly about the qualities and essence of the Supreme Being, a thing here prohibited, where all these over curious disquisitions are thought to be such exquisite folly and rashness, that a creature of a sound understanding could not well fall into it. Therefore these subtile disputants, after the *venæ-section*, were, like madmen, condemned to confinement, till they got out of this delirium. Ah! thought I to myself, what would become of our divines, whom we every day hear wrangling about the quality and attributes of the Deity, about the nature of spiritual beings, and other mysteries of that kind? what also would become of our metaphysicians, who by their transcendental jargon, affect a degree of wisdom far above the vulgar, and even above human nature itself? Certainly, instead of hoods, caps, and other academical honours, which in our world are so liberally granted them, they would in this be showed the way to the public hospital.

All this, and other things full as paradoxical, I remarked during the time of my probation in the seminary. At length the appointed time arrived, when, by order of the prince, I was to be conducted to court with a testimonial. I flattered myself, that I should have the most honourable encomiums and approbations, depending partly upon my own accomplishments, since I had learned the subterranean tongue sooner than could be expected, and partly upon the interest of my host, together with the renowned integrity of my judges. At last my testimonial was delivered me, which I opened with the utmost transport, impatient of reading my own praises, and of concluding from thence what my destiny was to be. But the perusal of it threw me into fits of rage and despair. The tenor of it was this:

"In obedience to the commands of your serene highness, the animal lately arrived from another world, and calling himself a Man, we herewith send, most carefully instructed in our seminary. Upon the nicest inquiry into his genius and manners, we have found him to be of competent docility, and extremely quick of apprehension; but of so weak and uneven a judgment, that he hardly merits to be considered as a rational creature, much less to be admitted to any important office in the government. But since he excels every one in swiftness of foot, we are humbly of opinion that he is extremely qualified for the post of king's messenger. Given at our seminary of Keba, in the month of Brambles, by your serene highness's most humble servants,

"NEHEC, JOCHTAN, RAPASI, CHILAC."

Upon this I went to my host in a torrent of tears, and humbly implored that he would interpose his authority to procure a milder testimonial from the Karatti, and that he would show them my university testimonial, in which I was complimented with epithets of ingenious and honourable. He replied, That that testimonial might have its weight in our world, where they regarded perhaps the shadow more than the substance, the outward bark more than the inward texture; but that it would be of no value with them, where they penetrate into the inmost nature of things: and exhorted me moreover to bear my fate as temperately as I could, especially as the testimonial could be neither revoked nor altered; for that there was no greater crime than to ascribe undeserved virtues to any one. But what comfort it was in the power of words to give, he gave.

*—Verba facit, quibus hunc lenire dolorem*
*Possit, et ingentem morbi partem removere.*

*Ne cures hæc, quæ stulte miraris et optas.*
*Quos non præcipitat subjecta potentia magnæ*
*Invidiæ? mergit longa atque insignis honorum*
*Pagina; namque homini, nimios qui captat honores,*
*Et nimias venatur opes, numerosa parantur*
*Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior illi*
*Casus, et impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ.*

As to the testimonial of the Karatti, he added, that they were the most incorrupt and upright judges, who could be bribed by no presents, nor awed by no threats, to recede a hair's breadth from truth; and that therefore there was no room for suspicion in this case. He also candidly acknowledged, that the poverty of my judgment was a thing not unobserved by himself; and that he inferred from the readiness of my memory, and the quickness of my apprehension, that I was not that sort of wood out of which mercury was to be made; and that I could not possibly meet with preferment, upon account of that remarkable defect in my judgment; that he had gathered, from my discourses and description of Europe, that I was

*Stultorum in patria, pravoque subaere natum.*

And with these and a great many more professions of friendship, he desired me without delay to prepare for my journey. I followed the advice of this most sagacious person, especially as necessity required it, and as it would have been rashness to have opposed the order of the prince.

We now began our journey in company with some other young trees, which were dismissed from the seminary at the same time, and sent to court for the same end. Our leader was one of the Karatti, who, upon account of his age and a weakness in his feet, was carried by an ox; for it is an unusual thing here to have vehicles, these being indulged only to the decrepit and diseased; though the inhabitants of this planet are really more excusable for it than those of our world, by reason of the slowness of their gait. I remember, when I gave a description of our vehicles, that is, our coaches with horses, into which we were stuffed like so much lumber, and drawn through the city, the subterraneans smiled at my account, especially when they heard that no neighbour envied another, unless he kept his coach, and was drawn in it through the streets by a pair of mettlesome four-footed beasts. What with the slowness of the motion of these rational trees, we were three days upon this journey, though Keba is hardly four miles distant from the capital. Had I been alone, an hour would have been sufficient. It was a pleasure indeed that I excelled these subterraneans in that advantage of foot, but it grieved me to the soul that for that very excellence I was condemned to a vile ignominous office. Would to God! said I, that I laboured under the same infirmity with them, since, by this defect alone, I might have escaped the low and ignoble drudgery I was destined to.—Our leader, over-hearing me, replied thus: If nature had not made you amends for the defects of your mind by some one excellence of body, all would behold you as an unprofitable load upon earth; for that very quickness of parts permits you only to see the surface of things, and not the substance; and since you have but two branches, you are inferior to the subterraneans in every thing that depends upon the hands.—Hearing this, I thanked God who had given me this swiftness of feet, since without this virtue I had no chance to be reckoned in the number of rational creatures.

During our journey, I was surprised to see all around me the natives so intent upon their labours, that at the approach of passengers nobody left off work, or even threw their eyes round, though something extraordinary should even pass along. But at the close of day, their toils all ended, then they indulged in every amusement of the mind, the chief magistrate conniving and tolerating these diversions, as reliefs and strengtheners of the body and mind, and something full as necessary as meat and drink. This and other things made the journey highly grateful. The whole country is perfectly beautiful. Imagine it a spacious amphitheatre, and such a one as nature alone could make. Where nature was less profuse, all was supplied by the industry of the inhabitants, who were animated to these rural toils, and to the cultivating and improving their land, by rewards from the magistrate; and whoever suffered his grounds to run to ruin, afterwards wrought for hire. We passed by many fair villages, which, from the multitude of them, looked like one continued city, and exhibited the same appearance all along. Yet we were something infested by the monkeys from the woods, which rambling up and down, and, from an affinity in my shape, imagining I was of their race, were continually teazing me with their approaches and touches. I could scarce suppress my rage, when I perceived that this was a perfect comedy to some of the trees; for I was conducted to court (by express order of his majesty) in the same dress in which I alighted upon the planet, namely, with my harpoon in my right hand, that his majesty might behold what the dress of our world was, and particularly what was my own appearance upon my arrival. And very opportunely it was that I had my

harpoon in my hand, that I might chace away those swarms of monkeys that gathered space at last round me, though it was all in vain, for in the room of those that fled, more came; so that I was forced to move every step like a man upon his guard.

## CHAP. IV.

### *The Court of the Potuan Empire.*

At length we came to the royal city of Potu, which, for beauty and magnificence, might vie with any. The buildings there are more numerous and extensive than at Keba, and the streets wider and more commodious. The forum, which was the first place we were brought to, was filled with numbers of merchants, and surrounded every way with shops of artists and tradesmen; but I saw with some astonishment in the middle of the forum, a certain criminal with a halter about his neck, and a large company of grave and elderly trees standing round him. Upon my asking what was the matter, and for what crime he deserved hanging, especially as I thought no crime here was capital, it was told me, that this offender was a projector, who had advised the abolition of a certain old custom; that those who stood round him were the senators and lawyers, who then and there examined the projector's scheme; so that if it should appear that it was a well digested thing, and salutary to the commonwealth, the offender was not only absolved, but rewarded; but if injurious to the public, or if the projector by the repeal of this law appeared to have glanced at his own advantage, he was presently to be hanged as a disturber of the realm; and this is the reason why few are found to run this risk, or have courage enough to advise the abrogation of any law, unless the thing be so demonstrably evident and just, that the success of it cannot be doubted of: So persuaded are the subterraneans, that the ancient laws and institutions of their ancestors are to be maintained and revered; for they believe the government would be in danger, if, for the wantonness of every body, those laws were to be changed or disannulled. What, alas! said I to myself, would become of the projectors of our world, who, under a pretence of public emolument, are daily hatching and inventing new laws, with an eye only to their private gains, instead of the common benefit!

At length we were introduced into a spacious house, which was the usual place of reception for all who were sent from the seminaries throughout the empire. In the same place are brought up those who are to attend upon the prince. Our captain, the Karatti, bid us be in readiness, while he went to acquaint his highness with our arrival; he had scarce left us when we heard a noise, like that of great rejoicings, and immediately the air echoed with the sound of trumpets and best of drums. Alarmed at this noise we went out, and beheld a certain tree magnificently attended, and crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and presently discovered that it was the same citizen whom we just now saw in the forum with his neck in a halter. The reason of this triumph was the approbation of that law, which at the peril of his head he had advised; but by what arguments he attacked the old law, I could never reach to the knowledge, by reason of the great silence of the people; and hence it is, that the least matter transacted in the senate in relation to the government never transpires, or takes the least air. Far otherwise it is with us, where the actions of the senate and the whole of their debates are reported, weighed, and criticised upon in every tavern and street.

In the space of an hour the Karatti returns, and commands us all to follow him. We obeyed. As we went, we met certain young trees, who offered to sale little printed books of curious and memorable things. Amongst the rest, I cast my eye upon a small book, the title of which was, "A full and true Account of the strange flying Dragon that appeared in the Element last Year." There did I behold myself, that is, my effigies, engraved just as I appeared when I was whirling round this planet, with my harpoon and my long rope. I could not help smiling at the figure, and said to myself,

*Hei! qualis facies! et quali digna tabella!*

Having bought the book for three kilac, which is equivalent to about two shillings of our money, I walked on gravely to the palace. Art and elegance seemed to preside here, rather than profusion and a vain magnificence. I observed the prince had very few attendants, for such was his temperance, that he had discarded whatever was superfluous; nor is there indeed the same necessity for as many servants as our courts require. For as many branches as these trees had, so many arms; so that the common labours and business of the household could be done with at least thrice the expedition.

It was about dinner-time when we arrived at court; and since it was his highness's pleasure to talk with me alone, I was introduced into the presence-chamber. There is in this prince a very remarkable mixture of mildness and gravity; such was his steadiness, that his countenance was never known to have the least cloud upon it. Seeing the prince, I re-

stantly fell upon my knees; the courtiers were astonished at this adoration, and when I told his highness (who asked me) the reason why I bent my knee, he commanded me to rise, saying, that such a sort of reverence was due to the Deity alone; adding, that nothing could obtain the favour of the prince but obedience and industry. When I rose he asked me sundry questions.

*Qua veniam, causamque viæ, nomenque rogatus,*
*Et patriam: Patria est, respondeo, grandior Orbis.*
*Ximius est Nomen; veni nec puppe per undas,*
*Nec pede per terras; patuit mihi pervius Æther.*

He then proceeded to inquire what I had met with in my journey, and what were the customs and usages of our world; after which I proceeded to explain, as sensibly as I could, the wit, the virtues, the civilized manners of the men of our world, and every thing that mankind pride themselves in. He received my account very coldly, and at some things, which I thought would have raised his admiration, he perfectly yawned. Lord! said I to myself, how different are the tastes of mortals? that what gives one the most sensible pleasure, to another shall be quite nauseous! But what most offended his highness, was the relation I gave him of our law proceedings, of the eloquence of our lawyers, and the quick dispatch of the judges in pronouncing sentence. While I was endeavouring to make this still clearer to him, he interrupted me, by turning the discourse to something else, and at length he proceeded to an inquiry into our religion and worship. I then explained to him, in a concise manner, the several articles of our faith; at the recital of which he somewhat softened his countenance, attesting that he could readily subscribe to them, and he could not chuse but wonder how a race of people of such weak judgments should entertain such sound notions of God and his worship. But when he heard that the Christians were divided into sects without number, and that, upon some differences in matters of faith, people of the same blood and family would cruelly persecute one another, he answered thus: Among us also there are a large variety of different sentiments concerning things pertaining to divine worship: but one man does not persecute another for that; all persecution for speculative matters, or errors arising from the sole variety of our perceptions, can spring from nothing but pride, one thinking himself wiser and more penetrating than the rest. But such pride must be highly displeasing in the eyes of the Supreme Being, who must be a lover of humility and meekness in mortals. We never teaze an assembly of judges about any one who shall happen to dissent from the received opinions in points of speculation, provided he does it sincerely, and also conforms in practical matters to the public worship of the Deity; and in this we pursue the track chalked out to us by our ancestors, who always thought it inhuman to fetter the understanding, and tyrannize over the conscience. In our politics, we extremely recommend the observance of this rule; so that if my subjects should differ about the make of my body, the manner of my life, or about my economy, or any such sort of thing, yet at the same time acknowledged me for their lawful sovereign, to whom obedience is due, I think them all good subjects.—To this I replied, May it please your most serene highness, such a conduct would in our world be called Syncretism, and would be highly condemned by the learned.—He did not give me room to say any more, and, seeming to be a little displeased, walked away, and commanded me to stay till dinner was over.

His highness sat down to table with his royal consort and their son, together with the high chancellor, or Kadoki. This same Kadoki was in the first esteem among the Potuans for the politeness of his manners, as well as his prudence and wariness. For full twenty years he never once gave his sentiments in the senate-house, but the rest immediately came into them, nor ever decreed any thing with regard to the public, but what stood firm and unshaken; so that his decrees were so many axioms. But then he was so slow of apprehension, that for the least of them he used to require the space of fourteen days; and therefore in our world he would hardly be thought fit for business of great moment, where all delay passes for sloth and laziness. But since whatever he once apprehended he understood through and through, and since he executed nothing but upon the severest examination, hence he might be said to do more in reality than ten others, who mighty readily set about business, and are frequently styled great geniuses, but whose decrees must afterwards be mended, altered, and licked into shape; insomuch, that at the expiration of their office, it is discovered that they have attempted every thing, and brought nothing to perfection. Among the maxims, therefore, of the Potuan court, this is one, That they who are so forward in business, are like to those who walk to and fro and tread a great deal of ground, but gain none.

When the family were seated, a virgin entered with eight branches and as many

dishes, so that in a moment the whole table was covered. Presently another tree entered with eight vessels of different kinds of wine. This latter had nine branches, and so was judged extremely qualified for the domestic business of the court. And thus by two servants only this whole affair was commodiously performed, which in terrestrial courts is not to be done without a perfect army of servants. With the same dexterity the dishes were removed, as they had been at first placed. It was a frugal, but not inelegant meal. Of the whole number of dishes, the sovereign confined himself to one. Not so the great ones of our globe, who never think a supper grand, unless one course of dishes give way to a finer and more exquisite succession. During the repast, the conversation ran upon morality or politics; so that even these sensual pleasures had a seasoning of learning. Mention also was made of me, whom, from the quickness of my apprehension, they took to be not the wood out of which mercury was to be made.

The repast being ended, I was ordered to produce my testimonial; which being perused, the prince, directing his eyes down to my feet, said, The Karatti had judged right, and that so it ought to be.—Quite thunderstruck with this answer, and overwhelmed in tears, I implored a revisal of my testimonial, since upon a more intimate scrutiny into the virtues of my mind, and the endowments of my understanding, I might reasonably expect a milder judgment to be made. His highness being a merciful and equitable prince, not at all incensed at this forward and unusual request, enjoined the Karatti then present to examine me anew, and as accurately as possible. During this trial, the prince stept aside to read some other testimonials. The prince having withdrawn himself, the Karatti proposed a new set of questions to be solved by me. I answered them with my usual readiness; upon which he spake thus to me: You take a thing presently, but not entirely; for your solutions show that the question is readily perceived, but not intimately understood.

The examination being finished, the prince went into the council-chamber, and soon returned with a final sentence to this purpose: That I had acted imprudently in calling in question the judgment of the Karatti, and that therefore I had incurred the penalty which the third lesser space of the fourth greater space inflicts upon slanderers, (by the greater and lesser spaces, or Skibal and Kibal, they mean books and chapters,) and that I deserved to undergo the *vena-section* in both my branches, and also to be imprisoned. The words of the law, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 3. concerning defamation are these: *Syik. antri. Flak. Shak. mak. Tabu Mihalatti Silac.* But though the sense of the words was very clear and evident, and the law too sacred to be evaded, yet his most serene highness, by a stretch of his prerogative, thought fit to pardon this offence of mine, occasioned through an immaturity of judgment, as well as ignorance of the law, which could hardly be said to be infringed by this indulgence to me, inasmuch as I was a stranger and a foreigner. And to give me a more ample testimony of his most gracious favour, he appointed me one of his messengers in ordinary, an honour I ought to hold myself highly satisfied with.

Immediately the Kiva, or secretary, was sent for, who enrolled my name in the book of promotions, together with the names of several other candidates. This secretary was a most extraordinary person; for he had eleven pair of branches, and could consequently write eleven letters all at the same time, and with the same ease and expedition that we can one; yet he had a very indifferent judgment, upon which account he never could expect any farther promotion, and so he grew old in the same post which he had filled for thirty years. I contracted a close friendship with him, and indeed I could not help cultivating an affection for him, because all the edicts and letters of state which he wrote, I, as messenger in ordinary, dispersed over the province. I was often astonished to see him execute business with so much dexterity; for it was a common thing with him to write eleven letters at once, and afterward seal them all in the same instant. Among the blessings therefore of a family, a large number of branches is reckoned one. And hence the women in child-bed, immediately after the birth of the infant, are wont to signify to the neighbours how many branches it has brought into the world with it. It was reported that the father of our secretary was born with twelve, and that his family had long been famous for a plurality of branches.

The diploma, which constituted me in my office, being ordered to be drawn out, I was retired to my repose; but though my limbs were excessively tired, yet was I not able to compose myself to sleep. That ignoble employment, to which I was condemned, ran continually in my head, and I thought it the greatest debasement imaginable for one, who was a candidate for holy orders, and a bachelor of arts in the upper world, to be changed into a vile subterranean court-messenger. With these mortifying thoughts did I waste a great part of the night, and during this agitation I several times perused my universal *testimonium*, which I had brought with me, for, as I observed above, the night is almost as light as the day. At length, I

jaded with thinking, I sunk into the arms of sleep; but what a variety of scenes presented themselves to my disturbed imagination! I thought I was returned to my own country, and relating aloud to vast numbers of people all that had befel me in my subterranean tour; presently I was sailing in the air again, and engaged with the griffin once more, who gave me so warm a reception, as that it waked me out of my sleep. But how was I shocked when I beheld by my bed-side a monkey of the largest size, which, by reason of the doors being left open, had got into my chamber. This unlooked for spectacle chilled all my blood, and made me alarm the house with my cries for assistance. Some trees, which lay in the adjacent chambers, immediately entering, disengaged me from the struggle, and drove the beastly creature away. I understood afterwards, that this accident afforded the prince plentiful matter for laughter. But that I might run no such risk for the future, he gave command that I should be lodged after the subterranean fashion, and adorned with artificial branches. As for my European garments, they were taken from me, and for their novelty hung up in the prince's wardrobe, with this inscription: "The dress of a superterranean animal." Bless me! said I to myself, if Master Andrew, the tailor of Bergen, who made this suit, should know that his workmanship was preserved among the curiosities of a subterranean prince, without doubt he would grow vain, and think himself as great a man as any in the city.

After this misfortune sleep quite forsook me. In the morning my diploma was brought me, which gave me the full powers to execute my office. A multiplicity of business poured in upon me soon, and carrying the royal edicts and letters to every city of his dominions, I was the perpetual motion itself. In these expeditions I explored the genius of the country, and in many places discovered an uncommon measure of politeness and understanding. Only the inhabitants of the city of Mabolki, which were all brambles, seemed to me something rude and uncultivated. Every province has its peculiar trees, or natives of the place, particularly the province of Husbandmen; though in the great cities, and especially in the capital, there is a mixture of all sorts. The high sentiments I had entertained of the wisdom of this people increased, as fast as I had fresh opportunities of inspecting into them. Those very laws and customs which I had disapproved, upon mature reflection, extorted all my admiration. I could easily bring a cloud of instances of certain manners and usages, which upon a transient view appeared absurd, but which to the curious inquirer would be full of solidity and wisdom. Out of a thousand I shall produce but this one, which gives you a perfect idea of this people. A certain student in humanity stood candidate for the vacant mastership of a school. His pretensions were strengthened in this manner, to wit, the inhabitants of the city of Nahami certified, that the candidate had lived very quietly for four years together with a wanton and unfaithful wife, and wore his horns very patiently. The certificate was couched in the following style: "Whereas the learned and venerable Jocthan Hu has required of his neighbours a testimonial of his life and morals, we the citizens living in that street or portion of the city called Posko, do testify, that the said Jocthan Hu has lived in wedlock for full four years with a disloyal wife, and that without the least noise or disturbance; that he has wore his horns with a laudable patience, and with such meekness has bore this misfortune, that we judge him highly worthy to succeed to the vacant mastership, if his learning be but equal to his morals. Given under our hand this tenth day of the month Palm, in the three thousandth year after the great deluge."

To this recommendation was annexed a testimonial from the seminary of the Karatti, of his learning and studies, which seemed to be more to the purpose; for what great merit cuckoldom had to bear the bell from all other doctors, I could not readily apprehend. But here lay the sense and meaning of this strange testimonial, viz. among the virtues that principally recommend a teacher, moderation is one; for, with all his pomp of learning, unless he has an invincible patience, he must be but indifferently qualified for the scholastic employment, which should be exercised without severity or passion, lest by untimely corrections the minds of the youths should be hardened. And since a greater instance of moderation could hardly be given than this of the candidate, therefore his neighbours insisted chiefly on this argument, as every thing was to be hoped for from a teacher so renowned for this necessary virtue. It is said his majesty laughed immoderately at so unusual a recommendation; but since it was far from being absurd, he conferred the vacant mastership upon the petitioner. And in effect, he understood and discharged his duty with such address, and so engaged his pupils by his mildness and clemency, that they regarded him rather as a parent than a tutor; and such was their passion for learning under such soft and gentle government, that through the whole dominions there were few schools that annually sent out such eminent, learned, and civilized trees.

As during the several years of my employ-

ment, I had frequent opportunities of inspecting into the nature of the soil, into the genius and manners of the people, into their policy, religion, laws, and studies, I hope it will not be unacceptable to the reader if I collect into one view what he will meet with separately throughout the whole book.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Nature of the Country, and the Manners of the People.*

THE Potuan empire is of no very great extent. The whole globe is called Nazar, and is about two hundred German miles in circumference. A traveller may easily go round it without a guide, for the same language obtains every where, though the Potuans differ greatly in their customs and manners from the other states and principalities; and as in our world the Europeans excel the rest of mankind, so the Potuans are distinguished by their superior virtue and wisdom from the rest of the globe. The high roads, at proper distances, are adorned with stones, that mark the miles, and abound with directing-posts, which show the ways and turnings to every city and village. It is indeed a very memorable circumstance, and worthy of admiration, that the same language is spoken every where, although the several kingdoms differ so widely in other respects, namely, in their manners, understanding, customs, and condition, that we see here all that variety which nature delights in, and which does not only simply move or affect the traveller, but even throws him into an ecstacy of wonder.

There are also seas and rivers which bear vessels, whose oars seem to be moved by a kind of magic impulse; for they are not worked by the labour of the arm, but by machines like our clock-work. The nature of this device I cannot explain, as being not well versed in mechanics; and besides, these trees contrive every thing with such subtilty, that no mortal, without the eyes of Argus, or the power of divination, can arrive at the secret. This globe, like ours, has a triple motion, so that the seasons here, namely, those of day and night, winter and summer, spring and autumn, are distinguished like ours; also towards the poles it grows colder. As to light, here is little difference between day and night, for the reasons before assigned. Nay, the night may be thought more grateful than the day; for nothing can be conceived more bright and splendid, than that light which the solid firmament receives from the sun, and reflects back upon the planet; insomuch, that it looks (if I may be allowed the expression) like one universal moon. The inhabitants consist of various species of trees, as oaks, limes, poplars, palms, brambles, &c., from whence the sixteen months, into which the subterraneous year is divided, have their names: for every sixteenth month the planet Nazar returns to its first station, yet not upon the same day, upon account of the inequality of its motion; for, just like our moon, by its manifold phases, it perplexes the literati of the firmament. Their dates, or eras of time, are various; these they fix from some memorable circumstance, and particularly from the great comet which appeared three thousand years ago, and is said to have caused an universal deluge, in which the whole race of trees, and other animals perished, except a few, which, on the tops of mountains, escaped the general wreck, and from whom the present inhabitants are descended. The soil abounds with corn, herbs, and pulse; and produces all the fruits of Europe, except oats, of which there is no want, since there are no horses. The seas and lakes afford delicious fish, and the shores and banks are adorned with the most entertaining variety of villages, some contiguous, and some divided. The liquor they drink is extracted from certain herbs which flourish all the year. The venders of this liquor are called Minhalpi, that is, herb-dressers, who in every city are restrained to a certain number, and who alone have the privilege of preparing it. Those who enjoy this advantage, are commanded to abstain from all other business or lucrative employment. In particular it is provided, that those who already are in any public offices, or who have salaries from the government, shall never concern themselves in this branch of trade; because these, by their power and authority in the city, might monopolize the business, and be able to undersell the rest, from the revenues they already enjoy,—an artifice often practised by the courtiers and great men of our world, who, in the shape of merchants or jobbers, become immensely rich.

Their populousness is mightily promoted by a certain salutary law, concerning procreation; for according to the number of children, their privileges and immunities are increased or diminished. He who is the father of six children, is exempted from all taxes, ordinary and extraordinary. Hence a numerous issue is deemed as advantageous there, as it is hateful and inconvenient in our world, where also a tax is imposed in the way of capitation. No one here fills two posts at once, because they are of opinion, that the least employment requires the whole activity of the soul; and therefore, with the leave of my fellow creatures, I must say, that business is better done with them than with us. So sacred is the

observance of this law, that a physician does not direct his studies to the whole circle of physic, but bends all his application to the nature and cure of one only disorder. A musician plays upon only one instrument; quite otherwise than it is upon our earth, where, by the variety of our pretensions, humanity is trampled on, bitternesses increase, and our duty is neglected; and where, by aiming at every thing, we do nothing to good purpose. Thus a physician, while he affects to rectify the disorders of the state, as well as those of the body, performs neither well. Thus, if another will be both a senator and a musician, we can expect nothing but discord. We are apt to admire such daring spirits as fly at all things, who mix officiously in matters of the highest concern, and think there is nothing they are unfit for; but it is all rashness, presumption, and a total want of sense of their own strength, that we thus blindly admire. Did they but thoroughly know the weight of public office, and the shortness of their own abilities, they would reject the offered honours, and tremble at the sound. No one here undertakes the least employment *invita* Minerva. I remember to have heard an illustrious philosopher, by name Rakhasi, descanting upon this subject, and thus expressing himself: Every one of us should be acquainted with his own abilities, and be the strictest judge of his own virtues and vices; otherwise stage-players will appear to have more wisdom than we; for they do not chuse the finest parts, but those that are the fittest for them. And shall a player see that on a stage, which a wise man cannot see in life?

The natives of this empire are not divided into nobles and commons. Formerly, indeed, this distinction obtained; but when the sovereigns observed that the seeds of discord sprung from hence, they wisely removed all such privileges as were derived from birth, so that virtue alone is now the test of honour; and this will appear plainer hereafter. The sole pre-eminence of birth consists in a plurality of branches; the offspring is accounted noble or ignoble, according to the plenty or want of those, for this reason, because the greater plenty they have, the fitter they are for all manual operations.

Enough has been said in the foregoing part of this work concerning the genius and manners of this people; and therefore, referring the reader to those passages, I conclude this chapter, and proceed to some other particulars.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the Religion of the Potuan Nation.*

The Potuan system of religion lies in a narrow compass, and contains a confession of faith something longer than our apostle's creed. It is prohibited here, under pain of banishment to the firmament, to comment upon the sacred books; and if any presume to dispute about the essence and attributes of God, or about the nature of spirits and souls, he is condemned to the *Venæ-section*, and then confined in the public Bedlam; for they think it the height of folly to offer to describe or define those things, to which the human mind is as blind as the eyes of an owl to the light of the sun. They are all unanimous in adoring one Supreme Being, by whose almighty power all things were created, and by whose providence they subsist. Let but this principle be uncontroverted, and they never molest any one for entertaining different sentiments concerning a method of worship. Those alone who openly attack this religion, as by law established, are regarded as disturbers of the public tranquillity. Hence I had the free exercise of my own religion, nor suffered the least affront upon that account. The Potuans pray but seldom, but then it is with great ardency; insomuch, that they seem to be in an ecstasy. And when I related that we pray and sing psalms very often, while employed about the common affairs of life, the Potuans thought it a vicious custom, replying that an earthly sovereign would take it extremely ill, to see any one humbly approaching him with a petition, and at the same time brushing his clothes, or buckling his hair; nor had they a much greater relish of our hymns, and anthems, as holding it ridiculous to express grief and penitence in musical measures, since the displeasure of the Deity is to be appeased by sighs and tears of real sorrow, not by the artifice of tunes and instruments. This and more I heard, but not without some indignation, especially as my own father, of blessed memory, who was once chanter of a cathedral, had composed several anthems in vogue to this day, and as I myself intended once to have stood for a vacant chantership; but I stifled my resentment, for the subterraneans so strenuously defend their opinions, and so speciously set every thing out to view, that it is no easy matter to refute even the plainest of their errors. There were also several other opinions upon religious subjects, which they maintained with the same art, and appearance of truth. Thus, when I had often observed to some acquaintance, that they could hope for no salvation after death, as living in utter darkness, they replied, That those who were so free of dealing damnation to others, run the greatest risk of it themselves; that the source of all that is arrogance, which God must hate and disallow; and that to condemn the judgment of others, and to use force to convince them, was the same thing as to as-

sume the whole light of reason; which is just the conduct of fools, who think that they alone are wise. Moreover, when I was proving a certain opinion, and had opposed to my adversary's reasonings the dictates of my own conscience, he extolled my argument, and desired me still to persist in following those dictates of conscience, as he himself would always do; for that then, every one following the testimony of his conscience, all contention would cease, and much matter of controversy be cut off.

Among other religious mistakes maintained by the people of this globe, were these: They did not deny that good actions were rewarded, and bad ones punished by God; but then they thought that branch of justice, consisting in the distribution of rewards and punishments, took place only in a future state. I brought various examples of such as for their impieties had been punished in this life; but they alleged as many opposite examples of very wicked trees, who yet were as fortunate as they were wicked to the end of their lives. In a dispute, said they, we are too apt to borrow only those weapons, and attend to only those instances, which make for our purpose and strengthen our cause, overlooking and disregarding such as might injure it. With that I instanced in myself, by showing that many who had injured me came to a miserable end. In answer they urged, that all this proceeded from self-love, from my over-weening opinion, that in the eyes of the Supreme Being I was of more consequence than many others, who, like me, had suffered the severest injuries undeservedly, and yet had beheld their persecutors blessed and prosperous to the last day of their lives. Again, when accidentally I was commending the practice of daily prayer, they replied, That indeed they did not deny the necessity of prayer, but that they were thoroughly persuaded that the truest piety consisted in a practical observance of the divine law. To prove this they borrowed an argument from a prince, or lawgiver: This prince has two sorts of subjects; some are continually offending and transgressing his laws, through infirmity or contumacy, and yet these shall be found continually haunting the court to procure pardon for faults, to be repeated as soon as pardoned; others approach the court very rarely, but remaining peaceable at home, are habitual observers of their sovereign's laws: who can doubt but that he must think this latter sort more worthy of his favour, and regard the first as bad subjects and troublesome creatures?

In these and the like controversies was I often engaged, though without success; for I was able to bring nobody over to my way of thinking. And therefore, omitting all other religious disputes, I shall only give you their general and most observeable doctrines, leaving it to the intelligent reader to applaud or censure them as he shall judge best.

The Potuans believe in one God, omnipotent, creator and preserver of all things, whose omnipotence and unity they demonstrate from this ample and harmonious creation. And since they are admirably skilled in the study of nature, they have such magnificent and exalted sentiments of the nature and attributes of the Deity, that they look upon it as a defect in the understanding to attempt to define what transcends their capacities. The year is distinguished by five festival days; the first of which is celebrated with the utmost devotion, in such obscure places as that no rays of light can pierce them; indicating by this, that the Being they adore is incomprehensible. There the worshippers remain almost immoveable, from the rising to the setting of the sun, as though they were in an ecstasy. This high day is called the Day of the incomprehensible God, and it falls on the first day of the month of Oaks. The other festivals are celebrated at four other seasons of the year, and were instituted to return thanks to God for the blessings of his providence. The absentees, unless they are able to give very just reasons for their absence, are deemed bad subjects, and live totally disregarded. The public forms of prayer are so devised, as not to regard the people who pray but the welfare of the prince or the state. None prays in public for himself. The design of which institution is, that the Potuans may believe that the happiness of individuals is so closely connected with that of the public that they cannot be separated. None are compelled by force or by fines to attend the public worship; for as they are of opinion that piety consists chiefly in love, and as experience teaches them that love is damped and inflamed by force, therefore it must be an unprofitable and a wicked thing to use compulsion in the case of religion. This point they thus illustrate: Should a husband desire a reciprocal affection from his consort, he should he hope to conquer her coldness or indifference by blows, he would be so far from kindling up her love by this method, that indifference would increase, and end in horrence and detestation.

These are some of the principal doctrines of the Potuan divinity, which to some may appear like mere natural religion; and indeed it did at first to me. But they say that all was divinely revealed to them, that some ages ago they received a book which contained their system of faith and practice. Formerly, say they, our ances-

lived contented with the religion of nature only; but experience taught them, that the sole light of nature was insufficient, since all those noble principles, through the sloth and carelessness of some, were forgot; and through an airy philosophy of others, (nothing being able to check their licentious career) were utterly depraved and corrupted. Hereupon God gave them a written law. Hence it appears how great is their error, who obstinately deny the necessity of a revelation. For my part, I freely own, that many points of this theology seemed to me, if not praise-worthy, yet by no means to be despised. To some I could not assent. But one thing there is deserving all our admiration, namely, that in times of war the conquerors, returning from the field, instead of that joy and triumph with which we celebrate victories, and sing *Te Deum*, pass some days in silence, as if they were ashamed of having been obliged to shed blood; therefore, there is very little mention of military affairs in the subterranean annals, which are chiefly records of civil matters, such as their laws, institutions, and foundations.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of their Policy.*

In the Potuan empire an hereditary, and indeed lineal succession has flourished for a full thousand years; and the same is at this day religiously observed. Their annals indeed discover, that in one instance they departed from this order of succession. For since right reason seemed to require, that rulers should excel their subjects in wisdom and all the endowments of the mind, hence it was thought necessary that virtue should be more regarded than birth, and that he should be elected for their sovereign, who should be thought the most excellent and worthy among the subjects. Upon this the ancient succession being laid aside, the supreme power, by the general voice, was conferred upon a philosopher, named Rabbacku. At first he governed with such prudence and with such mildness, that he seemed a pattern for succeeding princes; but these happy times were but of short duration, and the Potuans were too late convinced of the falsehood of that maxim, which holds, that the kingdom is happy where a philosopher is at the helm. For since the new sovereign was raised from the meanest fortune to the height of power, his virtues and all his arts of government could not procure or maintain that veneration, that respect, that majesty, which is the great support of a monarch's power. Those who but lately had been his equals or superiors, could hardly be brought to bow to an equal or inferior, or to pay the new prince that measure of obedience due from subjects to their rulers; and therefore when any strict or troublesome commands were laid upon them, they murmured loud, and never regarded what the prince then was, but what he was before his exaltation. Hence he was forced to have recourse to submissive flatteries; and even this availed not; for after these submissions, being obliged to issue out his commands and edicts, they were still received with frowns and with reluctance. Rabbacku then perceiving, that other means were necessary to keep the subjects to their duty, from a mild and popular behaviour, he now changed his measures, and treated his people with severity. But alas! by this extreme, those sparks which lay concealed under the ashes, now broke into an open flame; the subjects rose in arms against their prince, and one rebellion not thoroughly subdued and laid asleep, was the beginning of another. The monarch finding at length that the government could no longer subsist but under a sovereign of illustrious descent, whose high birth might extort a veneration from the people, made a voluntary abdication of the empire in favour of the prince, who in right of birth should have succeeded. The ancient family being thus restored, peace was restored with it, and all those storms, which had shattered the vessel of the commonwealth, at once subsided. From that time it was made capital to attempt any innovation in the order of succession.

The empire therefore is now hereditary, and probably will remain so till time shall be no more, unless the most urgent and extreme necessity oblige them to deviate from this rule. Mention is made in the Potuan annals, of a philosopher who devised an expedient to break through this law. His counsel was not to set aside the royal family, but to make choice of that son of the deceased sovereign, be he elder or younger, whose virtues were more eminent, and who should be deemed most equal to the weight. This philosopher, having proposed this law, submitted himself (according to the custom of his country) to the usual test, namely, to have his neck in a halter, while they were debating about the utility of the proposed law. The senate being assembled, and the votes cast up, the proposal was condemned as a thing detrimental to the commonwealth. They believed it would be the source of perpetual troubles, and would sow the seeds of discord between the royal progeny; that therefore it was more advisable for the old law to take place, and that the right of dominion should still devolve upon the first-born, although the younger is-

sue might excel in the endowments of the mind. The law therefore not passing, the projector was strangled. And these are the only species of criminals that are punished with death. For the Potuans are persuaded, that every change or reformation, however well digested, gives occasion to disturbance and commotion, and puts the whole state into a fluctuating and unsettled condition; but if it be a rash and ill-digested alteration, it is followed with inevitable ruin.

The power of the Potuan monarchs, although subject to no laws, is yet rather a paternal than a regal power. For being naturally lovers of justice, power, and liberty, things totally incompatible elsewhere do here go hand in hand.

Among the laws of this kingdom, the most salutary is that by which the princes endeavour to preserve an equality between the subjects, that is, as far as the nature of government will admit. You see here no different ranks and titles of honour. Inferiors obey their superiors, and the younger the elder; and this is all.

The subterranean memoirs show, that some ages ago such classes of dignities were in use, and that they were established by law; but it appeared that they were the source of infinite disorders. It was an intolerable evil for an elder brother to give place to his younger, or a parent to his child; so that at length, each shunning the other's company, it put a stop to all conversation and good fellowship. But these were not the only grievances; for in process of time it came to that pass, that the more noble and worthy trees, whom nature had blessed with the strongest capacities, and with the greatest number of branches, were seated in the lowest places at feasts and assemblies. For no tree of real virtue and intrinsic worth, could bring himself to sue for a title or mark of pre-eminence, which from his soul he despised; and, on the contrary, the more profligate and worthless sort of trees would incessantly teaze their royal master with petitions, till they had even extorted a title that might in a manner hide the poverty of their nature, and be a skreen for their vices. Hence it came to pass, that titles were at last looked upon as certain indications of the vilest trees. Their festivals and solemn meetings, were, to strangers, a spectacle the most absurd that can be imagined. There might they behold brambles and bushes in the most honourable seats, while the lofty cedar and the noble oak, each of whom nature had adorned with ten or twelve tire of branches, took the remotest and most obscure seats. Even the ladies had titles; they were counsellors of the household, counsellors of state, counsellors of court; and this blew up the coals of discord more in that weaker sex than in the other. To such an excess this vain ambition rose, that they to whom nature had been so unkind as to afford them no more than two or three pair of branches, even they absurdly affected the title of trees of ten or twelve branches. This vanity is just as ridiculous, as if the most deformed monster in nature should affect to pass for a beauty, or a man of the meanest original give himself the airs of a man of quality. When this evil had arrived to its highest pitch, and the whole kingdom upon the brink of being ruined, every mortal grasping at empty names, and dishonourable titles, a certain native of Kebo had the hardiness to propose a law for the abolishing this custom. This same person was, according to the usual custom, brought into the forum, with a halter about his neck. The senate being set, and proceeding to vote, the proposal passed without any open opposition, and was judged useful to the commonwealth. Upon this he was crowned with a garland of flowers, and led into the city in triumph, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the populace. And when in process of time it was discovered how advantageous the repeal of these laws was, the projector was advanced to the honour of Kadoki, or high chancellor.

Ever since that time, the law for preserving this equality among the subjects, has been inviolably observed: yet the repeal did not put a stop to all emulation; for every one now endeavoured to shine by true virtue and real merit. It appears, from the annals of this empire, that from that time to this, has been but one projector who twice attempted to revive the distinction of dignities; but for his first effort he was condemned to the *vivisection*, and since he persisted in his attempt, he was banished to the firmament. Now therefore no ranks or titles of honour obtain here, only the supreme magistrate declares some professions to be nobler than others; by which declaration, notwithstanding, nobody has a right of assuming the chief seats in public assemblies. This small difference we find in the edicts and letters mandatory of the sovereign, which generally end with these words: "We command and enjoin all husbandmen, inventors of machines for the manufactures, merchants, tradesmen, philosophers, officers of the court," &c.

I was informed, that in the archives of the prince, this catalogue of honour was preserved.

1. Those who had assisted the government with their wealth and fortunes in its greatest straits.

2. Officers who serve gratis and without salary or pension.

3. Husbandmen of eight branches and upwards.
4. Husbandmen of seven branches and under.
5. Inventors or erectors of machines for manufactures.
6. Operators who exercise the more necessary callings and employments.
7. Philosophers and graduate doctors of both sexes.
8. Artisans.
9. Merchants.
10. Officers of the court, with a salary of 500 rupats.
11. Officers of the court, with a salary of 1000 rupats.

This series of honours seemed very ridiculous to me, as it must to every one of our globe. I guessed indeed at some of the reasons for this inverted order, what foundation it was grounded on, and by what arguments the subterraneans would defend it; but I confess upon the whole it was a paradox I could not comprehend.

Among other things worthy of observation, I remarked the following: The more benefit any one received from the government, with a proportional modesty and humility he carried himself. Thus I frequently saw Bospolak, the richest tree in the Potuan dominions, receive all he met with such condescension, that he lowered all his branches, and by inclining his head, testified to every common tree his grateful sense of the public favours. Upon my asking the reason, I was told, that thus it ought to be, since upon no subject more benefits were conferred, and that therefore he was the greatest debtor to the commonwealth. Not that he was obliged by any law to this condescension; but as the Potuans in general act wisely and judiciously, so they make a voluntary virtue of it, holding themselves bound to use such a behaviour as gratitude would dictate; far otherwise than it is with us, where those, whom their country has loaded with wealth and titles, receive their inferiors with a lofty and contemptuous air.

But the most deserving subjects of all, and who receive the most universal honour and respect, are the parents of a numerous offspring. These are the heroes of the subterranean world, and their memory is held sacred with posterity. They are also the only persons upon whom the name of Great is conferred. Not so with us, where the destroyers of mankind are complimented with that title. One may easily guess what sentiments they would entertain here of Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar, each of whom, having slain their millions, died without offspring. I remember to have seen at Kebo this epitaph of a husbandman: "Here lies Jochtan the Great, father of thirty children, the hero of his time." It must be observed, that in order to acquire this glory, the mere procreation of children is not alone sufficient, unless they be also liberally and virtuously educated.

In the enacting laws, they proceed with a deliberation equal to that of the old Romans. The proposal of a new law is fixed upon all the courts and places of resort throughout the city. The citizens are free to examine it, and send their sentiments and advices upon it to the college of wise men, instituted for this very purpose. Here every thing is weighed that concerns the enacting, the disannulling, approving, correcting, limiting, or extending this law. And when it has thus gone through all this trial and examination, it is offered to the prince for his consent and authority. This delay may seem absurd to some; but the consequence of this caution is, that their laws are immortal; and I have been informed, that not one of their laws for these five hundred years past has suffered the least alteration.

In the custody of the sovereign, there is a list of the most worthy and valuable trees, together with certificates of their learning from the Karatti, and of their life and morals from their neighbours. Hence the republic are never in want of proper persons to fill the vacant offices. It is particularly worth remarking, that no one has a right or freedom to live in any city or village without a certificate from the place they came from, and security for their future behaviour.

A law once enacted by public authority, all future canvassing and criticising upon it is prohibited upon pain of death; so that in their politics, their liberty seems to be more restrained than in their religion. The reason they assign is this: If any one err in matters of faith and speculation, at his own peril he errs; but if any one call in question the established laws, or endeavour to pervert the sense of them by some new gloss or interpretation, he is an enemy to society.

Something has already been said of the state and economy of the court. It has been observed, that the Kadoki, or high chancellor, is the supreme officer. Next to him is the Smirian, or high treasurer. This post was in my time discharged by a widow of seven branches, called Rahagna, who, for her eminent integrity and other great endowments, was advanced to an office of that weight and trust. Long had she presided at the head of the treasury, even many years before the death of her husband, who, though extremely well versed in the state of the finances, yet was entirely ruled by the counsels and au-

thority of his wife, and never ventured to act upon his own judgment; hence he was more her official, or deputy, than her husband. The edicts and ordinances indeed were issued out in his name, as often as she was hindered, by lyings-in, or any other malady; yet nothing was esteemed firm and authentic till her subscription or seal was affixed to it. Rahagna had two brothers, one of whom was butler, and the other butcher to the court; nor, though they had a sister in the highest exaltation, did they dare to aim at any thing greater, by reason of the poverty and slenderness of their abilities: With so much equity are preferments here distributed.

This lady, though engaged in the most arduous affairs of the kingdom, yet at the same time suckled an infant she was delivered of soon after the death of her husband. This I thought was too troublesome and too mean an employment for so great a matron. And upon my giving my opinion, they replied in this manner: Can you imagine that nature has given breasts to women only as a softer ornament, and not rather for the nourishment of their offspring? The quality of the milk, and the temper of the nurse, go farther than we imagine, in forming the disposition of the infant; and mothers who disdain to nourish their own issue, dissolve one of the finest and strongest ties of nature. And hence there is hardly a lady throughout all these dominions but suckles her own children.

The heir apparent of the crown was a youth of six years old, in whom it was easy to discover the seeds of many great and shining virtues. Nature had been so liberal as to adorn him with six pair of branches, an uncommon circumstance in that tender age; his preceptor, the wisest tree in all the empire, instructed him in the knowledge of the Creator, in history, in mathematics, and moral philosophy. I obtained a sight of that moral system, or political compendium, which he composed for the use of his pupil; the title of it was, *Mahalda Libab helil*, which, in the subterranean language, signifies a "Key to Government." It consists of a collection of precepts and maxims, the most solid and advantageous, some of which I yet perfectly remember, and shall here set them down.

1. Aspersions or encomiums are not hastily to be credited; but the judgment is to be suspended, till an indubitable knowledge can be procured.

2. When any one is accused and convicted of a crime, it should be examined what good the delinquent has ever done; thus his good actions being compared with his bad, let reason interpose and pronounce sentence.

3. Those counsellors who are given to contradiction and contest, the sovereign may safely confide in as the heartiest subjects; for no one will expose themselves to danger, but those to whom the welfare of their country is dearer than their private safety.

4. Let none but large-estated men compose the senate; their advantage is united with the public advantage, whereas those who possess but a moveable estate, look upon the kingdom not as their country, but as an inn, and themselves as travellers.

5. The prince may make use of the ministry or agency of bad men, if they should happen to be fit for a particular business, but never load them with uncommon favours; for if a wicked or an obnoxious man be received into favour, the worst of subjects will rise under his patronage, and work themselves into office.

6. Let him most of all suspect those who perpetually haunt the court; such either have committed, or are prepared to commit, the most daring things.

7. Let him be very backward to reward those who are most impatient of honours; for as no one begs an alms till oppressed with poverty and hunger, so none insatiably haunt after dignities, but who despair to rise by real merit and virtue.

8. The eighth precept is indeed a very useful one, but what I could not be pleased with, upon account of the odious example with which it was illustrated. The precept is this: No subject is to be considered as altogether useless; none are so dull but may be made subservient to some good purpose, nay even may be made to excel in some point. For instance, one excels in judgment, another in ingenuity; one's excellence shall be in the mind, another's in the body; this shall make a good judge, that a better advocate; one shall have a vast power of invention, another shall labour at the execution of a thing; insomuch, that there are few entirely unprofitable. That some creatures indeed seem so, is not the fault of the Creator, but of those who will not perceive or inquire where their chief strength lies, and follow that clue. This position he thus illustrated: We have seen, says he, in this our age, one of the superterranean animals, who, by the unanimous suffrage of all, was deemed as an unprofitable load upon the earth, by reason of that quickness and forwardness of his judgment; but yet we see his great swiftness of foot is of no small service to us. Upon reading this paragraph, I could not help saying, This is a very honest preface, but a scandalous conclusion.

9. It is of no small importance to a prince who would know the arts of governing, to be very nice and cautious in the choice of a preceptor to the heir of his dominions. Let him

therefore chuse one of remarkable piety and eminent learning, since from the institution of the future successor, the welfare of the state must be determined. What we learn in the tender age of life passes into nature. Hence it is necessary, that the young prince's tutor should be a lover of his country, that he may instil into his prince a love for his subjects, the first and principal mark that all his precepts should be aimed at.

10. It is necessary the prince should study the genius of his government, and conform to it; and if he would correct the disorders of his subjects, let him do it rather from his own example than the laws.

*—Velocius et citius nos*
*Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis*
*Cum subeant animos autoribus.*

11. Let none be suffered to be idle, since such are a dead weight upon their country. By constant industry and toil, the republic rises into strength and power; nor is there any room left for pernicious counsels and contrivances against the state; and therefore it is safer for the state to allow the subjects their insignificant diversions, than to indulge them in a laziness, which would be a source of conspiracies.

12. Let the prince preserve peace among his subjects; however, it would not be amiss to encourage an emulation among his counsellors, as it leads to the discovery of truth. A skilful judge will often extract the truth from the passions of the advocates.

13. He would act wisely, if in affairs of the last moment he heard the sentiments of every member of the senate, and that, rather apart than when convened; for in a full senate, where opinions are openly given, it often falls out that the most fluent speaker bears all before him with a torrent of eloquence; and so the sovereign hears but one opinion.

14. Punishments are not less necessary than rewards; the first puts a stop to evil, as the latter encourages good. Hence it may not be wrong even to reward a bad subject for a good action, if it were only, that others may thereby be whetted up and incited to do their duty vigorously.

15. In promotions to honours and public posts, let regard be had principally to the person's dexterity and adroitness for that particular employment. Though piety and integrity are of themselves most commendable virtues, yet it is possible we may be deceived by their appearance. Every one would affect a sanctity of behaviour, if he knew that this show of virtue was the road to honours; and would in words profess the utmost probity and uprightness, with the same view. Besides, it is no easy matter to form a judgment of a person's virtues, till he is admitted to employment, in which, as upon a stage, he is to exhibit specimens of his virtues; but nothing is easier than to make experiment of any one's aptness for business before-hand. It is infinitely harder for the stupid and the ignorant to conceal their stupidity and ignorance, than for a hypocrite to cover his impiety, or a knave his roguery. Besides, great abilities and much virtue are not so very opposite but they may be often found united in the same character; and if a person of large abilities be at the same time honest and virtuous, nothing more can be wanting. An ignorant person is either good or bad; if bad, who knows what monsters ignorance and wickedness in conjunction produce? If good, his very dulness must indubitably hinder the exercise of his virtues. And if he of himself neither can nor dare attempt the commission of some atrocious crime, yet the servant, whose assistance he must make use of, in all likelihood may. A foolish landlord has commonly a roguish bailiff, and a dull justice a knavish clerk, who fearlessly commits frauds and errors under the protection of his master. In promotions, therefore, let dexterity be the principal thing regarded.

16. Let none be hastily censured as ambitious, for aiming at an employment he is in reality unfit for, or for that reason excluded from all preferment; for if, in the distribution of public honours, the prince should happen to adhere to this rule too closely, the most ambitious will soon put on the mask of humility, as a safer road and a shorter cut to preferment. And thus the sovereign would, contrary to his inclination, prefer the most forward worshippers of fortune, as being to all appearance the most humble; that is, he would prefer those, who about the time of any vacancy pretend to fly from court and retire into the shade, giving out by their friends that they are averse to grandeur. To illustrate this point, he inserted an example of one, who, during the vacancy of a considerable employment he was all on fire to obtain, wrote to the prince to this effect, viz. "That it was reported that his serene highness designed the vacant dignity for him, though solicited for it by numbers; that he for his part must beg leave to decline an office to which he professed himself unequal; that he entreated his majesty to confer it upon some more proper person, and that being perfectly contented with his present station, he aspired to nothing greater." The monarch, moved with so strong an attestation of humility, preferred this humble hypocrite to the said dignity. But he soon learnt that he was abused;

for no minister ever behaved with such pride, or acted with such weakness.

17. To set a poor insolvent at the head of the treasury, is the same thing as to put a hungry man in your pantry. Nor is a covetous rich man a better choice. The former has nothing, and the other thinks nothing enough.

18. Let there be no foundations or establishments for the maintenance of slothful trees. Accordingly, throughout this empire, the monasteries and colleges admit only the industrious and the diligent; those who either by some useful manufacture help to advance the interest of the republic, or who, by their studies and learning, can be an ornament to the society they are members of. A few monasteries indeed are to be excepted, which maintain the aged and the helpless; such by the privilege of age being exempted from all labour.

19. When the disorders of the state call loud for reformation, it will be right to proceed slowly in it; for to endeavour to extirpate inveterate evils at a blow, is as absurd as to prescribe purging, bleeding, and vomiting all at once to a patient.

20. Those who boldly attempt every thing, and undertake a multitude of affairs together, are either fools, who have not duly compared their own strength with the weight of the things, or else they are wicked and unnatural members of their society, who consult their own interest alone, instead of that of the commonwealth. A prudent man will try his arms before he takes his burden up; and an honest subject, who loves his country, will not transact the affairs of it superficially.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of the Academy.*

In this empire there are three great schools or universities, one at Potu, another at Keba, and a third at Nahami. The studies pursued there are history, economy, mathematics, and law. As to their divinity, since it is so short and concise, as that the whole is contained in the compass of a couple of pages, importing, that we ought to love and adore Almighty God, the creator and governor of all things, who in some state of existence hereafter will reward virtue and punish vice; as this, I say, is the main of their divinity, so it is no academical study, nor indeed can it be, since it is prohibited by law to have any controversy about the essence or attributes of God. Physic, in like manner, is not reckoned among the studies of the university; for since these trees live all sober lives, internal diseases are almost wholly unknown. I say nothing of metaphysics, and such transcendental learning, since it has been observed above, that to dispute about the essence of the Divine Being, about the qualities of angels, or the nature of spirits, incurred the punishment of the arm, and confinement in their Bedlam.

The academical exercises are these: The young students, during the time of their probation, are obliged to give solutions of certain difficult and curious questions, which are proposed at stated times, with a reward to those who give the most ingenious and elegant expositions. By these means the true genius of the students is discovered, what the utmost reach of their capacity is, and in what branch of knowledge they are most likely to shine. Every one employs himself in one only science. An universal scholar is a chimera; and the affectation of such a character is a mark of a loose and unsettled genius. Hence it is, that the sciences, confined within such narrow bounds, are soon brought to perfection. The several doctors likewise exhibit yearly specimens of their learning. The moral philosopher clears some abstruse speculative point. The historian compiles a history, or some part of history. The mathematician throws fresh light upon his science by some new and ingenious hypothesis. The lawyers are obliged to make some eloquent harangues: and these alone study rhetoric or oratory, because it is to these alone such a study will be advantageous when they come to be advocates. When I told them, that all our academical specimens, of all sorts, were in the laboured and oratorical style, they freely condemned such an institution, replying, that if every artisan were obliged to make a shoe, and exhibit specimens of such their work, it is certain that shoemakers alone would bear away the prize. I purposely omitted to speak of our scholastic disputations, because such exercises were there but in equal estimation with dramatical performances. Their doctors and public teachers never deliver their instructions in a harsh, pedantic, and imperious manner, as the philosophers of our world; but forming some agreeable and delightful fiction, they dress up and inculcate a salutary truth with all the charms of fancy and imagination.

It is surprising to behold with what solemnity the academical promotions are made; for they take the extremest care not to furnish the least matter for ridicule, or to be guilty of any theatrical levities, rightly judging that a plain and grave simplicity should distinguish the exercises of an university from the diversions of a stage, lest otherwise the liberal arts should run into disesteem. Upon this, I would not venture to mention the least syl-

lible of our academical degrees and promotions, since what happened to me at Keba, when I gave a description of this kind of honours, was ample reason for my eternal silence upon this head.

Besides these academies, the great cities have their several seminaries or colleges, where the nicest examination is made into the talents of every scholar, what his particular capacity is, and in what kind of learning he gives the most promising hopes of excelling. During the time of my probation in the seminary at Keba, there were four sons of the high priest who were all educated in the art of war; four others of senatorian quality were instructed in trade; and two young virgins learned navigation. For here the genius alone is regarded, without any respect to sex and condition. The examination being made, the governors of the seminaries give testimonials to the examinants with a veracity I have elsewhere spoken of. These testimonials are perfectly just and impartial; though I myself thought otherwise, since that which I obtained from them appeared to me absurd, ridiculous, and unjust.

None is here suffered to be an author till after thirty years of age, and till he shall be deemed by his judges ripe and fit for such an undertaking: consequently, few books are here published; but then they are well digested, and full of meaning. Hence, though I had wrote five or six dissertations while under age, I never discovered it to any creature for fear of drawing down their ridicule. Enough has now been said of the religion, policy, and literature of this people. But there are, besides, several things peculiar to them, which are worthy of our observation and remembrance.

If one tree challenges another, the challenger is for ever forbid the use of arms. He is condemned, like a minor, to live under guardianship, as not knowing how to rule his affections. With us the case is different, where appeals to the sword are marks of an heroic soul, especially in the north, which must have given birth to this abominable custom, since challenges and duels were entirely unknown among the Greeks, Romans, and other ancienter nations.

I observed one strange custom in their manner of administering justice. The names of the contesting parties are concealed from the judges; and the differences are not decided in the place where they arose, but the case is sent to the more remote provinces to be determined. The reason of this strange custom is this: Experience taught them, that judges were often corrupted by presents, or swayed by partiality. These temptations they think they effectually remove, if the parties are concealed, if the names of the plaintiff and defendant, together with the names of the lands or estates litigated, be all unknown. The reasons and arguments alone are sent, at the discretion of the prince, to whatever court of justice he thinks fit, with certain marks and characters; for example, "Whether A, who is in possession, ought to restore the thing possessed, at the suit and motion of B." I should rejoice to find such a custom introduced among us, since we often experience the fatal force of corruption and partiality in the minds of our judges.

Justice, in general, is freely administered, without respect of persons. Against the prince only no action can lie during his life, but upon his death the public accusers, or (if one may so call them) the council for the kingdom, cite him to judgment. There in full senate the actions of the departed monarch are strictly examined, and at length sentence is pronounced, which, according to the merit of the deceased, is distinguished by different words and characters; such as these, Laudably; Not illaudably; Well; Not ill; Tolerably; Indifferently; which words are proclaimed aloud to the people, and afterwards engraved on the monument of the deceased. The Potuans give this account of that custom: That the prince while living cannot be proceeded against without great commotions and disturbances; for that during his life a perfect obedience and inviolable veneration should still be paid him, which indeed is the very basis of government. But when that obligation is dissolved by death, the subjects then have liberty to call his actions to a strict account. Thus by this salutary, though very paradoxical law, the security of the sovereign is provided for, his authority not at all invaded, and the welfare of the people at the same time promoted; for these characters, though given to the dead, are to the living so many spurs to virtue. The Potuan histories for four hundred years afford only two instances of princes who bore the last mentioned character, that is, that of Indifferent. All the others obtained either the Laudable or the Not illaudable character, as appears from the inscriptions upon their sepulchral monuments, which have escaped the injuries of time. The character of Indifferent, which in the Potuan language is called *Rip-fac-si*, causes such grief in the royal family, that the successor of the deceased prince, with all his kindred, mourn for six whole months. And so far are the heirs from resenting the odious character given by the judges, that it becomes a new incentive to them to signalize themselves by noble and worthy actions, and to efface the infamy of the family by a conduct full of virtue, prudence, justice, and moderation.

The cause why one of the two princes abovementioned had the title of Indifferent given him, was this: The Potuans are a brave and warlike people; they never declare war themselves; but if war be declared against them, they push it with all imaginable vigour. By these means they are the umpires between contending nations, and the several kingdoms of this globe submit to their mild and pacific sway. But a prince, by name Mikleta, seized with the ambition of extending his dominions, made war upon a neighbouring kingdom, and subdued it. But as much as the victorious Potuans gained by the conquest, so much they lost of their ancient renown; the love of the bordering nations was now changed into dread and jealousy; and that high idea of their justice, by which the state grew into reputation, was now vanished. The Potuans finding this, to regain the lost affections of their angry neighbours, branded the memory of the deceased prince with this mark of infamy. What the crime of the other Indifferent prince was, is not altogether so clear.

Their public doctors, or teachers, are such as have attained to the third age. To explain this it must be observed, that here life is divided into three ages The first is that in which they are instructed in public affairs; in the second they publicly pursue and exercise what they have learnt; and in the third, being honourably dismissed from their employments, they then take upon them the instruction of the juniors. Hence, none have a right to teach in public but such as are grown old in the administration of public affairs, since none are so capable of laying down solid rules as those who have drawn their knowledge from long experience.

If any one, already infamous for the immorality of his life, should however give wholesome advice to the state, the name of the person is suppressed, lest it should lose its effect from the character of its author, and the decree pursuant to such advice is sheltered under the name of some more honourable person. Thus the good opinion is known, and the bad author concealed.

I was informed, that with respect to religion, it was prohibited to dispute about the prime articles of faith, particularly about the essence and attributes of the Deity. But as to all other points, it is free for every one to propose their opinions and engage in controversies. For, say they, the inconveniences which arise from such contentions may be compared to storms, which, indeed, throw down houses, but at the same time cleanse the air, and prevent that putrefaction which would arise from a stagnant atmosphere. The reason of their having few holidays is, lest a spirit of idleness should creep upon them; for the Potuans believe, that good people as delight worship God when employed in useful labours, as they do by vows and prayers.

The study of poetry meets with but cold encouragement; yet they are not altogether destitute of poets. But the subterraneous poetry differs from prose only in the sublimity of style; and they received what I told them concerning our rhyme and measure with the utmost derision.

Among the Potuan doctors some are called professors of taste. It is their province to see that the minds of the youth are not employed in senseless controversies and things of no use; to take care that no trivial and vulgar writings get abroad to poison and debauch the taste; and to suppress or blot out from every book whatever is writ in defiance of common sense. And to this end alone certain persons are appointed to revise and censure books; far otherwise than it is in our world, where the licensers of books shall suppress the very best, only perhaps because they deviate something from the reigning opinions, from the received manner of expression, or because they lash the vices of the age with too strong a sincerity, and too fine a vivacity. By this means great geniuses are in a manner suffocated and stifled, and writings of a good stamp are for ever buried. But yet, as the Potuans have a free commerce with the neighbour nations, among other commodities, some books of a poor and trivial turn will creep abroad; upon which account censors are appointed by the state, who from time to time visit the booksellers' shops. These are called *Syla-Macati*, that is, purgers of booksellers' shops. For as among us there is a certain sort of men who brush and cleanse our chimnies once a-year, so those censors, who pry and examine into the books that are put to sale, cleanse away all the dregs, that is, such books, or parts of books, as would deprave the taste, and convey them to the jakes. Bless me! said I to myself, what havoc would be made among our books, if such an institution were to take place among us!

But what cannot be enough commended, is the care they take in sounding the genius of their youth, in order to know what course of life they will be fittest for. For as in music a judicious ear distinguishes every little sound; in the same manner these piercing judges of the virtues and vices of the mind, form their sentiments from some seemingly inconsiderable hints, from perhaps a cast of the eye, from a frown, from dejection, mirth, laughter, speech, and even silence. It is by these things they easily know every one's propensity, and also what is contrary to his constitution.

But to return to what concerns myself. I

passed my time, it may well be imagined, not in the most agreeable manner with these paradoxical trees, who treated me with disdain upon account of that too forward and unsettled judgment which they imputed to me. I grew impatient under those scoffs they were ever flinging out; for they even went so far as to give me the nick-name of Skabba which, in their language, signifies over-hasty. But what chagrined me most was, that my very laundress, though of the dregs of the populace, and one of the most miserable and indigent trees herself, did not even scruple to call me by that name of reproach.

## CHAP. III.

### *The Author's Journey round the Planet Nazar.*

HAVING continued in the unpleasing employment of king's messenger for two whole years, and carried the royal mandates and letters patents to every province of the empire, I at last grew tired of so troublesome and so unworthy an office. Accordingly, I again and again petitioned his serene highness to grant me an honourable dismission, and at the same time solicited a more reputable employment; but I met with nothing but repulses from his highness, whose constant reply was, that a more important office was above my strength and capacity. He alleged also, that the laws and customs of the country were death to my hopes, in that they admitted only fit and proper persons to the most eminent and arduous posts of government; that, therefore, I must make a virtue of necessity, and rest myself contented till I had done something to merit better fortune. He concluded his advice in terms like those of the poet,

*Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede fas est.*
*E cælo magnum descendit nosce teipsum,*
*Figendum ac memori tractandum pectore.*

These repeated refusals were enough to throw me upon the most daring and desperate designs. From that day forward my invention was upon the rack to produce something that should demonstrate the excellence of my genius, and wipe away my present infamy. Accordingly, for a whole year I studied the laws and customs of the country with an invincible application, resolved to discover whether there were in them any defects that required a reformation. I opened my design to a certain bush with whom I had contracted a close intimacy, and with whom I used to converse very freely upon all subjects, whether grave or gay. He thought my design not altogether absurd, but extremely questioned whether it would be of any service to the state. He added, that it should be the care of a reformer to be a thorough master of the nature and genius of the country he intends to reform, because the same thing might, in different countries, produce different effects, as the same medicine may be good for some bodies, and pernicious to others. He likewise informed me of the danger I exposed myself to in this experiment; that no less than my life depended on it, which must be a forfeit to the state, should my project have the misfortune to be condemned by the judges. He therefore ardently entreated me to bestow a little more reflection on this affair, though he did not plainly dissuade me from my attempt, since he thought it not impossible that a sagacity like mine might at length discover something useful, as well to myself as to the state. I took the advice of my friend, and for a time laid aside my scheme, and with a laudable patience continued to discharge my duty, by visiting the various cities and provinces of the kingdom after the usual manner. These repeated expeditions furnished me with an opportunity of making inquiries into the state of the kingdom, as well as that of the bordering nations; and lest what I had observed in my travels should escape my memory, I penned it all down, and, making a little volume of it, humbly presented it to the prince. How much his serene highness was taken with this work appeared afterward, by his doing me the honour to commend my labours in full senate; and having again attentively perused my book, he was pleased to make use of my services in a farther discovery of the whole planet Nazar. I expected a different recompence for my labours, but was forced to say with the poet,

——*Virtus laudatur et alget.*

But since I was fond of novelty, and had hopes that so bountiful a prince would never leave me unrewarded after my return, I set about the work with a good degree of pleasure.

The whole globe of the planet Nazar, although scarce six hundred miles in circumference, yet to the inhabitants appears of an immense extent, by reason of the slowness of their motion; and hence to this day a great many countries, and particularly the more remote ones, are utterly unknown to the natives. A Potuan would hardly be able to travel over this globe on foot in two years. But what embarrassed me most, was the fear I had that a variety of languages would put me to great difficulties. But I was soon undeceived, and revived to hear, that the inhabitants of the whole planet, though wonderfully different in their manners, yet all spoke

the same tongue; and besides this, that the whole race of trees were in the main harmless, sociable, and beneficent beings, so that I might, without the least danger, make the tour of the whole globe. This redoubled my ardour, and in the month of Poplars I began my journey.

What follows is so marvellous, that it looks more like a poetic fiction, or the chimeras of ungoverned fancy, than reality and truth; especially since those varieties, both of body and mind, which in this journey I met with, are such as one would never expect to find between the most distant nations. It must be observed, that many kingdoms here are separated from each other by seas and straits, not unlike the Archipelago in Europe. These straits are seldom crossed; but for the benefit of travellers, there are certain ferrymen that keep their stations on the banks, in readiness to transport the passengers. It is very rare that the natives ever venture beyond the limits of their own country; and if compelled, by necessity, to make a voyage, they soon return, as if impatient of a foreign soil. Hence, as many nations as there are, you see so many new worlds in a manner. The principal cause of this vast dissimilitude, is the different nature of the lands, as appears from the various colours on the surface, and from the surprising difference between the plants, herbs, and fruits; it is the less wonder, therefore, if, with that diversity of the soil, and the products of it, there should also be found a no less surprising variety of inhabitants, and even opposite natures and tempers. In our world, indeed, even nations the most remote differ very little from each other in genius, manners, learning, shape, and colour. For since the nature of the earth is almost every where the same, except that one part is more fruitful than another, and since the nature of our plants, herbs, and water, is nearly the same every where, hence nothing heterogeneous or uncommon is produced, as in this subterranean planet, where every tract of land has its own peculiar property. Strangers are allowed to trade and travel, but not to settle out of their own country; nor, indeed, could such a liberty be well granted, considering the great diversity and opposition of natures between each other. Hence all foreigners that you meet with are either merchants or travellers. The countries which border upon the Potuan dominions are nearly of the same nature with them. Their inhabitants were formerly often at war with the Potuans; but at this day they are either in alliance with them, or having been subdued, they now rest contented in their subjection to so mild a power. But if you once cross the great sea, which divides their whole globe, new scenes present themselves, together with new and strange creatures unknown to the Potuans. One only thing they have in common, and that is, that all the creatures of this globe are rational trees, and all use the same dialect. This makes travelling very pleasant, especially as the merchants and foreigners, perpetually passing through every province, give people an opportunity of seeing creatures extremely strange and unlike themselves. Thus much I thought proper to premise, lest tender ears should be offended with the subsequent narration, and the author reproached with want of veracity.

It would be a tiresome and an unprofitable task, to recount every thing singly, and in exact historical order, that I met with in my travels. Let it suffice, that I give an account of those particular people only, whose character, description, and manners have something so unusual and marvellous in them, that upon their account this planet of Nazar may be reckoned one of the principal prodigies of the universe. I must here call to mind an observation I have before made, that this whole race and country of rational trees differ very little in sense and judgment from the Potuans; but in their rites and customs, in their make and temper, there is so much diversity, that every province you would swear to be a new world.

In the province of Quamso, which is the first beyond the sea, the inhabitants are subject to no infirmities or diseases of body, but each enjoys a perfect health from youth to latest age. I could not help thinking them the most happy of mortals. But upon a slight acquaintance with them, I found myself infinitely mistaken: for as upon one hand, I saw nobody sad or sorrowful; so, upon the other, I saw nobody pleased and joyful. For as we never highly relish the serenity of the heavens, and the weather, unless we have been sensible of the hardships of a different temperature of the air; so these trees taste no felicity, because it is perpetual and uninterrupted, and never know the pleasure of health, for want of knowing the misery of diseases. Their life is one eternal indolence. Their enjoyments are never exquisite, and those alone can taste the sweets of life, who have their pleasure seasoned with a little pain. I protest, that I never found, in any country upon the face of the earth, such lifeless creatures, or such cold and insipid conversations. The people are harmless, but deserve neither your love or hatred. You fear no affront, and you expect no favour. In a word, here is nothing either to please or displease. Besides, as that continual health never brings the image of death before their eyes, nor ever moves their concern towards

the afflicted and diseased, so they pass their days in dull security and never know the generous warmths of pity and compassion; nor do the least footsteps of love, or any such tender affection, appear there. In truth, diseases remind us of our mortality, excite us to die well, and keep the soul as it were equipt for its journey to that world from whence none return; and as they afflict us with pain, so they inspire a sympathy towards others when afflicted. This leads one easily to discern how much diseases, and the danger of dying, contribute to charity, love, and all the social affections; and that those people unjustly complain of their Creator for appointing these afflictions, which are so full of real advantage. It must be observed, that these trees, as often as they remove into other places, are exposed to the same evils and casualties of life that others are. This is a proof to me, that they are indebted to the climate for this peculiar advantage, if indeed it can be called an advantage.

The province of Lalac, surnamed Mascatta, or the Blest, seems to correspond with its name, for there the earth produces all things spontaneously.

*Flumina jam lactis, jam flumina Nectaris ibant,*
*Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella:*
*Ipsa quoque immunis, rastroque intacta, nec ullis*
*Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus.*

But this extraordinary circumstance does not render the natives one jot happier; for as there is no need of labour to procure their daily sustenance, they spend their days in softness, sloth, and luxury, and so lay the foundation of innumerable diseases, and untimely deaths. The nature of this country affords ample matter for our serious reflection; in particular it appears, from the condition of the people, that husbandmen, servants, and labourers, are far happier than those, who, free from the fatigue of providing for themselves, are devoted to idleness and pleasure.

*Nempe inamarescunt epulæ sine fine petita,*
*Illusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant*
*Corpus.*

Hence follows a train of vicious actions, desperate resolutions, and violent deaths, which are here observed to be very common. For the perpetual affluence in which they live, in length of time quite wears away all taste and sense of pleasure, and almost infallibly introduces a downright loathing of life. Thus this region, which appeared at first like the abodes of the blest, was in reality the seat of sorrow, and more an object of my compassion than my envy.

*Hoc celerare fugam terráque excedere jussit.*

The next province is that of Mordak; they are Cypresses, all of the same form and height, and differ only from each other by the different make of their eyes. Some have long eyes, some square eyes, some have small ones, others have eyes so large as to take up the whole space of the forehead. Some are born with two, others with three, and some with four eyes. There are also those who have only one eye, and these might be reputed the offspring of Polyphemus, but that their one eye is seated in the hinder part of the head. And hence, according to the different shape of their eyes, they are divided into so many tribes, the names of which are as follows:—

1. Nagiri, or those who have long eyes, and to whom consequently every object appears long.
2. Naquiri, those who have square eyes.
3. Talampi, the small eyes.
4. Jaraku, those who have two eyes, one of which is more oblique than the other.
5. Mchanki, three eyes.
6. Tarrasuki, four eyes.
7. Harramba, those whose eyes occupy the space of the whole forehead.
8. Skadolki, those who have only one eye in the hinder part of the head.

The most numerous, and of course the most powerful tribe, is that of the Nagiri, or those who have long eyes, and to whom consequently all objects appear long. From this tribe are taken the senators, the priests, and all such as bear office in the state. These sit at the helm, nor do they admit any one from another tribe to a post in the government, unless he shall first confess, and confirm his confession with an oath, that a certain tablet, dedicated to the sun, and placed in the most conspicuous part of the temple, appears to him to be long. This sacred tablet of the sun is the principal object of the Mardakanian worship. Hence the honester part of the citizens, who start at perjury, are excluded from all public honours, and what is worse, are exposed to a thousand sneers, railleries, and even persecutions; and though they over and over protest that they cannot disbelieve their eyes, they are still complained of; and what is only a fault of nature, is imputed to their obstinacy and malice.

The form of the oath, which all, who are admitted to public employments and honours, are forced to subscribe to, is this:

*Kaku manasu quthaaqu nirtac Jacku messumbri Caphant Crulkka Manascar quebriac Kirasandera.*



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That is, "I A. B. do swear, that the sacred tablet of the sun appears to me to be long, and I promise that I will persist in this opinion to my last breath."

After this oath they are declared fit for the service of the state, and are incorporated into the tribe of the Nagiri.

The day after my arrival, as I was sauntering in the market-place, I beheld an old man, whom they were hurrying away to be scourged. A large crowd of Cypresses followed him, with scoffs and revilings. Upon my inquiring the cause, I was informed that he was a heretic, who openly taught that the tablet of the sun seemed to him to be square, and in that diabolical opinion he had obstinately persisted after repeated admonitions.

This roused my curiosity to go to the temple, and try whether I had orthodox eyes or no. I examined the aforesaid tablet with all the eyes I had, and really it appeared square to me. This I ingenuously told my host, who at that time had the post of Ædile. With that he fetched a deep sigh, and confessed to me that it appeared square to him too, but that he dared not say so publicly, for fear of being dispossessed of his employment by the governing tribe.

All pale and trembling I left this execrable city, fearing lest my back must expiate the crime of my eyes, or lest, branded with the title of heretic, I should be sent with ignominy out of their dominions. In truth, no institution ever appeared more horrid, barbarous, and unjust than this, where hypocrisies and perjuries alone are the avenues to preferment. And when I returned to the Potuans, I took every opportunity to express my indignation against that detestable race of people. But while I was in one of my angry moods, and venting my spleen according to custom, a certain juniper tree, with whom I had lived in a good degree of intimacy, made me this answer: It is true, says he, that the conduct of the Nagiri will always appear absurd and iniquitous to the Potuans, but to you it should not seem at all strange, that this diversity of eyes should cause such cruelties, because you have formerly assured me, that in most of the European dominions there are governing tribes, which fall upon the rest with fire and sword, upon account of some defect, not of their eyes indeed, but of their reason; and you yourself extolled such a proceeding as a pious act; and of advantage to the government.—I presently understood the drift of this observation, and blushed for shame. I left him soon, and was ever after a staunch advocate for toleration, and entertained milder sentiments of people under error.

Kimal, the next principality, is accounted the most potent, by reason of its immense wealth; for besides the silver mines, which are there in great abundance, vast quantities of gold are gathered from among the sands of their rivers. Their seas, too, afford the most costly pearls. And yet, upon a due examination of this country, I could discover that happiness did not consist in wealth alone. For as many inhabitants, so many divers and diggers there were, who, bent upon gain, seemed condemned to perpetual slavery, and such a slavery as one would think was fit only for criminals. Those who are rich enough to be exempted from these toils, are obliged to keep constant watch. The whole country is so infested with thieves and robbers, that it is not safe to go without a guard.

*Non tam festa dies, ut cesset prodere furem,*
*Perfidiam, fraudes, atque omni ex crimine lucrum.*
*Vivitur ex rapto; non hospes ab hospite tutus,*
*Non socer a genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara est.*
*Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos;*
*Victa jacet pietas, et virgo cæde madentes*
*Ultima cælestum terras Astræa reliquit.*

Hence this nation, beheld with envious eyes by their neighbours, drew pity from me more than envy. Fear, jealousy, suspicion, and distrust, reign in every mind, and each looks upon his neighbour as a designing enemy; so that endless solicitude, wasting cares, and pallid complexions, are the fruits of the boasted felicity of this province. It was not without anxiety I travelled over this region; for in every road, and upon every frontier, I was obliged to give an account of my business, name, and country, to the guards and examiners, and I found myself exposed to all those vexations which travellers experience in countries that are jealous of strangers. There is a volcano, or burning mountain, in this province, from whence ascend perpetual whirlwinds of fire.

After having run over this principality, and that with more trouble than I experienced throughout my whole journey, I pursued my course full east. I every where found the inhabitants sociable and well-behaved, but extremely paradoxical. The natives of the little kingdom of Quamboia surprised me most. There the order of nature is inverted. The more the natives advance in years, the more wanton and voluptuous they grow; and age produces such fantastic vices, and such lascivious freaks, as youth alone, in every other place, is guilty of. Here none are intrusted with the cares of state unless they are under forty years of age; when they ex-

seed this term, they are too giddy for business, like children,

*Quos dura premit custodia matrum.*

I saw here the aged frisking and gamboling in the streets like boys, and spending their time in puerile diversions. They did, as the poet says,

*Ædificare casas, plostello adjungere mures,*
*Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa;*

while, on the other hand, the youths took the liberty to reprove them, and sometimes drive them home before them with a whip. I saw an old decrepit male tree whipping a top in the market-place, and was informed he was some years ago a person of very great consequence, no less than president of the grand council. This inverted order obtained also in the weaker sex. Hence, when a certain youth was to be married to an old lady, all were of opinion he must undergo the fate of Acteon, which is diametrically opposite to what happens among us, where if an old man has a mind for a young bride, he has ample reason to fear an injury of that sort. Once I remember I met two old bald-heads engaged in a duel. Amazed to find such vigour at such an age, I inquired the cause of this duel, and was told, that the quarrel arose about a mistress they had met with at one of their haunts, and who had equally pleased them both. They who told me this, added, that if the governors of these two old sinners were to know of their difference, their backs would be sure to smart for it. The same evening a report flew about, that a certain venerable matron had hanged herself for despair, because she had met with a repulse from a young beech she was enamoured of.

This inverted order of nature demands of course an inversion of the laws. Hence, in that chapter of the law which treats of guardianship, it is enacted, "That the administration of goods shall not be granted to any one, unless he be under forty years of age." Moreover, contracts are deemed ineffectual if entered into by persons above forty, unless such contracts are signed by their tutors or children. In the chapter concerning subordination, there is this injunction, "Let the aged of both sexes be obedient to their children." Every person in office is always dismissed before he arrives to the age of forty.

— *Interdicto huic omne adimat jus*
*Prætor, et ad juvenes abeat tutela propinquos.*

I did not think it convenient to continue longer in this place, where if I had happened to have staid but ten years, I must have been obliged by law to become a child again.

In the province of Cokcleeu there is a very perverse custom, and such as would be highly condemned among us. The order of things is indeed inverted, but the fault is not owing to nature, but solely to the laws. The natives are all junipers of both sexes; but the males alone perform the drudgery of the kitchen, and every such ignoble labour. In time of war, indeed, they serve their country, but rarely rise above the rank of common soldiers; some few get to be ensigns, which is the very highest military honour the males ever arrive to. The females, on the other hand, are in possession of all honours and employments, sacred, civil, or military. I had lately derided the Potuans for observing no difference of sex in the distribution of public offices, but that was nothing to the frenzy of this people. I could not conceive the meaning of so much indolence in the males, who, though of far superior strength of body, could yet so tamely submit to such a yoke, and for ages together digest such an ignominy; for it would have been very easy, at any time, to have freed themselves from so shameful a tyranny. But long and ancient custom had so blinded them, that none ever thought of attempting to remove such a disgrace, but quietly believed it was nature's appointment that the government should be lodged in female hands, and that it was the business of the other sex to spin, to weave, to clean the house, and, upon occasion, take a beating from their wives. The arguments by which the ladies justified this custom were these, that as nature had furnished the males with greater strength of body, her intention in that could only be to destine them to the more laborious and servile duties of life. Strangers are amazed, when, going into a house, they see the mistress of the family in the counting-house with a pen in her hand, and her books before her, and at the same time find her husband in the kitchen scouring the dishes. And indeed, whatever house I went to, if I inquired for the master of the family, I was still conducted into the kitchen.

*Hic lavet argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter;*
*Vox dominæ fremit instantis virgamque tenentis.*

Horrible were the effects of this unnatural custom: For as in other countries there are abandoned women, who prostitute themselves for hire, so here the young men sell their favours, and to that end hire some house of pleasure, which shall be easily known, either by a writing over it, or some other infallible sign; and when the men drive this wicked trade with too great effrontery, and in too barefaced a manner, they are had to prison, and whipped like our street-walkers. On the other hand, the matrons and virgins here,

without the least reproach, can prowl up and down, gaze at the young fellows nod, whistle, tip the wink, pluck them by the sleeve, importune them, write love-verses upon their doors, boast of their conquests, and reckon up their gallantries with as much satisfaction as the fine gentlemen of our world entertain you with their amours. Moreover, it is no crime for the ladies here to make amorous poems, and send presents to the youths, who, on the contrary, counterfeit coyness and modesty, as knowing it indecent to surrender to a lady upon the first summons. There was, at the time I was there, a mighty disturbance about a noble youth, the son of a senator, who had been ravished by a young woman. I heard that it was whispered among the friends of the injured youth, that a suit would be commenced against the ravisher, and that at the next Consistory Court she would be sentenced to repair the dishonour by marriage, since it could be indubitably proved that he was a person of an innocent life and conversation. During my stay here, I had not the courage openly to condemn this depraved custom; but upon my leaving the city, I told several that these junipers acted in downright contradiction to nature, since, from the universal voice and consent of nations, it was evident that the males alone were formed for all the arduous and important affairs of life. To this they replied, that I confounded custom with nature, since the weakness we impute to the female sex is derived solely from education. This is clear from the form of government established at Cocklecu, where in that sex you find all the virtues and large endowments of mind, which the masculine sex in other places arrogate to themselves. For the Cocklecuanian women are grave, prudent, constant, and secret. The men, on the contrary, are light, empty, frothy creatures. Hence, when any thing absurd is related, the common saying is, That's a manly trifle. Again, when any thing is done rashly and unthinkingly, the proverb is, We must make allowances for manly weakness. Notwithstanding this, I could not acquiesce in these arguments being thoroughly convinced of the impropriety and deformity of this custom. The indignation I conceived against so much female pride and insolence, gave birth to an unfortunate design, which I put in execution soon after my travels, as in its proper place shall be related.

Among the sumptuous edifices of this city, the most admirable was the royal seraglio, the residence of three hundred youths of exquisite beauty. They were all maintained at the expence of the queen, and kept for her private pleasures. As I happened to hear that my person was much commended, I was afraid of being clapped up in the seraglio, and hurried away with all imaginable haste.

——*Pedibus metus addidit alas.*

From this place I proceeded to the Philosophical Region, so styled from the inhabitants, who are continually buried in the profound speculations of philosophy. I was all on fire to see this country, which I fancied must be the centre of sciences, and the true seat of the muses. Instead of vulgar fields and meadows, I expected to find one continued lovely garden; and in this imagination I hastened my pace, and counted the hours and minutes as they flew. However, the ways through which I passed were very stony, with every now and then a ditch or cavern; insomuch, that sometimes I was forced to go through a length of craggy way, and sometimes through miry bogs, where, for want of bridges, I was obliged to wade through, and drag my weary limbs after me, quite dirtied to the waist. Yet I fortified myself against these accidents with all the consolatory arguments I could think of. While for a full hour I had been labouring under these difficulties, I met a peasant, of whom I inquired how far I had to go to Mascattin, or the Philosophical Province. He replied, I ought rather to ask him how much there was left of the journey, since I was in the very heart of the place.—Amazed at this answer, How is it possible, said I, that a land inhabited only by philosophers should appear rather like the haunts of savage beasts, than like a cultivated country?—He returned, That in a little time things would have a better face, as soon as ever the natives could get time to think upon such trifles. At this present, says he, we are solely intent upon an extraordinary discovery, no less than that of a passage to the sun; that therefore it was very excusable to leave the soil to itself, it being impossible to do two things at once.—I presently understood the drift of this cunning countryman's discourse, and pursuing my journey, I at last arrived at the metropolitan city, Caska. In and about the gates, instead of guards and centinels, I saw only a few tame fowl, and upon the walls, heaps of birds-nests and cobwebs. Philosophers and swine indifferently walked the streets: nor was the one distinguished from the other but by shape, being otherwise perfectly alike in dirt and nastiness. The philosophers had all cloaks of the same form; but what the colour was, I could not discern for the dust upon them. There was one quite buried in thought coming directly towards me; and meeting him, Pray, sir, says I, what may be the name of this city?—At this he paused, and for a time continued as immoveable as if he had no life in him: at last, says he, turning his eyes upwards, It is almost

noon.—An answer so foreign to the purpose was a demonstration of great absence of mind, and convinced me, that it was better to study sparingly, than to run mad with too much learning. I proceeded directly to the centre of the city, to see if, beside philosophers, I could have the good luck to meet with a reasonable creature. The forum of the city, which was very spacious, was adorned with statues and columns. I was endeavouring to read the inscription upon one of them, and being thus employed, suddenly I felt my back grow warm and moist. Turning my head to see from whence this warm shower proceeded, I saw a philosopher making water against me; for being buried in profound thought, he had taken me for one of the statues there, that are used for necessities of this kind. Stung to the soul with such an affront, especially as the philosopher, instead of apologizing for the mistake, only laughed in my face, I gave him a smart box on the ear; enraged at this, he fell upon me, seized me by the hair, and dragged me round the forum. But when I found there was no prospect of appeasing his wrath, I endeavoured to make reprisals upon him with all my might and vigour; and I believe, with regard to our blows, the receipts and disbursements might be pretty equal on both sides. At length, after a long contest, we both fell upon the ground. At this spectacle, a crowd of philosophers flocked from all parts, and with inexpressible fury fell upon me with their fists and sticks, and then once more dragged me by the hair all round the market; insomuch, that I was just upon the point of giving up the ghost. At last, rather tired than satiated, they left off beating me, and brought me to a spacious house, where when I struggled against the door with both my feet, and vowed I would not enter, messieurs the philosophers threw a rope round my neck, and tugging me in like an ox at a slaughter house, they felled me flat upon the floor. The house, and all things in it were in the utmost confusion, and not unlike the disorder people are in at Lady-day or Michaelmas, when they are moving house. I then humbly entreated these wise men to put an end to their resentment, and suffer themselves to be moved to pity and compassion, representing to them how little for the honour of philosophy it was to abandon themselves to a blind rage, and give a loose to those very passions they are the forwardest to declaim against: but I preached to the winds; for that very philosopher who had so plentifully watered my back, forthwith renewed the fight, and redoubled his blows upon me, like a smith upon an anvil, as if nothing but my death could stop his fury. This plainly taught me, that no anger equals a philosophical anger, and that they who can talk so well upon the beauty of virtue, care to practise it as little as any.

——*Nec enim minor ira rebullit*
*Pectore in hoc, lætiorve exarsit flamma medullas.*

At length there came in four philosophers, the form of whose robes spoke them of a singular order. They presently appeased the uproar, and seemed to commiserate my fate; and after they had conferred apart, they removed me to another house. Glad was I that I had escaped these barbarians, and at last fallen into honest hands. They inquired the cause of all this tumult, and I told them every tittle. They smiled at so pleasant an accident, telling me, that it was a common thing for the philosophers to make water against the statues, and that probably my antagonist, wholly absorbed in meditation, had mistook me for a statue. They informed me likewise, that that person was an astronomer of great eminence, and that my other persecutors were professors of moral philosophy. I could now hear all this with pleasure, believing myself entirely out of danger; yet one thing alarmed me mightily, and that was the great attention with which they surveyed my form. Besides, their reiterated questions concerning my manner of life, my country, and the cause of my journey, together with the whispers that ensued, gave me a violent jealousy. But good God! what horror invaded my soul, when they conducted me into an anatomy-chamber, where there was a frightful heap of bones and carcases upon the floor, that gave a stench enough to poison me. I thought I was fallen into a den of thieves and murderers; but the anatomical instruments which hung upon the wall took away that fear, and convinced me that my host must be a physician or a surgeon. Half an hour was I left alone in this place, when a matron entered with my dinner. She seemed very humane, and eying me attentively, she would every now and then fetch a deep sigh. Upon my inquiring the cause of her grief, she replied, That my impending fate drew those sighs from her; that I was indeed fallen into very honest hands, for my husband, continues she, is lord of this island, being public physician of the city, and professor of medicine, and the others you saw are his colleagues: but, astonished at the extraordinary make of your body, they have determined to examine the inward machinery of it, and to make a dissection of you, in order to add some new light to anatomy.—This account threw me into a most violent palpitation, and setting up a horrible cry, Oh! how!—madam, said I, can you call them honest men, who make no scruple to rip up the bowels of an

innocent person?—To which she answered, I say again you are fallen into the hands of honest men, who will do nothing with a bad design, and have resolved upon this operation for the sole illustration of the science of anatomy.—Alas! said I, I had rather fall into the hands of thieves and murderers, from whom I might possibly make my escape, than be dissected by such very honest gentlemen; and immediately throwing myself at her feet, shedding at the same time a flood of tears, I implored her to intercede for my life. She told me her intercession would avail very little against the resolution of the faculty, which was irrevocable; but, however, that she would deliver me from death by some other means.—With these words she took me by the hand, and leading me through a back door, brought me as far as to the gate of the city. Being now ready to take my leave of my preserver, I endeavoured to express my gratitude in the best language I was master of; but she presently interrupted me, and telling me she would not leave me till she saw me out of all danger, she continued to accompany me. As we walked together, we entered into various conversations concerning the state of the country, and I heard her with the utmost avidity. But at length she made a digression to a circumstance not very agreeable to my ears, and I conjectured that, for her services, she required some things of me which were morally impossible; for she told me with the greatest concern, that in this country the fate of married ladies was extremely hard, for that their philosophic husbands, immersed in learning, neglected conjugal duties: For my part, I protest, says she, with an oath, we should all be very wretched, if now and then a good-natured, compassionate stranger did not administer comfort to us in our misfortunes, and occasionally apply a remedy to them.—I pretended not to understand this harangue, and mended my pace; but this coldness served only to inflame her. Whereupon,

*Consumptis precibus, violentam transit ad iram,*
*Intendensque manus, passis furibunda capillis,*

she reproached me with ingratitude. I nevertheless continued my pace, till at last she laid hands upon my clothes, and endeavoured to stop me. With that I forcibly started from her, and having vastly the advantage of her in swiftness, I quickly got out of her sight. One may judge of the extremity of the rage she was in, by the words I could hear her pronounce, namely, *Kakispaluki*, that is, ungrateful dog. I digested this affront with a Spartan nobleness of mind, and was glad at my heart that I could any way escape from this land of philosophers, the bare remembrance of which fills me with horror.

The next province I arrived at was that of Nakir; the capital of which is a fine large city of the same name. I cannot say much of this place, because I passed with the utmost haste through the countries adjoining to that I lately left, and longed to be among people less philosophically, and especially less anatomically given. For such a terror had seized me, that I could not help asking every one I met whether he were a philosopher; and even in my dreams, the carcases and instruments of dissection still swam before me. The natives of Nakir were very courteous; for every one I met offered me his service unasked, with long attestations of his honour and honesty. I thought this very ridiculous, since I suspected none of them, nor called their integrity in question. I expressed my wonder at these compliments, and observed, that I could not conceive to what purpose they were made; at which they only renewed their protestations of service with a thousand oaths. Leaving this place, I overtook a traveller bending beneath the weight of his burden. Seeing me, he stopt, and inquired whence I came. When I told him I had passed through the province of Nakir, he congratulated me upon my escape, assuring me that the inhabitants were a people famous for their skill in tricking, and hardly a traveller passed but was their prey. I answered, if their actions at all corresponded with their words, they must be people of the greatest honour, of which every one boasted extremely, and assured me of it, with a multitude of execrations. The stranger, smiling at these words, Take care, says he, of those who trumpet their own virtues, and especially of those who readily send themselves to the devil to convince you.—That piece of advice I buried deep in my mind, and I have since experienced that my adviser had reason.

I now arrived at a lake, the waters of which were of a yellowish colour. On the bank there was a vessel of three ranks of oars, in which passengers, for a small consideration, were ferried over into the Land of Reason. Having agreed for my passage, I went aboard, and with the highest pleasure imaginable began my voyage, inasmuch as I presently observed, that these subterranean vessels are impelled by secret springs and machines, which cleave the waters with an astonishing rapidity, and all without the agency of rowers. Being landed on the other side of the lake, I hired one of the guides, which ply in the several ports, and under his conduct I travelled on. In the mean time my guide told me every thing that related to the government of the city, and the manners of the people. I

understood from him, that they were all logicians to a man, and that this city was the true seat of reason, from whence it had its name; and upon my arrival, I found all he had told me was true. Every citizen, from his great penetration, and the composedness of his manners, had the appearance of a judge. I could not forbear lifting my hands to heaven, and crying out, Oh! infinitely happy country, where every member is a Cato.—But when I had more accurately examined the condition of the city, I observed that business went but dully on, and that the republic in a manner languished for want of fools. For as their good sense weighs every thing in the justest balance, and as not a soul can be cajoled by specious promises and studied words, it follows, that all those prudent means and methods, by which the minds of subjects are excited to the best and noblest actions, and that too at the cheapest and easiest rate, must here lose all their efficacy. In short, the bad effects of such an exact knowledge of things were explained to me, and pathetically lamented by the superintendant of the treasury. One tree, says he, is here distinguished from another by nothing else but his name, and the make of his body: No emulation among the subjects, since marks of distinction are thought not worth acquiring, and nobody is wise, because every body is so. Folly, I confess, is a defect, but to have it wholly banished, may not be so desirable. Let every state, indeed, have a competent number of wise men for the public employments. Some must govern, and some must submit to be governed. What other states effect by the most trifling inducements, our magistrates can procure only by solid rewards, which often drain the treasury. Wise men require the kernel if they serve their country, but fools are put off with the shell. Thus, for instance, the distribution of honours and titles, with which fools are taken as with a hook, and spirited up to the most hazardous enterprizes, can be of little force among a people, who know that solid fame and honour is to be acquired only by inward worth and virtue. A people of this stamp are not to be deceived with specious sounds. Your soldiers, I think I have heard you say, are animated to undergo the utmost severities, from the hope of an immortal name in history. This is what our people cannot conceive. They think, that this mode of speech, for instance, dying in earnest, and living in a history, is the veriest jargon in the world, and that it is mere dotage to proclaim aloud the praises of one, who cannot hear nor understand them. I pass over numberless inconveniences, which flow only from our exquisite knowledge, and which prove to demonstration, that at least half the members of every civil establishment ought to be fools. Folly is to society, what fermentation is to the stomach; too much, or none at all, are alike injurious.

I heard all this with the greatest amazement. But when, in the name of the senate, he offered me the freedom of the city, and repeated his entreaties, that I would fix my abode here, I could not forbear blushing, from a suspicion that his request proceeded from a pre-conceived opinion of my foolishness; and that he took me for such a sort of ferment as might be of use to a state labouring under the misfortune of too much wisdom. I was confirmed in this suspicion, when I heard the senate had decreed to send a colony abroad, and in their places to take in an equal number of fools from the neighbouring nations; and so, with a sort of resentment, I left this race of reasoners. Yet for a long time I could not help reflecting upon that subterranean axiom of theirs, unknown to the politicians of our world, namely, That in a well constituted society, it is necessary that at least half the members should be fools. I wondered so salutary a maxim should remain undiscovered by the worthy spirits of our age. But possibly it might be known to some, who were however unwilling to have it inserted in the class of political truths, since with us there are great plenty of fools, nor is there (envy apart) a village or city with us, but what is handsomely stored with this goodly ferment.

Having rested some time, I renewed my travels, and visited several countries, which I pass over in silence, as having nothing remarkable in them. I supposed I had now seen all the marvellous things in the planet Nazar; but arriving at the province of Cabac, fresh wonders offer themselves, and even such as exceed the bounds of credibility. Among the natives of this region, some are born without heads: they speak by a mouth placed in the middle of the breast. Upon account of this great defect in nature, they are exempted from all such difficult employments as require the least headpiece. The only posts they are admitted to, are chiefly those about the court. Thus the chamberlain, the master of the ceremonies, the president of the seraglio, and the like, are all taken from the class of people that are without heads. Nevertheless some that have no heads are, by the special indulgence of the government, received into the senate for some merit of their ancestors, and that without much detriment to the republic; for experience tells us, that the whole authority of the senate is lodged in the hands of a few leading members, and that the rest only help to fill up the number, and to assent and subscribe to the resolutions of the others. And in my time,

there were in the senate two that were born without heads, who nevertheless enjoyed senatorial stipends; for though they were destitute of sense, by reason of that defect of nature, yet surely they might give their vote with others; happier in one thing than their colleagues, namely, that nobody was angry with those who had no heads, but vented all their rage against the others. And hence it is evident, that it is safer sometimes to be born without a head. This city may vie with any in magnificence and splendours it has a court, an university, and several noble temples.

Cambara and Spelek are the two next provinces. The natives are all limes. But in this they differ, that the former seldom live beyond the age of four years, whereas the others seldom fall short of four hundred. Here you might see fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and so on; they would tell you old stories and adventures of their own that happened ages ago, and by their lively representations make you think you was almost present at them. As much as I pitied the first, I envied the last. But after I had more inly examined the state of both, I found my error. In Cambara every one, within a few months after their nativity, arrived to their full maturity of body and mind. One year was enough to form and perfect them; in the rest they prepared for death. Not Plato's self could have imagined a more charming republic; here all the virtues flourished to perfection. Being hourly convinced of the shortness of life, they are always ready for death, and regard this life only as a passage to a better. We may imagine every one of them a philosopher, who, with a happy indifference to his present state, aims only at securing that solid and durable pleasure, which is the reward of virtue and piety. In a word, this seemed to be the abode of angels, the kingdom of saints, and the truest school of wisdom and virtue. Hence one may judge how unjust their murmurs are, who complain of the brevity of life, making it the foundation of a quarrel at their Maker. Our life is short, because we lose the greatest part in sloth and pleasure; it would be long enough if our time were better employed. But in the other region, where life is lengthened to four hundred years, I discovered all the vices under heaven. The present state of things they look upon as eternal and immortal.

*Hinc fugere pudor, verumque, fidesque et honestum:*
*In quorum subiere locum dolus insidiæque.*

There was also another inconvenience resulting from long life. Those who had unhappily lost their estate or fortunes, those who were maimed in their limbs, or were fallen into incurable diseases, made the most piercing complaints, and, knowing no end to their miseries, often laid violent hands on themselves. The shortness of life, therefore, is to the wretched the best of remedies. Both these countries afforded me matter of much admiration, and upon my departure filled me with very philosophical reflections.

I pursued my journey through certain desart and rocky places, which lead to Spalank, or the Country of Innocence. This place is so called from the innocence and peaceful humour of the natives. These are all beeches, and esteemed the happiest of the whole creation. They are subject to no passions and affections, and consequently free from all vices.

*Sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebant;*
*Pœna metusque aberant, &c.*

Upon my arrival, I found all I had heard was true, and that actually they were governed not by laws, but by their own innate virtue and disposition. Envy, anger, hatred, pride, vain-glory, discord, and all which among mankind bears the name of vice, is here proscribed and banished. But with the vices there were also many things wanting, which adorn the human species, and seem to distinguish them from brutes. Except divinity, natural philosophy, and astronomy, all the arts and sciences were wholly unknown. They had not the least idea of law, politics, history, ethics and eloquence, the very names of which were never heard of. As there was not the least spark of envy, so there was no emulation to excite and animate the soul to worthy deeds. There were no splendid edifices, no palace, no senate-house, no forum, no magistrate, no riches, and consequently no desire of them, or contention about them. In two words, if they had no vices, they had no politeness, art, or elegance; nor any of those things, which, though in reality no virtues, are yet extremely like virtues, and render men civilized and social. To say the truth, I seemed here to be rather in a forest of real trees, than in a rational society. I stood a long time in doubt what judgment to form of these people, and whether such a state were in reality desirable. At length, reflecting that an uncultivated creature was however better than a vicious creature, and that though they had no arts, they had also no thefts, murders, and other atrocious crimes, which destroy both body and soul, I could not help pronouncing them happy. Walking carelessly along one day, while I was among them, I struck my left leg against a stone. It swelled violently, and gave me excessive pain. An

honest countryman seeing this accident, presently ran to me, and with a certain herb he held in his hand and applied to the wound, the anguish forthwith abated, and the swelling decreased. These people, thought I, must have extraordinary skill in the art of healing. Nor was my conjecture wrong; for since their studies were confined within so narrow a compass, they were not contented with the outward rind of knowledge, like our modern connoisseurs, but went to the bottom of things. When I thanked my benefactor for his services, and told him that God would be his reward, he answered me in so solid, so learned, and so devout a manner, though in terms perfectly simple and rural, that I had really some apprehensions it was an angel in the shape of a tree. It appears hence, with what little reason we dislike that calm philosophy of some men, who neither wish nor grieve, are neither angry nor pleased, who divest themselves of all the impetuous passions of the soul, and whom we therefore accuse of leading a life of indolence and softness. It appears also how much mistaken they are, who are advocates for the necessity of vices among men; who style anger the whetstone of courage, emulation the spur of industry, and distrust the parent of discretion. For who does not know, that from ill eggs ill birds are hatched, and that many virtues which mortals pride themselves in, and which are celebrated in verse, are rather the disgrace than ornament of humanity, if beheld with a philosophical eye?

I left this place, and arrived at Kiliac, where the inhabitants are born with certain marks impressed upon their forehead, signifying the exact number of years they have to live. These surely I thought must be the most fortunate people under the sun, since an unexpected death could surprise none of them in a sinful action. But then, as their last day of life was known to every one, they deferred their repentance to the last; insomuch, that if you found one among them sincerely devout and honest, it was one whom the marks upon his forehead directed to think of his quietus. Some I observed who walked with their heads hanging down; they had almost lived out their time, and were counting the remainder of their days and hours upon their fingers, expecting with horror their last approaching moment. This gave me to see the general wisdom of the Creator in concealing from mortals the time of their death.

Having travelled over this country, I came to a strait, the water of which was black; and being ferried over, I landed upon the province of Askarac. Here new monsters met my eyes. As Cabac produces animals without a head, some among these people are born with seven heads. To these, as being possessed of an amazing knowledge, the citizens formerly paid almost divine honours; and out of their tribes alone, commanders, consuls, senators, and other great officers were elected. But, alas! as many heads as they had, so many different geniuses they had. They confidently and readily undertook to discharge various employments at one and the same time; and left nothing unattempted while they held the reins of power: But from that multiplicity of business, and from their various ideas interfering and jostling with each other, they made wretched work of it; and in process of time so great was the confusion, that it required the labour of an age to recover from the disorder these omniscient magistrates had thrown things into. Hence a law was enacted, to exclude for ever these sevenheaded trees from all public offices of importance, and that the government should hereafter be intrusted to simple heads; that is to say, those who have only one head. Ever since, those very people, who had been revered as gods, have been sinking into the same contempt as the headless inhabitants of Cabac: For as they, who had no head at all, could do nothing; so these, with many heads, did every thing perversely. But though they are for ever removed from all state-trusts, yet they serve as an ornament to the kingdom. They are carried about like public spectacles, to show the world how liberal nature has been in their formation; though, to say the truth, had she been less lavish of her favours, she had been, in reality much kinder. Of all this race, there were only three in my time in employment, to which, however, they were not admitted, till they had consented to an amputation of six of their heads. After this, the confused ideas they laboured under vanished, and they were brought to common sense. Thus men prune trees of their superfluous branches, to derive more health and vigour to the rest. Very few undergo this operation, upon account of the extreme pain and danger. From hence I drew this useful maxim, That all excess is hurtful, and that simplicity is true wisdom.

From thence I passed to the principality of Bostanki, a people, as to their outward make, little different from the Potuans; but as to the inward, they have this singularity, that their heart is situated in their thigh; so that it may be truly said of them, that they carry their heart in their breeches. Hence, among all the inhabitants of this globe, these are accounted the most fearful and pusillanimous. Upon my arrival, I entered into an inn near the gate; and as the fatigue of travelling had made me something weary and fretful, I rat-

tled my host for being slow in his attendance. But he, falling on his knees, implored for mercy, and extended his thigh for me to feel the great palpitation of heart he was in; from storming I fell to laughing, and bid him dry his tears, and cast away all fear: He rose, and in a transport kissed my hand, and set about supper immediately. In a minute or two the whole kitchen resounded with cries and lamentations. I ran thither, and, to my vast astonishment, there did I behold my very fearful host beating and whipping his wife and maids about. Seeing me, he took to his heels, and ran away. I turned to the weeping family, and begged to know what crime they had committed, to provoke so meek a man to so great rage. They, on the other hand, stood mute, with their eyes fastened to the ground, not daring to tell the cause of their affliction. But upon my persisting to inquire, and adding threats to my entreaty, the mistress spoke to me in this manner: You seem, sir, to be a great stranger to the manners of the world. The natives of this principality cannot bear the sight of an armed enemy, and out of their own houses tremble at the least noise; yet they all domineer in the kitchen, they exert their bravery on their defenceless family, and are only then valiant, when no resistance can be made. On this account they are the jest, as well as the prey, of the neighbouring states. But in the bordering kingdom, to which we are tributaries, the case is otherwise. There they never fight, but against an armed enemy. There the males command abroad, and serve at home.—I admired the wisdom of the hostess, whom I looked upon as worthy of a better condition. And, indeed, upon a closer inspection into the nature and disposition of people, this matron, it must be owned, was extremely in the right, since from innumerable examples it is clear, that Hercules is not the only one who has yielded to a distaff, but that it is the common fate of brave and warlike men to submit, with all due patience, to the female yoke: And that, on the other hand, the veriest cowards in all nature, who, like the Bostankians, carry their hearts in their breeches, are yet heroes in the kitchen. This people live under the protection of a neighbouring kingdom, to whom they pay tribute for it.

From hence I passed by water to Mikolac. Coming out of the boat, I missed my cloak-bag. I presently charged the boatman with the theft, who stifly denied it. Upon this I went and complained to the magistrate, telling him, that if I had not the liberty of bringing an action against the boatman for breach of trust or theft, I hoped he would at least compel him to make simple restitution. But my adversary not only persisted in denying the fact, but threatened me with an action of slander. In a case so doubtful the court called for witnesses. But as I could bring none, I desired my antagonist might purge himself by oath. At this the judge smiled, and spoke as follows: My friend, says he, in this province we are bound by no religion, nor have we any other gods beside the laws of our country. Accusations here must be made good by legal methods, such as proving the delivery, estimating the value, exhibiting receipts, and producing witnesses. Whoever is destitute of these, not only loses his cause, but is liable to be sued for calumny. Make the case plain by proper evidence, and what you have lost shall be restored to you.—Thus losing my cause for want of witnesses, I not only lamented my own misfortune, but that of the republic itself; for from hence it appeared, what a weak unsettled society that must be which depends for its security upon human laws alone, and how frail are all political edifices unless cemented together by religion. I staid three days here in continual fears; for though the laws of the country are in reality very good, and though crimes are punished with the utmost severity, yet no safety can be reasonably expected in a country too atheistical to have the least sense of religious obligations, and where they scruple the commission of no crimes, provided they can but conceal them.

From this land of atheists, I travelled on over a steep mountain to the city of Bracnat, which was situated in the plain at the foot of the mountain. The inhabitants are junipers. The first person I met, came directly rushing at me, and threw me backwards. I did not well understand this, and asking the reason of it, the juniper begged my pardon a thousand times. Presently after, another, with a staff he had in his hand, gave me a blow upon the reins that almost took away my senses: But in the same moment he made a long harangue to me in excuse of his imprudence. Suspecting, therefore, this people to be either totally blind, or very weak-sighted, I took care to avoid every one I met. In fact, all this arose from the exquisite sense of sight which some are here endued with. They can clearly discern remote objects, which are impenetrable to vulgar eyes; but then they do not see what is nearer and almost at hand. These are called Makatti; and they devote themselves principally to the studies of metaphysics and astronomy. They are of very little service in the world, by reason of their too delicate vision. They make very pretty minute philosophers; but in solid matters and things of daily use, they commit innumerable blunders. However, the government

makes some use of them, and sends them to the mines for the discovery of metals; for though they see scarce any thing upon the surface of the earth, their sight exerts itself upon any thing beneath it. I concluded from hence, that there are some who are blind from too great a delicacy in the organs of vision, and that they would see better if their eyes were worse.

Having gained the top of another very steep and rocky mountain, I now entered the province of Mutak, the capital of which looked like a grove of willows, the inhabitants being all of that species. Proceeding to the market, I there found a robust, healthy young tree, sitting in a place of ease (of which there are many round the market-place) and imploring the mercy of the senate. I inquired the meaning of this, and was informed, that the said person was a criminal, to whom they were going to give the fifteenth dose. Surprised at the answer, I stepped aside, and desired my host to explain this riddle. He replied thus: Most nations punish crimes by whipping, branding, hanging, and the like: But nothing of that kind obtains in this country; for we study not so much to punish crimes, as to mend the criminal. The culprit upon the seat is a wretched author, who, for his violent itch of writing, which neither law nor advice could restrain, has been condemned by the senate to the public punishment. This is left to the censors of the city, who are all doctors of physic, and who are now going to macerate and bring him low by frequent purgings, till they have conquered and extinguished the lust of scribbling.—He ended his discourse with desiring me to go to the shop of a public apothecary. I went with him accordingly, and to my vast amazement beheld phials and gallipots all properly arranged, with such inscriptions as these: "Powder of Avarice." "Pills for Lust." "Tincture against Cruelty." "Lenitive of Ambition." "Cortex against Pleasure," &c. Words cannot express the strange confusion of mind this odd spectacle threw me into. But a perfect ecstasy of surprise ensued, when I observed a parcel of manuscripts with these titles: "Sermons of Master Pisagus, a Morning's perusal of which gives six Stools." "Meditations of Dr Jukes, a specific in the *Coma Vigil*, or want of Sleep," &c. I thought the people out of their senses, and to examine more accurately the virtue of their medicines, I opened the first of these books. It was such insipid stuff, that at the first chapter I began to make faces; and reading on, I found my bowels rumble, and soon after had a *tenesmus*. But as I knew I had no occasion for purging, I threw the book down, and ran away. I then observed, that nothing in the whole world was without its use, and that the most pitiful performances were serviceable for something. I found also that this people were no fools, however absurd I at first took them to be. My host averred to me, that he was cured of lying awake from only perusing doctor Jukes' book, the virtue of which was so profound and potent, that vigilance itself must snore at it. These things occasioned in me a tumultuous variety of thought; and lest they should break in upon that chain of philosophical reflections I had heretofore made, I resolved soon to leave the country. And happily enough, the strange things I soon saw in other provinces jostled out almost all thoughts of this place. But notwithstanding, after I had finished my tour round this globe, and was reflecting upon the Mutakian philosophy, their manner of curing disorders was not altogether so absurd; for I am convinced, that in our Europe there are some books that would purge the most costive, or give sleep to the most wakeful. As to the disorders of the mind, I own I could not subscribe to the Mutakian principles in this point, though it must be confessed there are some infirmities of body, which we confound with the disorders of the mind; as a witty poet of our world has observed in the following epigram:—

*Sexte, diu mecum morbo vexaris eodem,*
*Humores acres nos cruciare solent.*
*Cum mihi sit morbus circum præcordia versans,*
*Exosus, querulus, diffi ilisque vocor.*
*At te ægrotantem plorant, miserantur amici,*
*In pedibus morbi vis qûia tota sedet.*
*Comiter excusant te, cum saltare recusas,*
*Immunem clamant, namque podagra tenet.*
*Inter convivas at me cantare negantem,*
*Fastosum, querulum, difficilemque vocant.*
*Cum minus ardua res tibi sit saltatio, Sexte,*
*Quam sit cardiaco psallere sæpe mihi.*

I departed from Mutak, and crossing over a lake of a yellow hue, I arrived at Mikrok, and proceeding to the capital city, I found the gate shut. I was obliged to wait till the drowsy centinel was pleased to open it, which was some considerable time, it being secured with a multitude of locks, bolts, and bars. Entering, I observed a deep silence reign throughout the whole city, except that my ears were now and then assaulted by a noise as of people snoring. I could not help fancying I was got into the region of sleep, as the poets talk. Would to God, says I to myself, that several of the magistrates, senators, and a few other honest countrymen of mine, who are dear lovers of peace, had had the luck to be born in this blessed city! How sweetly and quietly would they live! And yet, from the

signs in the streets, and inscriptions on the houses, it was evident, that arts and sciences were not unknown here, and that laws were exercised. Led by these signs, I found out an inn. No entrance to be had. The doors were all fast. And though it was noon with the rest of the world, it should seem it was night to the inhabitants of this city. At last, after having knocked and bounced a long while, I was let in. Time is here divided into twenty-three hours; nineteen of them are sacred to sleep, the other four to business. Suspecting, therefore, these people to be monstrously negligent, both in their public and private affairs, I desired something to be brought me to eat, which they had ready in the house, fearing, if I had ordered any thing to be dressed, the cook should fall asleep while he was about it. But all things are here done in the concisest and most compendious manner; every thing superfluous is omitted; and therefore this diminutive day of theirs is long enough for all sorts of business. After dinner, which was brought upon table with a surprising expedition, my host waited on me round the city. We went into a temple, where we heard a discourse, short indeed, with respect to the time, but long enough considering its importance. The preacher went directly to his subject. He used no flourishes, no tautologies, nor said one superfluous thing; so that when I compare this discourse with the long nauseous ones of Master Petre, the former is in reality more copious than the latter. With the same brevity proceedings in law are dispatched: The advocates say all in few words, and then produce their witnesses. I remember to have seen a copy of a treaty of alliance between this and a neighbouring kingdom. It was couched in these terms: "Let there be perpetual friendship between the Mikrekians and Splendikanians. Let the limits of the two kingdoms be the river Klimac, and the top of Mount Zabor. Signed," &c. Thus in three lines they express, what with us would require a volume. Hence I am persuaded one may come to the point with less noise and less loss of time, if superfluities were to be retrenched: as a traveller would find his journey half as short again, were he always to go directly straight. The natives here are cypresses, and are distinguished from other trees by wens in their forehead, which wens have a stated increase and decrease. When they increase, a certain humour distils from them, which falling upon the eyes bring on a drowsiness, and is an indication of the approaching night.

From hence to Makrok is one day's journey. Here the inhabitants never sleep. Entering into the city, I stopped a person, though he seemed to be in haste, and begged he would be pleased to direct me to a good inn. He replied he was very busy, and made the best of his way forward. So great was the general hurry of this place, that they seemed not to walk through the streets, but to run or fly, as if they were afraid of being too late. The least I could think was, that some part of the city was on fire, or that some other sudden and unlooked for disaster had frighted the citizens out of their senses. At last I cast my eyes upon a sign before a house, which signified it was an inn. Here some were entering, others departing, others stumbling for haste; insomuch, that I was a quarter of an hour bustling in the yard before I could gain admittance. In a moment I was asked a multitude of impertinent questions. One said, Where do you come from? Where are you going to? How long do you stay here? Another said, Will you dine alone, or with company? If the latter, what room will you dine in, the red, the green, the white, or the black room? Or will you dine above stairs or below? with a thousand impertinences of this kind. My host, who was a clerk of one of the inferior courts of justice here, went away to dinner, but soon returned, and then gave me a long tedious account of a law-suit that had been depending these ten years, the hearing of which was now coming on before the fourteenth court. He told me, he hoped it would be ended within two years, since there were but two courts remaining, beyond which there was no appeal. He left me in great astonishment, and convinced me, that this nation was extremely busy in doing nothing. When my landlord was gone, I walked about the house, and by chance dropt upon a library. It was large and well stocked, with respect to the number of books; but a very indifferent one, with respect to the contents. Among those books, which to appearance were in best condition, I observed the following:—

1. Description of the Cathedral, 24 vols.
2. Relation of the Siege of Pehunc, 36 vols.
3. Of the Use of the Herb Slac, 13 vols.
4. Funeral Oration upon the Death of Senator Jacksi, 18 vols.

My landlord, at his return to me, entertained me with a description of the state of the city; and from what he said, I concluded that more business was transacted by the sleepy Mikrokians, than by the waking Makrokians; that these played with the shell, while the other eat the kernel. The people here, too, are all cypresses, and as to the outward make of their bodies, differ very little from the Mikrokians, excepting the wens upon their foreheads. They have not the same blood or juice in their bodies which other

trees of this globe have; but instead of blood, they have a thicker juice in their veins, which is of a mercurial quality and appearance; nay, some think it is quicksilver itself, inasmuch as in a barometer it is found to have the same effect.

At the distance of about two days journey from hence lies the republic of Sikiok, which is divided into two societies, in alliance with each other, but governed by different and opposite laws. The first is called Miho, founded by Sihac, a famous lawgiver of old, and the Lycurgus of the subterraneans. In order to render his republic stronger and more lasting, he made sumptuary laws, which forbid all luxury on the severest penalties; and accordingly this society, for its great continence and parsimony, may be justly called another Sparta. One thing I wondered at, and that was, that in a government so well constituted, and which piqued itself upon the excellence of its laws, there should be so many beggars; for wherever I turned my eyes, there was a tree begging an alms, which is a very troublesome thing to travellers. Upon a nice inspection into the state of the republic, I was convinced, that these miseries flowed from the too great economy of the people; for all luxury being prescribed, and the rich bulking their genius, and giving into no indulgences, the common people of course must lead an indolent, idle, and beggarly life, for want of matter to make a proper gain of. I concluded from hence, that rigid parsimony in a state produces the same inconveniences as an obstruction of the blood in a human body. In the other province, that of Liho, they live splendidly and jovially, and spare no expence. Here arts and professors flourish; the people are encouraged to industry, and every citizen has an opportunity to raise a fortune. Whoever is poor among them, may fairly impute it to his own negligence. Thus the profusion of the rich gives life to the body politic, as the circulation of the blood in the human body gives strength and vigour to the limbs.

The territory of Lama borders upon this. Here is the celebrated school of physicians. With so much ardour is the study of physic here pursued, that none are looked upon as genuine doctors, unless they come from the illustrious school of Lama: And hence this city is crowded with so many doctors, that you see more of them than of all other sorts of people put together. Whole streets are filled with shops of apothecaries, and anatomical instrument-makers. Loitering about the city, I met a tree offering to sale the bills of mortality for the year last past. I bought one of them, and to my great surprise found the births and burials stand thus: Born fifty; buried six hundred. I could not conceive that in a place, where Apollo himself seemed to have fixed his residence, there should be such a yearly havoc among the citizens. I asked the tree what unusual plague or pestilence had raged in the city the last year. He replied, that two years ago the number of the deceased was greater; that this was the common proportion between the births and burials; and that the inhabitants of Lama were perpetually afflicted with distempers, which hastened their deaths; insomuch, that in a short time the city would be empty, if it were not supplied and recruited from the neighbouring provinces. Upon this I hurried out of the city, not thinking it prudent to stay longer here, especially as the name of a physician, and the sight of the anatomical instruments, after what I had suffered in the Country of Philosophers, could not be very agreeable. Therefore leaving this place, I never stopt, till I came to a town four miles distant, where the people live without physicians, and without diseases. In the space of two days, I arrived at the Land of Liberty. The people here are accountable to no authority. They consist of separate families, without being subject to any laws or power whatsoever. Yet an appearance of society is preserved, and in public matters they consult the seniors, who perpetually exhort them to peace and unanimity, and admonish them never to depart from that primary precept of nature, of doing to others as you would be done by. On all the gates of the cities and villages a statue of Liberty is erected, trampling upon chains and fetters, with this inscription over the head, "Golden Liberty." In the first city I entered, all was quiet enough; yet I observed some of the citizens distinguished themselves by certain ribbands which they wore, and which, as I afterwards understood, were marks and symbols of two factions which then divided the people. The avenues and court-yards of the houses of the great were lined with armed soldiers, who always held themselves in readiness, because the truce being about two days ago expired, the war was upon breaking out afresh. I fled away trembling as fast as I could, nor thought myself free, till I had conveyed myself out of sight of this Land of Liberty.

The next province is Jochtan, of which I had heard a short description, which very much alarmed me, and led me to think it must be the seat of disorder, confusion, and insecurity; for this country was the sink and receptacle of all religions. All the several principles and doctrines which prevail in any part of this globe, retire here as to their centre, and are taught publicly. Recollecting, therefore, what troubles had been excited in

Europe by religious differences, I was almost afraid to approach the capital city, the several streets and portions of which have all churches and temples for different and opposite sects; but my fears soon vanished, when I observed a profound agreement and concord reign in every part. With respect to their politics, there was the same face, the same sentiments, the same tranquillity, and the same care in all. For as the laws made it capital for one member of the state to disturb another in his way of worship, or to molest him upon account of any religious difference; hence whatever dissensions they had were without the least appearance of hostility; their disputes were without bitterness or invectives; and they had no aversions, because they had no persecutions. There was a perpetual, but very honest and worthy emulation among the several sects, every one of which endeavoured to demonstrate the excellence of their religion by the purity of their life and morals. Thus by the wisdom of the magistrate, all these different sentiments excited no more troubles in the state, than did the different shops of the artists and merchants in the forum, where the buyers are invited by the sole goodness of the commodity, and where they use neither fraud, force, or disparagement. By these means, the least seed of discord is stifled in the birth, and that sort of emulation only encouraged, which is honourable in itself, and advantageous to the state. This convinced me, that the religious troubles which reign in many places arise not from the variety of religions, but from persecution alone. A sensible and learned Jochtanian explained to me more at large the genius of this government, and the causes of its tranquillity. I heard him with rapture, and his observations I shall keep engraved on the table of my heart. I did indeed, for some time, make replies and objections to him, but was at last forced to own myself vanquished, since he irresistibly proved all his points by arguments drawn from experience; ashamed, therefore, to contradict my senses, and give the lie to positive matter of fact I was forced to own, that liberty of belief was the true fountain of this tranquillity and concord. However, once more I attacked my adversary with an argument different from all I had used. I told him it was the duty of a lawgiver, in erecting a government, to regard the future, rather than the present happiness of mortals, and that he should conform his scheme not so much to their palate as to the laws of God. To this he replied in this manner: My good friend, says he, you are greatly deceived, if you imagine that God, the fountain of truth, can be pleased with dissembled worship. In other nations, where all are obliged by public authority to one certain rule of faith, what a door is opened for ignorance and hypocrisy! Few, or none, have the will or the courage to discover their true sentiments; and so they profess one thing, and believe another. This makes the study of divinity a cold, lifeless thing, and begets a negligence in the discovery of truth. This also makes prophane learning more cultivated: For the priests themselves, lest they should be branded with the title of heretics, relinquish the pursuit of sacred things, and divert their studies to other subjects, where their minds may range without danger, and where their liberty is not fettered. The vulgar will still condemn all who depart from the reigning doctrines; but hypocrites and dissemblers must be hateful to God, to whom a sincere though erroneous belief, must be infinitely less displeasing than an orthodox, but pretended faith.—Hearing this I kept silence, unable to dispute the point any longer with so wise a people.

I had now been almost two months out upon my travels, when at last I arrived at Tumbac, a territory contiguous to the Potuan dominions. I thought myself now at home, my wearisome journey being almost finished. The inhabitants of this region are chiefly wild olives, extremely devout, and extremely censorious. In the first inn I entered, I waited two hours for my breakfast, knocking and calling for it almost all that time in vain. The reason of this delay, was the unreasonable devotion of my host, who would not, for the world, put his hand to the least thing, till he had finished his morning prayers.

*Tandem intrans magno porrexit murmure panem*
*Pallidus, et caulem misero mihi ponit oleatea Lanteram.*

However, that breakfast was one of the dearest in all my travels, and I protest I never met with a landlord more devout, or more unmerciful. Well! thought I to myself, this landlord had better have prayed less, and been more honest. But I dissembled my resentment, well knowing how dangerous it is to provoke a saint. The citizens here were all Catos, all censors of manners; they walked up and down the streets with pensive looks and folded arms, declaiming against the vanity of the times, and condemning every innocent pleasure. Not a gesture, not a smile escaped their observation. And thus, by their perpetual censures and envenomed zeal, they passed for persons of eminent sanctity. For my part, as I was spent and exhausted with fatigues, I made no scruple of indulging in several innocent diversions; but I got a bad

name by so doing, insomuch, that every house I entered was like a court of justice, where I was sure to be arraigned. Some, when they saw I was not at all moved by their rebukes and admonitions, shunned me like a plague or a contagion. I forbear to say more upon the moroseness of this people: However, one circumstance I must not omit, because it gives you their exact character; and from this sample you may judge of the rest. A certain Tunbecian, with whom I had been acquainted at Potu, being at an inn, and seeing me go by, stept out to me, and pressed me to go in. I waited on him. As he had heard that I was far from being an enemy to pleasure, he gave me such a lecture, and upbraided me with my life and morals in such terms, that my hair stood on end, and every joint of me shook. But while our Cato was discharging thus the artillery of his censures, the glass had passed very insensibly, but very briskly, from one to the other, till in short we both fell fairly fuddled on the floor, and were carried off half dead. Having slept off this debauch, and recovered my reason, I set myself to examine into the nature of these people's religion; and I made a fair discovery, that their zeal flowed rather from some vicious humours, or a predominancy of the bilious juices, than from true piety. But I never communicated this to any one, and left them without saying a word.

At last, after two complete months, I arrived at Potu, so extremely weary with such incessant exercise, that my legs had scarce strength to support my body. It was on the tenth day of the month of Beeches that I entered this capital. I went forthwith to his serene highness, and offered him my little historical collection, which he immediately ordered to be printed. (For it must be noted, that the art of printing, of which the Europeans and Chinese boast themselves to be inventors, was of far greater antiquity among the Potuans.) The people in general were so pleased with this account of my travels, that they were never weary of reading it. All day long they were running about the streets selling my journal, and crying, as loud as they could, "A journey round the World, by Scabo, the King's Messenger." Elated with this success, I gave a loose to my ambition, and aspired to some employment of greater weight and dignity; but seeing my hopes not quickly answered, I preferred a new petition to the prince, wherein, extolling my late labours, I earnestly implored his highness to vouchsafe me a proper recompence. The prince, who was humanity in the abstract, was sensibly touched with my case, and graciously promised that he would have a due regard to me. He was as good as his word; but his whole favour terminated in the enlargement of my annual salary. I thought I had reason to expect a far better recompence, and therefore I could not rest contented with this. But as I would not trouble his highness any farther, I opened my grief to the chancellor. He heard me with his usual humanity, and promised me all the good offices in his power; but at the same time admonished me to desist from so wild a petition, and begged me to consider the measure of my abilities, and the weakness of my judgment. Nature, says he, has been but a step-mother to you, and has denied you those powers of the mind, which are requisite for the more arduous offices of the state; and therefore you should not aim at what it is not possible for you to procure. Nay, the prince himself, were he to comply with this weak request of yours, must suffer in his fame, as a violator of the laws. Rest contented therefore with your condition, and renounce a hope, which nature has made unreasonable. In conclusion, he owned I had some merit, and particularly extolled my late performance; but it is not, says he, merit of this kind that paves the way to state-preferment. It is true, you have drawn a very pretty picture of the world; but if for a performance of this kind we were to gratify you with the most honourable employments, why might not a painter, for drawing a great likeness, or a sculptor, for exhibiting a statue in just proportion, with as much reason expect to be made a senator? Merit should doubtless meet with a recompence, and rewards should be assigned to the deserving; but then they should be rewards of such a nature, as that the commonwealth receive no detriment, and suffer no ridicule.

These admonitions silenced me for a while; but as I could not bear to think of growing old in this vile employ, I resumed that desperate resolution, which had lain dormant a long time, of attempting a reformation in the state; by which project I might, at one and the same time, help forward the public good, and my own too.

A little before I set out upon my late travels, I had closely studied the nature of this government, to see if I could discover any defects, and at the same time what remedies were proper for them. Since that, in the province of Cockleku, I had observed that the government there was in a tottering condition, by reason of the admission of women to the management of public affairs, that sex being naturally ambitious, still aiming to extend their power, nor ever resting till they have acquired a full and absolute authority. Hereupon I determined to bring in a bill to exclude that sex from the administration of public affairs. I flattered myself I should find

multitudes to abet and espouse this point, since it was an easy matter to make it very clear, and to show beyond contradiction the misfortunes that flow from this defect in the state, and the danger the male sex was in, unless the wings of such an unnatural power were timely clipt. And if it should so happen, that the abolition of this ancient custom should appear to some to be too hazardous an attempt, in such case I humbly offered, that the female power should be at least restrained and abridged.

This scheme of mine had three ends in view. First, to remove an inconvenience the state laboured under; secondly, by producing a specimen of my sagacity and judgment, I had hopes to mend my condition; and, thirdly, I thought by these means to revenge certain taunts and affronts I had received from many of the females of this country. I frankly confess, that my own private interest, and a desire of revenge, were the *primum mobile* of this project. But then I artfully concealed these views, lest, under a pretence of public good, I should seem only to pursue my own, and so tread in the steps of other innovators, whose schemes breathe nothing but the public good, when it is evident to the dullest observer, that their private interest is the spring that moves the whole machine.

And now, having dressed my project out to the best advantage, and strengthened it by the most powerful reasons I could invent, I waited upon the prince, and humbly offered it to him. His highness, who had always testified a great regard to me, was thunderstruck at the boldness and folly of my undertaking, which he forebodded must end in my irreparable ruin. Wherefore he endeavoured to dissuade me from this mad attempt by the strongest entreaties:

*Precibusque minas regaliter addit.*

I, for my part, relying as well upon the utility of my project, as upon the favour of the male sex, (who I was in hopes would not desert the common cause) remained immoveable to all his highness said, nor could his repeated admonitions vanquish my obstinacy. In fine, according to the custom of the country, I was brought to the forum, and there, with my neck in a halter, I stood waiting the judgment of the senate. That venerable body debated the matter, and soon came to a resolution; which resolution was sent up to the prince for his contamatron; and being returned by him, was read aloud by a public officer. It ran thus:

"After due consideration, we are of opinion as follows: That the project of Scabo, the king's messenger, to exclude the female sex from public business, cannot take effect without the highest detriment to the commonwealth, since no less than half of the nation, which consists of the said sex, must look upon this innovation as a very great hardship, and their resentment may occasion infinite disorders. Moreover we are of opinion, that it is absurd and unjust, entirely to exclude trees of the finest talents from public honours, especially as nature, who does nothing in vain, can never be supposed to have given them all those noble advantages to no purpose. We are persuaded, that for the welfare of the state, regard ought to be had not to the name, but the abilities of a person. And as a country may often labour under a want of able persons, we think it a great folly, by one act of senate, to render one entire half of the nation incapable and unworthy of employment, solely upon account of their birth. For these and diverse other good reasons we are of opinion, that the said Scabba, for this foolish and rash attempt, ought to be punished according to the custom of our ancestors."

The prince was extremely concerned for my misfortune, but as he never rescinded the decree of the senate, he signed it with his own hand, and affixed the royal seal to it, and commanded it to be made public, inserting however this mollifying clause, "That as I was a foreigner, a native of a new and unknown world, where forward geniuses are in great esteem, I should be exempted from capital punishment. But lest, by a total remission of the sentence, the laws should suffer an infringement, it was therefore thought fit to detain me in prison till the beginning of the month of Birches and that then, with other violators of the law, I should be banished to the firmament.

This sentence being published, I was clapped into prison. Some of my friends persuaded me to protest against this sentence, since among my judges there were so many matrons and virgins, all judges in their own cause. Some advised me, as the safer way, to make a full acknowledgment of my crime, and lay the blame upon my own native human weakness. But this last motive I rejected with great constancy, out of respect to mankind, upon whose character such a confession would leave an indelible blemish.

I heard soon after, that his highness had determined to give me an absolute pardon, if I would but only prostrate myself at his feet, confess my fault, and implore his favour, although Rahagen the treasurer opposed that motion with might and main. But, to speak the truth, I was not displeased with the sentence. For death was not half so terrible to me as that cruel payment they packed out for me; and I was weary of conversing longer with those trees, who had so high an opinion

of their wisdom. I hoped also to meet with better treatment in the firmament, where I had heard that all strangers, without distinction, were kindly received.

## CHAP. X.

### *The Author's Banishment to the Firmament.*

I HAVE hitherto said nothing concerning the strange and very singular punishment the Potuans have, of banishing to the firmament: wherefore I think myself obliged in this place to give some account of it.

Twice every year certain birds of an enormous magnitude appear upon this globe. They are called Cupac, that is to say, Birds of Post, and at stated seasons they come and go. It has long perplexed the subterranean naturalists to account for this periodical visit. Some think they descend upon this planet in quest of certain insects, or large flies, of which there are prodigious numbers about this time of the year, and of which these birds are exceedingly voracious. This opinion is strengthened by this circumstance, that when these flies disappear, the birds fly off towards the firmament. An evident proof of this we have in other countries, where birds, by the same instinct of nature, appear, and for the very same causes. Others think that these birds are trained up and instructed to this very end and purpose by the inhabitants of the firmament, like our falcons and other birds of prey. This hypothesis receives some countenance from that tenderness, care, and dexterity, which these birds use in bringing home their prey, and laying it gently down before their masters. Other circumstances also show, that these creatures are either thus instructed, or else that they have a certain portion of reason to direct them; for at the approach of the season of departure, they are so tractable and tame, that they suffer certain nets, or small chains, to be thrown over them, under which they lie quiet for many days, and are fed out of the hand by the inhabitants with the aforesaid flies, of which they take care to provide a great quantity for this very purpose; for it is necessary to keep feeding them till all things are prepared and got ready for those who are to be banished. The apparatus for their departure is as follows: On those nets, in which they are entangled, a box or cage is fastened with cords. Every cage is capable of containing one person. The time now drawing near, and the insects failing which supplied them with food, the birds mount upon wing, and cutting the air, return to the place from whence they came. Such was this wonderful passage, by which I and several other exiles were to be translated to a new world.

There were also at this time two citizens of Potu, who for different crimes were sentenced to banishment, and were now preparing for their journey. One of these was a metaphysician, who had incurred this punishment by disputing concerning the essence of God and the nature of spiritual substances. He had satisfied the law for his first offence of this kind, by undergoing the punishment of the arm; but being a second time detected, he was condemned to be banished to the firmament. The other was a fanatic, who, having conceived some doubts concerning religion, and concerning the civil rights of the state, attempted to subvert the foundations of each. He refused to obey the public laws, under pretence that such obedience was contrary to the dictates of his conscience. His friends endeavoured by the most powerful arguments, to cure him of this conceit, by showing him how many delusions these impulses of conscience and imaginary inspirations were subject to; they told him, that zeal and conscience were often confounded with melancholy and certain corrupt humours of the body; they demonstrated to him the egregious folly of thus appealing to the authority of conscience, and how unjust it was to contend that the impulses of his mind should be a rule to others, who might make use of the same argument, and oppose conscience to conscience. At last they proved to him, that whoever firmly held this principle, pretending conscience for his disobedience, ought to be excluded from the rights and benefits of the community, since every good subject should pay an implicit obedience to the laws; but that a fanatic neither could nor would pay such an obedience, since his conscience was his sole rule of politics. But as these reasons had no effect upon the mind of our fanatic, he continued obstinate and incorrigible, and so was condemned to the firmament. Thus at this time there were only three of us to undergo this punishment, a projector, a metaphysician, and a fanatic.

About the beginning of the month of Birches, we were all carried from prison to separate places. What became of the metaphysician and the fanatic I know not, as being too full of cares for myself to mind any thing else. Being brought to the destined place of departure, I was forthwith thrust into one box or cage, with as much provision as would serve me for two or three days. Soon after this, when the birds found no more flies brought them, as it they took the hint, they left the place, and flew off with incredible celerity. The distance of the firmament from the planet Nazar is reputed by the subter-

raneans to be about an hundred miles. How long I was in passing from the one to the other I cannot say, but to me this etherial voyage seemed to be no more than about four and-twenty hours. After a profound silence, at last a confused noise seemed to reach my ears, from whence I conjectured I was not far from land. Then it was I perceived that these birds had been carefully exercised and instructed, for with great art and care they landed their burden, so as not in the least to injure or hurt it. In a moment I was surrounded with a prodigious number of monkies, the sight of which put me into a very great fright, remembering what I had suffered from these animals upon the planet Nazar. But my fright redoubled when I heard these monkies articulately discourse with one another, and when I beheld them clad in diverse coloured vestments. I then conjectured that they were the inhabitants of this country. But as after that heap of wonders I had been accustomed to, nothing now could well seem new or strange, I began to recover my courage; especially as I had observed that these creatures approached me with an air of civility and good-nature, taking me gently out of my cage, and receiving me with the humanity due to strangers. Even ambassadors in our world are hardly received with more ceremony than I was. They all came one after another, and addressed me in these words, *Pul usser.* When they had repeated this salutation pretty often, I repeated the same words. Upon this they set up an immoderate laugh, and by a multitude of comic gestures signified they were highly delighted to hear me pronounce them. This made me conclude these people to be a light, babbling race of creatures, and vast admirers of novelty. When they spoke, you would think so many drums were beating; with so much volubility, and so little out of breath, they held on their chattering. In a word, as to dress, manners, speech, and form of body, they were the very reverse of the Potuans. At first they were all astonished at my figure, and the chief reason of that astonishment was, that I wanted a tail; for as among the whole brute creation none so much resemble the human form as monkies, so, had I had a tail, they would have taken me for one of their own species, especially as all those who had hitherto been transported from the planet Nazar to this place were of a form extremely unlike their own. About the time of my arrival here the sea ran very high, by reason of the near approach of the planet Nazar; for as with us the tides of the ocean correspond with the course of the moon, so the ocean of this firmament increases and decreases according to the vicinity or remoteness of the aforesaid planet.

Presently I was conducted to a very noble house, all beautifully set off with costly stone, marble, mirrors, vases, and tapestry. At the gate were centinels posted, which gave me to understand that this could not be the dwelling of a vulgar monkey; and I was soon informed, that it was the house of the consul, or chief magistrate. He was very desirous of conversing with me, and therefore hired some masters to instruct me in their language. Near three months had been spent upon my instruction, at the expiration of which, as I could now speak the tongue pretty fluently, I hoped to gain the applause and admiration of all, upon account of the forwardness of my genius, and the strength of my memory. But my tutors thought me slower and duller than ordinary; insomuch, that they lost all patience, and threatened to leave me off. And as at Potu I was called in derision Scabba, or quick-parts, so here, by reason of my stupidity and dulness, they gave me the name of Kakidoran, which signifies a clown or dunce; for those alone are here esteemed who are quick and nimble, and cover their sense in a confused and rapid volley of words. While I was learning the monkey language, my host took me round the city, which I beheld dissolved in every kind of luxury. What with the multitude of coaches, chaises, valets, and a crowd of people hurrying every way, we were obliged to use a sort of force to get on. Yet this was nothing, if compared to that luxury which reigned in the metropolis, where, as in its centre, you might see all that mortal vanity could invent. Being now taught the language, I was brought to this famous capital by my host, who hoped to purchase the favour of a senator by making him a present of so uncommon a curiosity as I was; for the form of government here is aristocratical, so that the sovereign authority resides in the grand senate, the members of which are all noble from first to last. None of plebeian family can ever hope to be more than a centurion or prætor in the provinces or lesser cities. Sometimes, indeed, one of this class may arrive at the consulate, yet never without some very extraordinary merit. Thus it was my host obtained the consulship; for so fertile was his genius, that in the space of one month he projected twenty-eight new laws; and though not half of them were calculated for the good of the public, yet they were specimens of a fruitful invention, and procured him a great character; for throughout the whole subterranean world there is no place where projectors are in more esteem than in this. The capital city is called Martinia; it gives

name to the whole country, and is famous for its fine situation, for the grandeur of its buildings, its commerce, and naval force. For extent of ground, and number of inhabitants, I believe it may rival Paris. So crowded was every street, that we were forced to beat our way through to go to that part of the city where the syndic of the senate lived, for he it was to whom the consul was to present me.

When we drew near to the syndic's house, my friend the consul went into an inn, to put himself in order, and to compose his person and habit in a manner fit to appear before the syndic. Immediately there appeared a little army of occasional valets or footmen, commonly called Maskatti, whose assistance every one makes use of before they enter the palaces of the senators. These brush your clothes, take out the spots, and with the exactest care adjust whatever is discomposed, even to the smallest plait. One of these Maskatti took the consul's sword, and wiped it clean and bright, and then returned it him; another dressed his tail with ribbands of various colours, for these monkies have nothing more at heart than the ornaments of their tails. There were some senators, and especially some of the wives of the senators, whose tails on high occasions could scarcely be dressed out to the best advantage under two or three hundred pounds sterling. A third approached the consul with a geometrical instrument, to take the dimensions of his clothes, and to see if all hung in due proportion; a fourth brought a bottle of paint, and with it improved his visage; a fifth examined his feet, from which he pared the superfluities; a sixth brought him perfumed water to wash with; in short, one brought a towel, another a comb, another a looking-glass, and all with an exactness not inferior to that of a geometrician measuring and adorning his map. Oh! thought I to myself, how much time and expence must the dress of the ladies here require, when there is so much fuss in tricking out one of our sex? And, indeed, the Martinian ladies exceed all bounds, and cover their cheeks with such a load of paint as makes their persons offensive; for when the sweat and paint are pretty well united, it exhales an odour like that of your great kitchens: what you smell you know not, but this you know, that it is something very disagreeable.

My host, thus painted, powdered, combed, and polished, went to the syndic's palace, attended only with three valets. When he came to the court-yard he pulled off his shoes, lest he should afterwards disoblige the marble floor with dirt or dust. He was forced to stay a full hour before the syndic was informed that he was there, nor was he introduced without a proper gratification to some of the guards and servants. The syndic, seated on a gilt settee, as soon as he espied me entering with my host, burst out into an ungovernable laughter, and afterwards asked me a thousand trifling, foolish questions. To every reply I made him, he redoubled his fits of laughter.

*Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.*

For my part, I was of opinion, that to play the buffoon was reckoned among the virtues here, since the government had made this person syndic, which is the second dignity in the senate, and I observed as much to my friend. But he assured me he was a monkey of great abilities, as appeared from the multitude of business of various sorts which, even in his greener years, he went through; for such was his readiness of perception, that even over a glass he would transact affairs of the utmost weight; nay, even at dinner or at supper, between the courses, he would often draw up a new law. I inquired if such laws, conceived in so short a space of time, were of any considerable duration. To this he only replied, that, like other laws, they continued in force till it pleased the senate to abrogate or repeal them.

The syndic, having conversed with me about half an hour, and with full as great a degree of loquacity as our European barbers, turned himself about to my friend, and told him he would take me into the number of his servants, though, upon account of my slow intellects, he much doubted whether I could be good for any thing.—I have myself, replied my friend the consul, observed a natural torpor or dulness in him; but give him time for reflection, and you will find he has no contemptible judgment.—That signifies little here, returned the syndic, since our multiplicity of business admits of no delay.—With these words he fell to examining my limbs and my body; and after having surveyed them a short time, he commanded me to lift up a certain weight from the ground, which I did without much trouble. Upon this he told me, that though nature had been unkind to me with respect to my intellects, yet that she had in a manner compensated that defect by an extraordinary strength of body.—I was then ordered to withdraw to another apartment, where the domestics and attendants received me with a good deal of pleasure, though their excessive impertinence and gestures were troublesome enough. So many questions they asked me concerning our world, I knew not how to answer them, and so gave them what came uppermost, some truth, some falsehood, just to allay their impatient curiosity.

At length my friend returning, told me his

excellence did me the honour to retain me in his court. From the foregoing conversation of the syndic I could guess, that the employment designed for me was no very important one, probably his valet or his butler; and upon inquiring what it was, my friend said to me, his excellence has been graciously pleased to appoint you one of his body chairmen, with an annual salary of twenty-five stercolates: (a Martinian stercolate is equal to about seven shillings and sixpence sterling.) He has moreover engaged, that you shall have the honour of carrying only himself, or his lady. I was thunderstruck with this answer, and remonstrated in the most pathetic manner how unworthy an office this was for one of my ingenious education and family; but some courtiers rushing in in heaps, interrupted me from speaking more, and half killed me with their impertinence; for all the Martinians are light, frothy, talking creatures, that have a smooth, fluent jargon of words, without the least mixture of seriousness and gravity. At length I was conducted to an apartment, where supper was ready, and having taken a moderate repast, I retired to my repose.

I threw myself upon my bed, but such was the disorder of my mind I could take no sleep. The disdain I was received with shocked me to the highest degree, and nothing less than a Spartan patience could digest so gross an indignity. I heartily deplored my fate, which seemed severer now than what I had experienced in the planet Nazar, and I could not help saying to myself, What would here become of the Kadoki, or high chancellor of Potu, a person of inestimable worth in his own country, but who required at least an entire month to form a new law? What would be the fate of Palmka in this place, where the senators make laws between the courses at meals?—After a serious consideration, I found myself translated from a land of sages to a country of fools. At last, being tired with thinking, sleep overpowered me. I know not how long I slept, since there is here no difference between night and day; for it is never dark except at one stated time, when the subterranean sun is in an eclipse by the interposition of the planet Nazar. This eclipse is very remarkable, because the aforesaid planet, being not far from the firmament, overshadows the whole sun, and so always makes the eclipse total; but as this happens but seldom, it makes no alteration of season, which is here invariably the same, upon account of the presence of the sun. Hence the inhabitants are forced to have recourse to various inventions, as groves, baths, walks, and grottos, to qualify the heat.

I was scarce awake when a monkey entered my chamber, who told me he was my comrade in office, and with a slight cord, (being ordered so to do) he applied a fictitious tail to my posteriors, to make me look more like a monkey. He then bid me get ready, because the syndic within an hour was to be carried to the academy, to which place he and his brother senators had received a formal invitation. It seems there was to be a promotion to a doctor's degree at ten o'clock that morning. It must be noted here, that though the days are not distinguished from the nights, by reason of the perpetual presence of the sun, yet are they distinguished into hours, half hours, and quarters, and that by means of clocks or hour glasses, so that day and night together take up about twenty-two hours. Hence, if all the clocks in the city were to stop at once, it would be impossible for the citizens to recover the true time till they had consulted some of the clocks in the next neighbourhood; for there neither are, nor can be, any sun-dials, because there is never any shadow, the sun continually darting perpendicular rays upon the place; so that were you to dig a well here, it would be illuminated to the bottom. As to the year, that is regulated and governed by the course of the planet Nazar round the sun.

At ten o'clock we took up his excellence, and carried him to the academy. Entering into the auditory, we beheld the doctors and masters seated in order, every one of which rose up as the syndic passed by, and turning themselves about paid him their compliments with their tail. This is their manner of doing reverence, and this accounts for their care in adorning their tails. For my own part, I confess these inverted salutations seemed extremely foolish and absurd; for to turn one's back upon any one is among us a mark of indifference or contempt; but every nation has its particular taste. The aforesaid doctors and masters were seated on each side of the auditory. In the lower part of it was placed a chair, in which sat the candidate. Before the act of promotion, the following question was discussed in a solemn disputation, namely, "Whether the sound, which flies and other insects make, comes through the mouth or the posteriors?" The president undertook the defence of the former opinion, which was attacked by the opponents with so much acrimony, that I was afraid it would have terminated in a bloody battle. And most certainly they had come to blows, but that the senate rose up and cooled the flame by their authority. During the dispute, a certain monkey played upon a pipe: this was the moderator, who by the management of his music, either in soft or in smart strains, would quicken the dispute when it flagged and languished, or

bring it down when it was noisy and violent; though very often all his art had no effect, so very hard a matter it is to preserve the temper when the dispute is upon such interesting subjects. The same thing often happens in our world, where, when the dispute turns upon some very dubious and almost inexplicable point, one may observe the combatants are often worked up to the most violent agitations of mind or body. However, this threatening quarrel, which promised no thing but blood and slaughter, ended all in compliments and praises. Something like this obtains in our European universities, where, according to general custom, the president, when the dispute is closed, descends victorious and triumphant from the chair.

This preamble ended, they proceeded to the act of creation with these ceremonies: The candidate was placed in the middle of the auditory; three of the university beadles walked gravely up to him, and threw a whole pailful of cold water upon his head; they then perfumed him with incense, and lastly gave him a vomit to take off. Having performed this with the utmost solemnity, they retired bowing, and declared him aloud a true and legitimate doctor. Amazed at so many wonderful ceremonies, I asked a certain learned monkey who stood near me the meaning of all this. He told me, (pitying at the same time my ignorance) that by the water, the incense, and the vomit, it was understood that the candidate was to forsake his old vices, and to assume a new set of manners, to distinguish him from the vulgar. Hearing this, I deplored my own stupidity, and full of admiration forbore to ask any farther questions, for fear I should be thought to have never conversed with any thing above brutes.

At last all the musical instruments struck up at once, and the new doctor, clothed in a robe of green, and girt with a sash of the same colour, was escorted home from the auditory with all Parnassus at his heels; but as he was of a plebeian family, he had not the honour of a coach, but was seated in a vehicle not unlike a wheelbarrow, and drawn by hand, the university beadles marching before in their respective habits. The whole ended in a very handsome entertainment, where the guests drank so plentifully, that many of them were carried home extremely intoxicated, and were so ill for many days after, that without the help of proper medicines they would hardly have recovered; so that from the beginning to the ending of this whole ceremony nothing was wanting to the due solemnity of it; and I protest, I never, even in our world, saw a more truly academical promotion, or any candidate commence doctor more legitimately than this.

In the courts of justice, causes are dispatched with a surprising dexterity; and I was charmed with that readiness of apprehension, that velocity of conceiving things, so peculiar to this nation. Very often, before the advocates have wound up their pleadings, the judges rise and give sentence with equal expedition and elegance. I often frequented these courts, to inform myself thoroughly of their manner of proceeding. At first hearing, their decrees seemed just and equitable enough; but upon a more careful examination, they were in reality absurd, unjust, and full of contradictions; insomuch, that I would sooner commit my cause to the chance of a dye, than to the judgment of the Martinian lawyers. I forbear to say any thing concerning the laws of this people, by reason of the capricious changes they perpetually undergo. They are as fickle in these as in their fashions. Many are here punished for crimes, which were not crimes at the time they were committed, but commence such by virtue of an after law to make them so; for which reason nothing is more common than appeals from the inferior to the superior courts, the plaintiff having hopes, that, while the suit is depending, the old law (which lost him his cause in the lower court) may be repealed. This is owing to the suddenness with which their laws are invented and promulged. Such lovers of novelty are this people, that they perfectly nauseate the most useful statutes, solely upon account of their antiquity. The advocates are in great reputation for their shrewdness in disputation; nay, there are some among them who disdain to undertake a cause that is not unjust, or at least very doubtful; for in so doing they might be deprived of an occasion of exerting their parts, and giving specimens of their ability to turn black into white. The judges will often favour a bad cause, in compliment to the council for defending it so well. We perceive well enough, say the judges, the injustice of this cause, but then it has been managed with such inimitable art, that, in justice to the advocate for his performance, we ought to strain a point of law.—The students in this profession are taught law at different prices; for instance, those who teach their pupils to manage a bad cause, or, according to the proverb, to make the best of a bad market, require twenty sterculates for their trouble; the art of managing a good one shall cost but ten. Their forms of law are so many, they resemble a huge chaos, without bottom and without shore; for the Martinians, having a sublime genius and a quick perception, detest every thing that is plain and simple, and think nothing worth their care that is not very knotty and intricate.

The same taste prevails in religion, which does not consist in practice, but in idle speculations. Thus there are two hundred and thirty different opinions about the form or figure of the Supreme Being, and three hundred and ninety-six about the nature and quality of souls. The Martinians never resort to their temples or churches with the view of hearing any thing useful, or of improving themselves in the art of living and dying well, but only to observe with what art and dexterity the holy orators acquit themselves; for the more obscure their language is, the more they are admired, their audience having very little relish for what they understand. More pains are taken about the expression than about the matter, the preachers affecting the smooth, round period more than the strength of reason, and the audience expecting to be amused with a sounding pomp of words without a meaning; for this reason I did not dare say any thing concerning the Christian religion, which, consisting of naked, simple truths, could never recommend itself to their goût.

Projectors are no where in so high reputation as here. The more odd and impracticable the scheme, the greater is the inventor's glory. When I had accidentally been explaining to a certain monkey the nature of our terraqueous globe, and had informed him that the surface of it was inhabited, he presently conceived a project of digging through the earth, and opening a passage to the superterraneans. This device met with universal applause, and a society was thereupon instituted, and called "THE SUPERTERRANEAN COMPANY," to which the inhabitants flocked in shoals, and, according to the language of those times, bought in stocks. However, as this affair introduced a great deal of confusion into the kingdom, and ruined a multitude of families beyond redemption, they found the folly of the scheme, and dropped it all at once; and though the nation smarted so severely by it, yet the projector not only escaped with impunity, but with almost general praise, this people entertaining the highest idea of his great abilities.

Perceiving this turn of mind to prevail, I endeavoured by the same means to procure myself a reputation among the Martinians, and to mend my fortune by some new project of my own. After a due examination of the state of the public, I discovered several flaws in it. I saw the whole country was full of the more subtle sort of artists, but that it laboured under a want of useful traders and workmen. Upon this I proposed a law for the institution of certain manufactures, that might be of great service to the nation; but every proposal of this kind met with nothing but sneers and contempt from this vain people. I then accused my own stupidity in these terms: What a sot have I been, and how richly do I deserve to end my days in the ignoble office of chairman? Yet I did not altogether despond, and being convinced I should never do them nor myself any good by salutary counsels, I resolved to try whether I could not get over the difficulty by some ridiculous invention or other. I opened my design to one of the gravest monkies I knew, who encouraged me to it mightily; and when he proved to me, that numbers there had made their fortunes by mere trifles and boyish gewgaws, and more especially by the invention of some new fashion, I then resolved to swim with the tide, and among fools to play the fool myself. Upon this I called to mind all the most ridiculous and extravagant inventions of Europe, and being at liberty to pick and chuse, I fixed upon those ornaments of the head which we call perriwigs, and determined with myself to introduce this fashion. What contributed to bear me out in this attempt was, the great number of goats in this kingdom, whose wool or hair would be very proper for my purpose; and as my goat-tutor (now at rest) long exercised the occupation of a perriwig maker, I was not altogether ignorant of the art. In short, I procured some goat's hair, and made a perriwig fitted to my own head, and thus adorned, I appeared before the syndic. Startled at a new and unusual an appearance, he asked me what it was, and immediately snatching it from my head he put it upon his own, and ran to the glass to survey himself. But how shall I express his wonder and delight? He burst into an ecstacy of pleasure, crying, O ye gods! and forthwith sent for his lady to join with him in his joy. Her wonder was equal to his, and embracing the syndic, she vowed she never saw any thing so charming, and every soul in the family was of the same opinion. The syndic then turning towards me, My dear Kakidoran, says he, this invention of yours should take with the senate as it does with me, you may promise yourself every thing. I thanked his excellence, and soon after put a petition into his hands, addressed to the senate, which I begged the favour of him to offer. It was conceived in these terms:—

"*Most Excellent, most Generous, most Illustrious, most Noble, and most Wise Senators!*

"The natural propensity, by which I am influenced to promote the public good, has now moved me to contrive this new and hitherto unheard of ornament for the head, which here I most humbly offer to your excellencies, and submit it to the examina-

of this august tribunal, not doubting but it will meet with a most gracious reception, especially as the invention must conduce to the glory, as well as ornament of the nation, and make the admiring world confess, that the Martinians excel the rest of mortals, not only in the virtues and endowments of the mind, but in those ornaments of the body which render the person grand and majestic. I solemnly vow to all your excellencies, that in this I never consulted my own interest, and therefore I require no reward: It is enough for me in my slender capacity to have promoted the public welfare, and the kingdom's honour. But if the most illustrious senate are pleased to decree me a suitable reward for my labours, I shall receive it with a grateful heart, that such their munificence may be known throughout the world, and others animated to the like, or greater inventions. In this view I cannot oppose the liberality of the senate and the people of Martinia. As to the rest, I commend myself to the favour of your excellencies, and am, may it please your excellencies, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

"KAKIDORAN.

"*Martinia, 7th day of Astral.*"

The syndic produced the petition with the perriwig in open senate. I heard that all business was laid aside that day, so much did the examination of the perriwig engage the general attention. Upon the close of all, they praised the work, extolled the artist, accepted of his good-will, and appointed him a reward. In the whole senate there were but three who opposed this motion; but they got no credit by it, and were looked upon as rude, unpolished creatures, totally unworthy of the senatorial function.

This decree being passed, I was commanded to appear before the senate, where a senior monkey rising up, thanked me in the name of the whole commonwealth, and assured me they would reward me in a manner suitable to my great merit; he likewise asked me, how much time it would require to make such another ornament?—I replied, that as to the reward, it was sufficient recompence to receive the applauses of so venerable a body: As to the other point, the making a second perriwig, provided I might have the assistance of as many monkies as I could instruct in the art, I could undertake in one month to furnish almost the whole city.—At these words, the syndic rose and said, Heaven forbid, Kakidoran, that such an ornament should be common to all the city, and grow into disesteem by frequent use! No, let the nobility be by this distinguished from the vulgar.—This opinion was seconded by all the senate, and the public censors were ordered to take due care that this decree should be inviolably observed; that the nobility receive no dishonour by the promiscuous use of perriwigs; and that so bright an ornament should be reserved solely for their use.—But this edict had the same effect that all sumptuary laws have, and only excited a stronger desire in the commons to transgress them. And as this invention had the happiness to please every one, the richer citizens, by friends or money, procured titles of honour to qualify them to wear perriwigs; insomuch, that in a short time a very great part of the city was ennobled. At length, when petitions arrived from the several provinces, to be allowed to come into this fashion, the senate took the matter under consideration, and made a repeal of the law, with a permission for the promiscuous use of perriwigs; so that I had the pleasure to see the whole nation perriwigged, if I may use the expression, before I left Martinia. And a most delightful sight it was! Such general satisfaction did this contrivance give, that it gave birth to a new epoch, or date of time, which was called, in the Martinian annals, The Year of Perriwigs.

To return to myself; surrounded with applauses, and clothed in a purple robe, I was carried back in a chair to the syndic's house, and my comrade chairman now performed the office of a horse for me. From that hour I was admitted to the syndic's table. After this lucky prelude of my fortune, I pursued my design, and by the joint labours of those I instructed, I in a short time finished off perriwigs enough to accommodate the whole senate; and about the end of the month the following diploma of nobility was brought me:—

"Whereas a certain person, by name Kakidoran, native of a city called Europe, has by a glorious and useful invention highly obliged the whole Martinian nation, it is our will and pleasure to associate him into the body of our nobility; and we do accordingly decree, that he and his heirs henceforth be reputed as true and genuine nobles, and enjoy all such privileges, rights, and immunities, as are claimed by the Martinian nobility; moreover we have decreed to honour him with a new name, so that instead of Kakidoran, he shall now be styled Kikidorian. And lastly, it is our will and pleasure to settle an annual stipend upon him of two hundred patari, to enable him to support his new dignity. Given at our court of senate in Martinia, the 4th day of Merian, under our great seal," &c.

Thus from a poor chairman was I transformed to a nobleman; and for some time I lived in the highest repute, and with the utmost felicity. And as the Martinians saw I

was high in favour with the syndic, every creature made his court to me. The flattery of the preferment-hunters went so far as to strive which should write the most fulsome panegyrics upon me, in which they kindly gave me a great many virtues I never had. Some, though they knew I was a native of an unknown world, yet reckoned up for me a long list of ancestors, and drew out genealogies in a direct line from heroes of the earliest ages. These computations could not be very agreeable to me, nor was it possible for me to think it an honour to be descended from monkies. Moreover, as it is usual with the Martinians to celebrate the tails of the quality, as our poets sing the beauties of their mistresses, accordingly some of the Martinian poets celebrated my tail in verse, though I never had any. In short, to such a height did their flattery rise, that a certain person of no mean extraction, and whose name I spare upon account of his family, actually offered me the enjoyment of his wife, if in return I would use all my interest for him with the syndic. This vile propensity to flattery, to which all the Martinians are extremely subject, makes it not worth one's while to read their histories, which are little more than a heap of extravagant encomiums, though the language of them is every where polite and elegant. Hence this country produces better poets than historians, which is owing to the fine imagination of the Martinians.

I enjoyed a tolerable good share of health while I was in this country, though the heat, occasioned by the continual presence of the sun, was not a little troublesome. Once I was seized with a diarrhea, attended with a high fever; but it was of no great continuance: But during my illness, the physician I made use of was ten times more troublesome than my disorder, by reason of his impertinence and loquacity, which are so peculiar to this people. Having occasion for a physician in that ill state of health, a doctor of physic came a volunteer, and offered me his assistance. I could not forbear laughing at the sight of him, because who should this be but my very barber? I questioned him, how it happened that from a barber he was so soon metamorphosed into a doctor? He replied, he exercised both professions. Upon this I was a little dubious, whether I ought to trust the care of my health to such a general trader, and frankly told him, that I had rather have a physician who professed the art of physic alone; but he vowed and protested to me, that there was not one such throughout the whole city. I was therefore obliged to venture myself with him. The haste the doctor was in increased my wonder; for having prescribed for me a potion, he abruptly took his leave, declaring he could not possibly stay longer, because he was obliged to attend upon some other affairs, in which he was engaged, at that very time. And when I asked him what those affairs could be which required such violent haste, he told me, he was under a necessity of being at a market-town in the neighbourhood by such an hour, to act as a notary-public, which was another of his employments. This multiplicity of business is in great vogue here, and every body is very ready to undertake any the most opposite and contradictory offices. This confidence is occasioned by that wonderful liveliness of genius, which dispatches business in a trice. Yet from the various mistakes and blunders they daily commit, I concluded that these geniuses, which are so full of fire, are rather an ornament to the commonwealth, than of any real use to it.

After I had spent two years in this territory, partly as a chairman, and partly as a nobleman, I fell into an adventure which had like to have been fatal to me. In his excellency's palace, I had met with the highest civilities; I had also the honour to be extremely in the good graces of his lady; insomuch, that I seemed to have the first place in her friendship. She often favoured me with *tete a tete* conversations; and though she seemed highly pleased with my company, yet all she said was with so much modesty and delicacy, that it was impossible to put a sinister interpretation upon her conduct in this respect, nor could I, with all my penetration, guess, that the source of all this wondrous goodness was an impure passion, more especially as she was a lady of quality, and as eminent for her virtue, as for her birth and family. But, in process of time, from some equivocal speeches of hers, I could not but entertain a few suspicions, which were considerably increased by several evident symptoms;

The wan complexion, and the dying eye,
The stedfast gaze, the involuntary sigh.

At length the mystery was cleared up, a young virgin, her confidante, bringing me the following billet.

Lovely KIKIDORIAN,

"My birth, and the natural modesty of my sex, have till now concealed those sparks of love, which lurked within my bosom, and with-held them from bursting into an open flame. But now, sinking under the oppression, I can no longer resist the violence of my wishes.

"Let this soft secret all thy pity move,
Extorted from my soul by raging love.

"I am Yours,
"PTARNUA."

Words cannot utter the confusion this passionate declaration threw me into. But as I thought it better to be exposed to the vengeance of disappointed love, than to disturb the laws of nature by mixing my blood with a creature not of the human species, I returned the following answer:

MADAM,

"The repeated favours I have received from his excellency the syndic, the benefits he has heaped upon an undeserving stranger, the moral impossibility of complying with your request, together with innumerable other reasons which I forbear to recount; all this, madam, determines me to hazard your ladyship's resentment, rather than consent to an action which would render me of all two-footed creatures the most vile and abominable. Not death itself is half so terrible. The crime, too, would bring an indelible stain upon a most illustrious family, and she who commands it must be the greatest sufferer. Let me conjure you, therefore, to pardon this refusal, and be satisfied, that in every other respect I shall always pay the profoundest obedience to your ladyship's commands. I am, madam, your most humble, and most obedient servant,

"KIKIDORIAN."

This answer I sealed up, and gave it to the bearer to deliver to her mistress. It had the effect I suspected. Her love was changed into the strongest aversion. However, she deferred her revenge till she had recovered that letter she sent to me. She then suborned false witnesses, who swore that I attempted to violate the syndic's bed. This story was cooked up with so much art, and such an air of probability, that the syndic, not making the least doubt about it, threw me into prison. In this extremity, there was but one thing to be done, and that was, to make confession of the crime, and implore his excellency's mercy. By these means, I hoped to divert or soften his anger, and procure a mitigation of my punishment; for it was ridiculous to think of contesting the matter with a powerful family, especially in a country, where not the merits of the cause, but the sole quality of the person is regarded. Therefore omitting all sort of defence, I had recourse to the most abject supplications and tears, imploring not a total remission of my punishment, but only to have it moderated.

Thus by the confession of a crime I never dreamt of, I changed the punishment of death for a perpetual captivity. My diploma of nobility was taken from me, and torn in pieces by the hands of the common hangman, and I myself was condemned to be a galley-slave all my days. The galley, or vessel, I was sent to work in, belonged to the government, and lay in readiness for its voyage to the Mezendores, or Land of Wonders. This voyage is undertaken at a stated time of the year, namely, in the month Radir. They sail to these parts in quest of such commodities as are not to be had in their own country, so that the Mezendores are a kind of Indies to the Martinians. A body of merchants, as well nobles as citizens, are erected into a society called the Mezendorian Company, among whom the merchandise of the returning vessel is divided, according to their several subscriptions and shares. The vessel moves both by sails and oars, and to every oar two slaves, or captives, are assigned: And to this drudgery was I condemned during this voyage. With what reluctance I entered upon it, it is easy to guess, especially as I had done nothing to deserve being thus exposed to servile labour, and to the lash, among wretches and slaves. Various were the sentiments of the Martinians concerning my misfortune. Some were of opinion I was culpable, and therefore deserved the punishment; but then the sight of me in that miserable condition drew compassion from them. Others thought some regard ought to have been had to my former services, and that therefore my punishment need not have been so severe. But some of the honester monkies muttered among themselves that I was accused falsely, though no one dared openly undertake my defence, through fear of my powerful accusers. I determined, however, to bear my calamity with patience. My greatest comfort was the approaching voyage; for as I had always a strong passion for novelty, I was in hopes of meeting with something new and wonderful, though I could not give credit to all the sailors told me, nor bring myself to think that there were such prodigies in nature, as I afterwards met with. There were several interpreters in our vessel, whose assistance the Mezendorian Company made use of in these expeditions; for all contracts, as to buying and selling, were made by them.

## CHAP. XI.

### *The Author's Voyage to the Land of Wonders.*

BEFORE I proceed to the description of this voyage, I must caution the rigid and censorious critic not to be too much out of humour at the relation of some things which perhaps may appear not to deserve any credit, as being contrary to the usual course of

nature. I shall here recount things very incredible, but very true, and of which I myself was an eye-witness. The vulgar and illiterate, who never have set a foot beyond the limits of their own native country, are apt to look upon all such things as fabulous to which they have not been accustomed from their infancy. But the learned, and especially such of them as are conversant in physical inquiries, who know how fertile nature is in her productions, will look with a more favourable eye upon the wonderful parts of this narration.

*Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? aut quis*
*In Meröe crasso majorem infante mamillam,* &c.

It is now well known, that there were a people formerly in Scythia, called Arimaspians, who had only a single eye a-piece in the middle of their foreheads; and others in the same parts of the world, whose feet were set on the contrary way to ours. We read of people in Albania, who were grey-headed from their childhood. The Sauromatians used to make a meal but once in three days, and to fast the intermediate ones. Mention is made of certain families in Africa, who had the art of fascinating or bewitching people with the sound of their voices. The inhabitants of Illyrium were remarkable for having two pupils in each eye, and used, when they were provoked, to stare their enemies to death In the mountains of India, there are some men with dogs heads, and who have been heard to bark like those animals; others, with eyes in their shoulders. And in the farthest parts of the same country, there have been found animals resembling men, with hairy bodies, and wings like birds, who never eat, but live upon the scent of flowers, which they draw through their nostrils. Now I may ask, who would have given credit to these, and the like things, if Pliny, a very grave historian, had not solemnly affirmed, not that he had heard or read of such things, but that he himself had seen them? In like manner, who would ever have thought that the earth was hollow, and that another sun, and other planets, were contained within its bowels, had not my own experience cleared up that mystery? Or how could an account of a world, inhabited by trees endued with reason, and a power of local motion, have ever gained belief, had not my discoveries proved the existence of it beyond a possibility of doubt? I am not inclined, however, to quarrel with any man for his incredulity, since I must confess, that before I undertook this voyage, I was a little in doubt myself, whether the relations of travellers in general were any thing better than pompous fables, and insignificant amusements.

It was in the beginning of the month Radir that we set sail. We had a fair wind for some days, and our vessel sailing right before it, we had no occasion to handle our oars, and were therefore at liberty to divert ourselves; but on the fourth day the wind sunk, and we were forced to take to our oars. The captain, perceiving I was unaccustomed to such hard labour, and unfit to bear it, would often give me leave to rest a while, and at length he entirely freed me from this servile office. Whether he thought me innocent, and therefore showed me so much kindness, or whether he judged me worthy of better treatment on account of the curious invention of perriwigs, which I had the honour of, as I have before related, I cannot take upon me to determine. I must however observe, that he carried three wigs along with him this voyage, the combing and buckling of which was committed to my charge; so that I was on a sudden advanced from being a galley-slave, to the dignity of the captain's wig-dresser. This civility of the captain's to me was the reason that as often as we arrived at any port, I was always one of the number who were appointed to go on shore. This was extremely agreeable to me, as it gave me an opportunity of fully satisfying my curiosity.

We kept on our course for some time without meeting with any thing remarkable; but after we had lost sight of land we fell among the Syrens, who as often as the wind abated, and the sea grew calm, would swim to the ship, and beg our charity. The language they spoke resembled the Martinese, so that some of our ship's crew were able to talk with them without the help of an interpreter. One of the number, after I had given her a piece of meat, fixing her eyes stedfastly upon me, cried out,

Hero! proceed, and rule a conquered world!

I only smiled at the prophecy, as thinking it an empty piece of flattery, though our sailors assured me very seriously, that these Syrens were seldom or never out in their predictions. We had been under sail about eight days when we discovered land, which the mariners called Picardania. As we were entering the harbour, we saw a jack-daw hovering about us, who upon inquiry I found to be a person of great dignity, and at that time inspector-general of the customs. I could scarce refrain from laughing, when I heard that an office of so great trust was committed to a jack daw, and from the appearance of their chief, I conjectured, that wasps and hornets must be the tide-waiters and custom-house officers. After this he

had flown two or three times round the ship, he made for the shore again, and presently after returned with three other daws, and alighted upon the forecastle. I was ready to burst with laughing, when I saw one of our interpreters approach these birds with a profound respect, and immediately enter into a long conversation with them. The reason of their coming, was to inspect what merchandise we had on board, it being their business to inquire, whether we had any contraband goods, and particularly any of the herb commonly called slac. It is very common for these creatures to search every corner of the ship, and to unpack every bale of goods, to see if they can discover any of this herb, the importation of which is prohibited by the magistrate, under a very severe penalty. The inhabitants barter several sorts of commodities, which are very useful and necessary towards the support of life, in exchange for this herb; from whence it happens, that the plants which grow in Picardania, though every whit as good as this, are held in no esteem. The Picardanians in this resemble the Europeans, who are often fond of things for no other reason, but because they are fetched from remote countries, and grow in foreign soils. The inspector, after he had had a long conference with our interpreters, went down into the hold with the rest of his companions, and returning soon after, with an angry countenance declared, that he forbade us trading with the Picardanians, because we had acted contrary to the faith of treaties, in importing prohibited goods. But the captain, who knew by experience how to mitigate the officer's anger, presented him immediately with a few pounds of slac, upon which his anger subsided, and he gave us leave to unload our cargo. As soon as this was over, a vast flock of daws came fluttering about us. These were all merchants, who came to traffic. The captain intending to go ashore, ordered me, and some others, to accompany him. Accordingly four in number of us left the ship, namely, the captain, myself, and two other monkies, to wit, our supercargo and interpreter. We were invited to dinner by the inspector-general. The inhabitants have no tables, as not making any use of chairs, for which reason the cloth was laid in the middle of the floor. A most delicate and magnificent repast was presently served up, but in very small dishes: And as the kitchen was at the top of the house, each dish was brought in supported by two pair of jack-daws, as if it descended from the clouds. After dinner the officer took us along with him, to show us his library. There was a vast collection of books, but of a mighty small size, the largest folios being scarce so big as one of our primers. I had much ado to withhold laughing when I saw the librarian fly up to the top-shelves to fetch down some of the octavos and duodecimos. The houses of the Picardanians are very little different from ours, as to the building, and the disposition of the apartments; but the bed-chambers are suspended just beneath the roof, after the manner of birds-nests. It may be asked, perhaps, how it is possible for daws (who are reckoned amongst the birds *minorum gentium*) to build houses of such a magnitude? But it was evident, from a house which was then building from the ground, that the thing was very possible; for several thousand labourers were employed about it at the same time; so that what was wanting in strength was supplied by numbers, and by the agility with which they flew about their work. For this reason they will finish a house almost as quickly as our bricklayers can. The inspector's lady did not appear at table, by reason of her lying-in; for at such times the mother never stirs out as long as her little ones are callow, but as soon as ever they begin to be fledged, her husband gives her leave to go abroad. We did not stay long in this country, for which reason I can say nothing as to the government thereof, or the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Every thing was in great confusion at that time, on account of a war which was just then broke out between the daws and their neighbours the thrushes, especially as news was brought the day after our arrival, that a great battle had been fought in the air, in which the daws were entirely routed. The general was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to have his wings clipt, which is looked upon as a very heavy punishment in this country, and very little different from what is inflicted for capital offences. After we had disposed of the cargo, we set sail from thence. At a little distance from the shore, we saw great quantities of feathers floating about upon the water, and from thence conjectured, that it was the spot where the late battle had been fought.

After a prosperous voyage, which lasted only three days, we arrived upon the coast of Crotchet-island. We immediately came to an anchor, and went on shore, preceded by an interpreter, who carried that sort of musical instrument along with him, which is generally called a base. This ceremony appeared very ridiculous to me, as I could not comprehend for what reason he should load himself with such an useless burden. As the coasts seemed to be deserted, and there was no appearance of any living creature, the captain ordered our interpreter to play a march, to give notice of our coming. Upon this

about thirty musical instruments, or bases, with one leg, came hopping towards us. I thought at first, that what I saw was all enchantment, as I never, in all my travels, met with any thing so wonderful. The make of these bases, whom I afterwards found to be the inhabitants of the country, was as follows: Their necks were pretty long, with little heads upon them; their bodies were slender, and covered with a smooth kind of bark or rind, in such a manner, as that a pretty large vacuity was left between the rind and the body itself. A little above the navel, Nature had placed a sort of bridge with four strings. The whole machine rested upon one foot, so that their motion was like that of hopping, which they performed with wonderful agility. In short, one would have took them for real bases, from their similitude to that instrument, had it not been for their hands and arms, which were in every respect like our own. One of these hands was employed in holding the bow, as the other was in stopping the strings. Our interpreter began the conference, by taking up the instrument he had brought with him, and playing a slow strain.

*Sustinet a lævâ, tenuit manus altera plectrum,*
*Artificis status ipse fuit: tum stamina docto*
*Pollice sollicitat.*

An answer was presently returned him in the same strain, and thus they went on warbling their thoughts to one another for a considerable time. Their conversation began with an *adagio*, which, I cannot but say, had a good deal of harmony in it, but it soon slid into discords which were very grating to the ear. The conference ended with an harmonious and delightful *presto*. Upon hearing this last our men were exceedingly pleased, since it was a token, as they told me, that the price of their cargo was agreed upon. I was afterward informed, that the slow music in the beginning was only a prelude to the discourse, and was employed in mutual compliments on both sides: But that when we heard the discords, they were disputing about the price of our commodities; and that the *presto* in the conclusion, signified that the business was happily determined. Accordingly, a little while after we unloaded the ship. The commodity for which there is the greatest demand in this country is rosin, with which the inhabitants rub their bows, which are their instruments of speech. Such as are convicted of any great crime in this country, are generally sentenced by the judge to be deprived of their bows; and a perpetual privation of the bow is equal to capital punishment amongst us. As I understood there was to be a final hearing of a law-suit in a neighbouring court of justice while I staid there, my curiosity prompted me to hear some of their musical law-proceedings. The council, instead of making a speech, moved their bows, and played each of them a kind of tune. So long as the pleadings lasted, I could distinguish nothing but dissonant and jarring sounds; for all the eloquence of the bar consists in the loudness of their notes, and the quick motion of their hands. After the hearing was over, the judge rising slowly from the bench, and taking up his bow, gave the court an *adagio*, which is the same thing as pronouncing sentence; for as soon as he had made an end, the executioners advanced directly to the criminal, to take away his bow. The boys in this country resemble that kind of instrument, which in our parts of the world we call a kitt. They are never suffered to handle a bow till they are three years old. Upon their entrance into their fourth year they are sent to school to learn their gamut, from masters appointed for that purpose, as children in Europe are, to learn their alphabet. They are kept under the discipline of the ferula till they are able to play thoroughly in tune, and to give their instruments a clear and distinct expression. We were very much molested by these boys during our stay there, as they were perpetually teazing us with their scraping. Our interpreter, who had a very good hand himself, and perfectly understood the language, told us, that the only meaning of this music was to beg a little rosin of us. They begged in a whining tone of the *adagio* kind, but as soon as ever they had got what they wanted, they run into the *allegro*, or jig-time, which was their method of returning thanks. However, a repulse would at any time spoil all their music.

Having dispatched our affairs to our satisfaction, we left this place about the month Cusan, and after a voyage of a few days came in sight of another coast. Our crew guessed it to be Pyglossia, from the fœtid smell which came from thence. The inhabitants of this country are not unlike human creatures, except in one particular, which is the want of mouths. This lays them under a necessity of speaking *a posteriori*, if I may be allowed the phrase. The first person who came aboard our ship was a wealthy merchant. He very civilly saluted us from behind, according to the custom of the country, and then began to talk with us about the price of our goods. The barber belonging to our ship, to my great misfortune, was at that time sick; for which reason I was obliged to make use of a Pyglossian barber. The people of this profession are more talkative, if possible, in this country, than they are in Europe; so that whilst he was shaving me, he left such a horrid stench behind him in the cabin, that we were obliged to burn great

quantities of incense to sweeten it again after his departure. I was so accustomed to see strange things, and such as were contrary o the usual course of nature, that nothing now appeared surprising to me. As the conversation of the Pyglossians was disagreeable and offensive, by reason of this natural imperfection, we were willing to get away from thence as soon as possible, and therefore weighed anchor before the time we had appointed. We hastened our departure the more, on account of our being invited to supper by one of the principal inhabitants. We all shrugged up our shoulders at this invitation, and nobody would accept of it, but upon condition that a general silence should be observed all supper time. As we were going out of the harbour, the Pyglossians crowded to the shore to wish us a good voyage; but as the wind blew directly from the land, we made all the signs we could, by nodding our heads, and waving our hands, to let them know we would excuse their compliments. I could not help reflecting, upon this occasion, how very troublesome a man may prove by striving to be over-complaisant. The chief trade of the Martinians to this country consists in rose water, and diverse kinds of spices and perfumes. We steered our course from hence to Iceland, a country the most horrid, desart, and inhospitable, that ever my eyes beheld. Hardly any thing is to be seen, but mountains continually covered over with snow. The inhabitants, who are all made of ice, are dispersed here and there amongst the tops of the hills, in places where the sun never comes. For all between the summits of the mountains, to speak poetically, is bound up in eternal frost. On this account, likewise, it is perpetually dark here, or if there is any light, it is only what proceeds from the glittering of the hoar-frost. But the valleys which lie between these hills of snow are (full as miraculously) scorched with heat, and burnt up by the fiery vapours with which the atmosphere abounds. For this reason the inhabitants never dare venture down into the valleys, unless it be in hazy weather, or when the sky is overcast; and as soon as ever they perceive the least glimmerings of the sun's rays, they either get back into the mountains, or plunge directly into some cavern. It often happens, that whilst the inhabitants are upon the road into these valleys, they are either melted, or come to some other misfortune. The extraordinary heat in these places furnishes them with a ready means of punishing notorious criminals. The executioners take the opportunity of the first cloudy day to carry such criminals down into the plain, where they tie them to a stake, and there leave them exposed to the burning rays of the sun, which soon dissolves and melts them. The country produces all kinds of minerals, except gold. These are bought up by foreign merchants, in the crude state in which they are digged out of the earth; for the natives being unable to bear the fire, know nothing of the art of smelting or working up of metals. It is thought that the Iceland trade is the most beneficial of any that is carried on in these parts.

All these countries, which I have been hitherto describing, are subject to the great emperor of Mezendoria, properly so called; for which reason these, as well as others which have not been mentioned, are by travellers called by the general name of the Mezendores, or Mezendorian Islands, though they are distinguished from one another by peculiar names, as has been shown in this itinerary. That empire, which is no less spacious than it is extraordinary, was the end, and as it were the centre of our voyage. Eight days after we left Iceland, we arrived at the imperial city. Whatever the poets have said about societies of animals, or trees, we here found to be real. For Mezendoria is a country which is actually possessed in common by animals and trees, who are alike endued with reason. Any kind of animal or tree whatsoever is allowed to enjoy the privileges of this city, provided he is obedient to the laws, and to the established government. One would be apt to think, that a mixture of so many creatures of different forms and opposite natures should necessarily create disorder and confusion. But, by virtue of prudent laws and institutions, this contrariety is made to produce happy effects; for by means thereof, a different office or employment, and such as is suited to his different genius, temper, and abilities, is prudently assigned to each of these miscellaneous subjects. Lions, because of their innate magnanimity, are here made generals of armies; elephants, by reason of their natural sagacity, and the soundness of their judgments, are appointed members of the supreme council of the nation. All offices at court are filled up by cameleons, which animals being by nature subject to change, can the more readily accommodate themselves to times and circumstances. The land forces are made up of bears and tigers, and such warlike animals. Bulls and oxen are admitted into the sea-service; for these being simple and well-meaning creatures, and at the same time hardy and obstinate, and not overburdened with good breeding, are therefore esteemed the properest inhabitants for that boisterous element. They have likewise a seminary of calves, which are instructed in the art of navigation, and trained up for the service of the fleet; these are called sea-calves, and are promoted by degrees to the

dignity of captains and admirals. Trees, by reason of their uprightness, are created judges. Geese are advocates in the supreme courts of justice, and magpies have the management of causes in the inferior courts. Foxes are made plenipotentiaries, envoys, consuls, agents, and secretaries to embassies. Rooks are generally appointed administrators to the goods and chattels of such as die intestate. Goats are philosophers, especially grammarians, as well out of regard to their horns, with which they are used to push their adversaries upon the slightest provocation, as on account of their venerable beards, in which respect they surpass all other animals. Horses are civil magistrates; and vipers, moles, and dormice, farmers and husbandmen. Birds are employed as couriers and post-boys. Asses, on account of the loudness of their voices, are made deacons; and nightingales execute the office of singing-men and choristers. Cocks are the watchmen in great towns, and dogs are porters at the gates. Wolves are the superior officers in the treasury and custom-house, and hawks and vultures are their deputies.

By means of these excellent institutions all public offices are duly and faithfully executed, and every thing transacted in the most orderly manner. This empire, therefore, ought to be a pattern for all legislators to copy after in the establishment of new forms of government; for that so many worthless wretches get into employments, is not owing to any want of persons of abilities to fill them up, but solely to an improper choice. But if this matter was taken care of as it ought to be, and wise and able men promoted, not on account of their general merits, but of their fitness to that particular post, we should see public offices far better managed than they now are, and governments in a more flourishing condition. What a salutary institution this is which we have been speaking of, is evident from the example of this empire. We find in the annals of Mezendoria, that about three hundred years ago this law was repealed by the emperor Lilak, and that public employments were conferred upon all sorts of people indifferently, provided they had merit of any kind, or had signalized themselves by any extraordinary action. But this promiscuous distribution of places of trust occasioned so many and such great disorders, that the government seemed upon the point of being overturned thereby. Thus, for example, a wolf having acquitted himself with reputation in the management of the public revenues, lays claim, on that account, to a superior dignity, and becomes a senator; on the other hand, a tree having signalized himself by the integrity of his decisions, was rewarded by an employment in the treasury. By this preposterous promotion, two able men at once were rendered absolutely useless to the public. A goat, or a philosopher, who was extolled to the skies by the scholastics, for his keenness and obstinacy in defending an argument, desiring to advance himself, requested the first place that should happen to be vacant at court, and obtained it; whilst a cameleon, noted for his good breeding and his compliance with the times, obtained by these qualities a professor's chair in the university, which he solicited for the sake of the salary. The effect of this was, that the former, from an able philosopher, became an absurd courtier; and the latter, from an excellent courtier, was transformed into a most empty philosopher: For that perseverance in maintaining his opinions, which does a man credit as a philosopher, is an imperfection in the other character, since fickleness and inconstancy are cardinal virtues at court, and he that would rise there must regard not so much what is true, as what is safe, and must assume a different aspect just as the face of affairs happen to change. What is there a vice, is a virtue in the schools; where positiveness, and a determined resolution to adhere, at all events, to the point you have undertaken to defend, is a token of a very great man. In short, the subjects in general, even such as were remarkable for very extraordinary abilities, were by this alteration in the constitution rendered useless to their country, and the republic of course began to totter. In this state of affairs, when every thing was running to ruin, an elephant of great prudence, named Baccari, at that time a senator, laid this grievance before the emperor in very pathetic terms. That prince, being convinced of the truth of what was told him, determined to put an immediate stop to the growing evil. The manner in which a reformation was brought about was this. Such as were in employment were not immediately turned out, for by that means the remedy would have been worse than the disease; but as fast as offices became vacant, such as already were in employments, for which they were unfit, were removed to others better adapted to their capacities. The good effects of this change soon became visible; and Baccari, for the great service he had done his country, had a statue erected for him, which is to be seen in the great square in Mezendoria at this day. Ever since that time the ancient laws have been religiously observed. Our interpreter affirmed, that he had this relation from a certain goose, with whom he was very intimate, and who was reckoned one of the most eminent lawyers in the whole city.

Many unusual, and even stupendous phe-

nomena, are daily offering themselves to view in this country, and attracting the eyes of strangers and travellers. The sight alone of so many kinds of animals, to wit, bears, wolves, geese, magpyes, &c. walking up and down the different streets and quarters of the city, and conversing familiarly with each other, cannot fail of exciting admiration and delight in those who are unaccustomed to such kind of sights. The first person who came on board us was a meagre wolf, or custom-house officer; he was attended by four kites, or under officers, such as in Europe are called searchers. They seized whatever they had a mind to of our cargo, and by that means made it appear that they had learnt their lesson perfectly, and were very far from being novices in their trade. The captain, according to his usual civility, always took me along with him when he went ashore. We were met at our landing by a cock, who having asked the usual questions, namely, what our business was, and from whence we came, gave notice of our arrival to the chief officer of the customs. We met with a very civil reception, and were invited to sup with him. His wife, who, as we were told, was a celebrated beauty among the wolves, did not make her appearance at table. The reason of her absence, we heard afterwards, was her husband's jealousy, who did not think it proper to expose a person of her beauty to the view of strangers, and especially of sailors, who by reason of their long abstinence, being generally very loving when they come on shore, use little or no distinction in their addresses. Divers other married females sat down to supper with us. One of our company, a white cow with black spots, was the wife of a sea-officer. Next to her sat a black cat, who was wife to one of the king's huntsmen, and was just come up out of the country. The person that sat next to me at table was a parti-coloured sow, wife to a gold finder; all offices of this kind being filled up by such as are of hoggish extraction. She was very sluttish, and sat down to table without washing her hands, which is a common thing amongst those of her tribe; but then she was extremely officious, and helped me several times with her own hands. Every body was surprised at her unusual civility, especially as these creatures are by no means remarkable for politeness. For my part, I wished she had not been quite so well-bred, since the being helped by such hands was not in the least agreeable to me. I must here observe, that though the inhabitants of Mezendoria resemble brutes, as to their shapes, yet they have hands and fingers which grow out of their forefeet, in which respect alone they differ from our quadrupeds. They have no occasion for clothes, as their bodies are covered over with hair or feathers. The rich are distinguished from the poor only by certain ornaments, as collars of gold or pearls, or garlands wound in a spiral manner round about their horns. The sea-officer's lady was so set off with ornaments of this kind, that one could scarce see any horns she had. She excused her husband's absence, by saying he was detained at home by a law-suit, a hearing of which was to come on the day following. After supper was over, the parti-coloured sow, whom I have been speaking of, took our interpreter aside, and had a long conference with him, the purport of which was, that she had conceived a violent passion for me. He comforted her all he could, and promising her a mutual passion on my part, he next began to make his attack on me. But as he found his words made no impression upon me, he advised me to make my escape as soon as possible, since he knew the lady would leave no stone unturned to gratify her wishes. From that time forward I kept close on board, especially after I heard that a former admirer of her ladyship's, a student in philosophy, who was grown jealous of me, had formed a design against my life. I was scarce secure even on board against the repeated attacks of this inamorata, who sometimes by messages, and at other times by billet-doux and love-verses, endeavoured to soften my obdurate heart. Had I not unfortunately lost these letters, when I afterwards suffered shipwreck, I could here have presented the reader with a specimen of piggish poetry; but they are now slipt out of my memory, and all that I can at present recollect of them are the following lines, in which she thus sets off her beauties:

'Tis true, in dread array my bristles rise;
But let me not for this be hateful to thee.
What is the steed, without his flowing mane?
What are the feathered race, without their plumes?
What is a tree, stript of its leafy honours?
What is a mortal man without his beard?
And what, ye Gods! a sow without her bristles?

We made an end of our market with such expedition, that we were in a condition to set sail from thence in a few days. Our voyage, however, was retarded some time, by a quarrel which happened betwixt our sailors and some of the inhabitants of the country. The occasion of the quarrel was this. As one of our men was passing through the city, a cuckoo, who had a mind to be arch upon him, called him in derision Peripom, which signifies the same as a stage-player amongst us; for as monkies in this country are com-

monly rope-dancers and comedians, the cuckoo took our Martinian for a player. The sailor, resenting the affront, fell upon him with a cudgel, and repeating his blow, almost maimed him. The cuckoo calling out for help, desired the by-standers to bear witness of the assault, and summoned them the next day to give evidence in a court of justice. The witnesses having been examined, the matter was laid before the senate. The sailor being ignorant both of the laws and language of the Mezendorians, was forced to fee a pye, or lawyer, to be counsel for him. The cause was thus brought before the senate, and after a hearing, which lasted about an hour, sentence was given to the following purpose: "That the cuckoo, as being the aggressor, should undergo the punishment in that case provided, and pay the costs of the suit." However, the lawyer's fees had swallowed up all his cash already. The judges who determined this affair were horses, two of which were consuls, and the other four senators. An equal number of colts were likewise present, who had a right of giving their opinions, but not of voting, and were admitted into the court as pupils and candidates to fill up vacancies upon the bench.

Having finished our affairs to our satisfaction, and got our loading, which was very valuable, on board, we thought of returning home. Soon after we were out at sea, a sudden calm at once put a stop to our course; upon which we fell to our diversions, some to spearing of fishes as they leapt above the surface, others to angling for them. By and by we had a gale of wind, and proceeded on our voyage.

Having long ploughed the ocean with a prosperous gale, we at last came in sight of other Syrens, who by intervals would set up a most hideous and dismal yell. This struck an uncommon terror into the sailors, who knew, by woeful experience, that such mournful music portended storms and ship-wrecks. Hereupon we immediately took in our sails, and every man was ordered to his post. We had scarce made an end of our work before we saw the heavens covered with black clouds; the waves began to swell, and such a storm followed, that the pilot, who had used the subterranean seas for almost forty years, declared that he had never known so terrible a one. Every thing that happened to be upon deck was immediately washed overboard, partly by means of the waves, which were every moment breaking over it, and partly by the violent rains which fell at the same time, attended with dreadful lightning and loud claps of thunder; so that all the elements seemed to conspire together for our destruction. Our main-mast was presently broke short off and carried away, and the rest soon followed it. We had nothing now but death before our eyes. One was calling out upon his wife and children, another upon his friends and relations, and the whole vessel resounded with their mournful cries. The pilot, though without hope himself, was nevertheless obliged to sooth the rest with hopes, and to advise them not to give way to unavailing sorrows. While he was in the midst of this discourse, a sudden gust of wind hurried him overboard, and he was quickly swallowed up by the waves. Three others underwent the same fate, namely, the purser, and two sailors. I was the only one who bore the general calamity without repining. Life was grown a burden to me, and I had no inclination to return to Martinia, where I had forfeited my liberty and good name. All the compassion I had left was for the captain, who had treated me with so much kindness during our whole voyage. I strove, with all the eloquence I was master of, to raise his drooping spirits, but in vain; he persisted in his sighs and womanish complaints, till a wave came rolling over us, and carried him away with it into the ocean.

The storm increasing still, no farther care was taken about the ship. Not a mast, nor a rudder, or even so much as a rope or oar was left, and our vessel floated at random on the waves. We were tossed about in this condition near three whole days, half dead with fear and hunger. The sky appeared serene by intervals, but nevertheless the storm continued with its usual violence. At length we discovered land, the sight of which, though it appeared to be nothing but craggy rocks and precipices, was some comfort to those of the crew who were still left alive. As the wind blew towards the shore, we were in hopes that we should soon be driven thither. But this could not happen without our suffering shipwreck, by reason of the cragginess of the coast. It seemed however probable, that some of us, if not all, by the help of some fragments of the ship, might for the present at least escape. But whilst we were comforting ourselves with these hopes, we struck upon a rock, which being under water had escaped our notice, with such violence, that the vessel was in an instant dashed into an hundred pieces. In the midst of this confusion I laid hold of a plank, being only anxious for my own safety, and little minding what became of my companions, whose fate I am yet a stranger to. It is most likely that they were all lost, since I could not hear of the arrival of any of them into that country. I was carried with great rapidity to the shore, by the help of the tide and of the waves. This was a means of saving me; for had I continued a little longer in the state I was in, I should certainly have

perished through hunger and fatigue. After I had doubled the point of a certain promontory the waves abated, and I heard the murmuring of them at a distance only, and that too by degrees grew weaker and weaker, till it entirely vanished.

This whole region is mountainous. And hence the frequent windings of the mountains, their overhanging tops, together with the deepness of the vales below, are the occasion of very great echoes here. As soon as I found myself near the shore, I hollowed out as loud as I was able, in hopes that some of the inhabitants upon the coasts might hear me, and come to my assistance. My first shout was not returned, but after I had repeated it, I heard a kind of noise from the shore, and at length saw the inhabitants running out of the woods, and coming to meet me with a boat, which was made of osier branches and oaken twigs, a proof that they were not a very improved or civilized people. But the sight of the rowers gave me a transport beyond description; for as to their exterior figure, they did not differ at all from men, and were the only creatures of my own species that I had beheld during this whole subterranean tour. They are something like the inhabitants of the torrid zone. For they have black beards, and short curled hair; and those who have long flaxen hair, are reputed a kind of monsters. At length they drew near to the broken piece of the ship I was upon, and took me into their boat in a drooping condition. They then rowed to shore, where, after I had been refreshed with some meat and drink, though in a very plain and coarse manner, I soon recovered my vigour and spirits, notwithstanding I had been three whole days and nights in a manner combating with thirst and hunger.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The Author's Arrival at Quama.*

And now a crowd of people surrounded me. They talked to me in their language, of which, as I was wholly ignorant, I was at a loss what to answer. They often repeated the word *Dank, Dank*, which sounding like High Dutch, I answered first in that language, then in the Danish tongue, and lastly in Latin. But to all this they only shook their heads, to intimate that these languages were utterly unknown to them. Then I tried them in the subterranean languages, namely, the Nazaric, and the Martinian; but all to no purpose. This made me conclude, that they were an unsociable nation, who had no kind of commerce with the rest of the world, and that therefore I should be under a necessity in this country of turning boy, and going to school once more to learn my letters.

After we had conversed some time together but in such a manner that we did not understand one another, they brought me to a cottage made of osiers. There were no seats, benches, or tables in it; for they eat upon the ground; and for want of beds, they use only straw, and sleep promiscuously on the floor, which is the more to be admired, as they have plenty of timber among them. Their food is milk, cheese, barley-bread, and flesh; which last they broil upon the coals, having no notion of any other sort of cookery. In short, they lived in as plain a manner as the first race of mankind; so that I was forced to live like a Cynic philosopher, till I had made such a progress in their language as enabled me to converse with the inhabitants, and assist their ignorance; and indeed, all my orders and directions were observed as so many oracles. Nay, to such a height my reputation rose, that they flocked to me in crowds from all the adjacent towns and villages, as to an illustrious doctor, or a teacher sent from heaven. I heard also, that a new computation of time was made use of among them, which commenced from my arrival. All this, I own, was so much the more grateful to me, as in the planet Nazar, and at Martinia, I had been a public jest: in the former place for my vivacity and quick conception, and in the latter for my dulness. And here I experienced the truth of that vulgar saying, "Among the blind, he that squints is a king." For I was now in a country, where, with a slender share of knowledge, and with ordinary abilities, I could arrive at the highest honours. And room enough there was here to try my strength, and exercise my talents; for the country abounded to profusion with every thing necessary for the use of man. Many things it produced spontaneously, and whatever grain was sowed, repaid the husbandman with ample interest. The inhabitants were of a docile disposition, and by no means destitute of wit and understanding; but then, as they had never been taught any thing, they remained in the depth of ignorance. When I related to them the circumstances of my family, my country, my shipwreck, and other accidents that befel me in my travels, nobody could be brought to believe it; for they were positive that I was an inhabitant of the sun, and that I descended from that glorious luminary. Agreeably to this conceit, they commonly called me by the name of Pikil-Su, that is, Ambassador of the Sun. As to their religion, they did not deny the existence of a Supreme Being, but then they did not trouble their heads about the proof of that high point, it

was sufficient to them that their fathers before them believed it: and this is their system of divinity. As to their morality, they knew nothing except this single precept, of "Not doing to others what you would not have done to yourself." They knew no law beside the sole will and pleasure of their emperor, and therefore no crimes, but those of a public nature, were ever punished. Whatever misdemeanor was otherwise committed, all the revenge the neighbours took, was to avoid the company of the offenders, to whom such a general contempt was usually so intolerable, that many have died for grief, and as many more have laid violent hands upon themselves through a weariness of life Chronology they know nothing of, only they compute their years from the eclipse of the sun, which happens by the interposition of the planet Nazar; so that when you inquire how old any one is, their answer is, that he is so many eclipses old. Their physics are excessively barren and absurd; they believe the sun is a golden plate, and the planet Nazar a cheese. When I inquired the reason why at stated times the planet Nazar increased and decreased, they replied, that they knew nothing at all about it. Their wealth and substance consists chiefly in swine, which they distinguish by some particular mark, and then suffer them to run loose in the woods. They scourge and beat all such trees as bear no fruit, from a foolish opinion, that their sterility proceeds from malice and envy. Such was the state of this poor miserable people, whom I almost despaired of ever reducing to humanity; but recollecting that assertion of the poet,

*Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere possit,*
*Si modo culturæ patientem præbeat aurem,*

I took courage, and employed the whole force of my capacity and abilities in reforming these barbarians. For these my endeavours, and the success which attended them, they regarded me as something above the race of mortals; and so extravagant an opinion did they entertain of my wisdom, that they thought nothing was impossible to me. Upon the loss of cattle or goods, they would come, at all hours, to my hut, and implore my assistance. One day I saw a poor peasant prostrate before my door, weeping and wringing his hands, and crying out to me to help him. Upon inquiry into the occasion of his grief, he complained to me of the perverseness and ill nature of his trees, and begged me to interpose my authority to make them bear more acorns.

I was informed, that the whole country was in subjection to a monarch, whose residence, at that time, was about eight days journey from the place I was now in. I say at that time, because the metropolis of the empire was moveable, that is, his majesty (whose place of residence was looked upon as the capital) had no palace, or fixed habitation, but lived in tents, which he transported, together with his royal family and the whole court, from one province to another. The prince, who then swayed the sceptre, was a man in years, and was called Casba, which signifies, Great Emperor. This territory, with respect to the extent of it, merits indeed the name of an empire; but through the ignorance of the inhabitants, who do not know their own strength, it makes no great figure, but is exposed to the insults and ridicule of its neighbours, and is often obliged to become tributary to nations in reality more contemptible than themselves.

Fame had now spread my name and virtues over all the provinces. Nothing of moment was undertook without first consulting me, and every unsuccessful enterprize was ascribed to my coldness and want of favour; nay, some had it in their heads to appease my anger with sacrifices. I forbear to recount all the follies of this stupid nation, and shall only give one or two instances, by which you may easily judge of the rest. A big-bellied woman came to me, to desire she might have a boy; another entreated me to make his old parents young again; another begged me to take him with me up to the sun, that he might return from thence with as much gold as he could carry. With these, and such unaccountable requests, was I continually pestered, though I still reprimanded their folly in a severe tone; for I was afraid lest that absurd conceit of my power might terminate in divine worship.

At length it reached the ears of the monarch, that a stranger was arrived in his dominions, who called himself the Ambassador of the Sun, and who, by giving most wise and divine instructions to the Quamites, (so were called the inhabitants of this country, the name of which was Quama) had convinced the people that he was more than man. Upon this he presently dispatched an embassy to me, inviting me to court. The ambassadors were in number thirty, all clothed with tiger's skins, a dress so much the more honourable in this country, as the use thereof is permitted to none but those who have behaved themselves with galiantry in the war against the Tanachites, (these are rational tigers, and implacable enemies to the Quamites.) But during all this time, in the village where I continued, I had run up a stone house of two stories, after the manner of the buildings in Europe. The ambassadors beheld it as a stupendous work, exceeding human strength, and therefore, when they came to me to signify his imperial majesty's pleasure, they entered my house with a religious

awe, as into a temple or sanctuary. The speech they made to me on this occasion, was nearly this:

Whereas the great Emperor Casba, our sovereign lord and master, derives his origin from the great Spynko, son of the sun, and founder of the Quamitic empire, he therefore thinks nothing could be more fortunate or agreeable than your arrival, especially as it must be of the highest advantage to his dominions, and as there is all reason in the world to hope, that, under such an illustrious and celestial teacher, the kingdom will, in a short time, wear another face; for which reason he hopes you will so much the more willingly honour his court, as the capital of the empire is a more ample field for the exercise of your virtues.

This harangue being ended, I returned my humble thanks to the ambassadors, and accompanied them immediately to the palace. Though they had taken up fourteen days in coming, yet in returning we spent only four, which was owing to a contrivance of mine; for as I had observed a vast multitude of horses in this country, which were of no manner of use, but rather a burden upon the people, inasmuch as they lived in the woods like wild beasts, I laid open to the natives the several advantages which would accrue from the service of those generous brutes, and taught them the art of breaking them. In a short time a great number were tamed, and upon the arrival of the ambassadors, I had as many broke and prepared as would serve us all in our return. At the sight of the horses thus instructed, the ambassadors were amazed, but were afraid to mount them; but when they saw me and others guiding and turning them which way we pleased, by means of the bridle, and that without fear or danger, they took courage, after two or three trials, and ventured upon the journey; and this was the reason that they returned in one third of the time they came. When we drew near the place where the royal city was supposed to be, we heard that this famous metropolis was removed into another province, which obliged us to bend our course another way.

Upon our approach to the capital, the fright and surprise of the people is not to be expressed. Many, struck with a panic, abandoned the royal city. The emperor himself kept shuddering in his pavilion, nor dared to go out of it, till one of his ambassadors alighting from his horse, went and explained the mystery to him. I was introduced soon after in great form, and with a train of people behind me, to the emperor's presence. Casba was sitting on a carpet, surrounded by his courtiers. Having paid my compliments to his imperial highness, he rose, and asked me how the emperor of the sun did the founder of the royal family of Quama. To this question, as I conceived it necessary to keep up the popular error, I replied, That I was sent from the monarch of the sun to reform the savage manners of the Quamites with salutary instructions, and to open a way for them, not only to repel the insults of their neighbours, but also to enlarge the bounds of their empire, and that I had orders to end my days among them. This speech highly pleased the emperor. He commanded a tent to be erected for me near his own; he also assigned me fifteen domestics to attend on me, and, laying aside the monarchy, behaved to me always like a friend.

## CHAP. XIII.

### *The Rise of the Fifth Monarchy.*

FROM that time forward I was wholly taken up in giving a new form to the government, and instructing the youth in military discipline.

*Ante urbem hinc pueri, et primævi flore juventus*
*Exercentur equis, domitantque in pulvere currus;*
*Aut acres tendunt arcus, aut lenta lacertis*
*Spicula contorquent.*

I began with teaching them the management of horses, and training them for war, as I hoped that by our horse alone our neighbours might be kept in awe. The emperor was soon supplied, through my diligence, with six thousand horse. The Tanachites were at that time preparing for a fresh invasion, on account of the delay of the annual tribute, the payment of which had often been solicited in vain. I was ordered by the emperor to go and meet the enemy with my new-raised cavalry, to which were added a body of infantry. These were armed with pikes and javelins, with which they might engage the Tanachites at a distance: for the Quamites had hitherto made use of short swords or daggers only. For which reason being obliged to engage hand to hand with very fierce enemies, who were much superior to them in strength, they had always fought upon unequal terms.

Being appointed general in this expedition, as soon as I heard that the Tanachites were drawn up in order of battle, not far from the borders of our empire, I marched to meet them with all my forces. The enemy, thunderstruck with the sight of an unexpected army, remained for some time motionless; but

our forces, advancing towards them, began to handle their pikes and javelins as soon as the enemy came within reach, and made a heavy slaughter of them. The Tanachites, however, did not lose courage, but made a brisk attack upon our infantry; but the new-raised horse falling upon their flanks, their ranks were quickly broken, and they themselves put to flight; so that the fortune of the battle wholly turned on this assault. A terrible slaughter ensued, and the general of the Tanachites, together with twenty tigers of the first quality, were taken prisoners, and led in triumph to Quama. It is scarce to be expressed what joy this extraordinary victory diffused throughout the empire; for the Quamites had generally been routed in all former battles, and forced to beg a peace upon the most dishonourable terms. The emperor, according to custom, immediately sentenced all the prisoners to be executed; but as I had an abhorrence of this custom, I advised the keeping them in custody, thinking the Tanachites (with whom we could neither be said to be at war nor in peace at that time) would be quiet until they saw what was to become of their prisoners; and besides I urged, that a truce was necessary for me, to put some schemes in execution which I was then projecting. I had before taken notice that the country abounded with salt-petre, and had got together a large quantity of it, in order to make gunpowder. I had not, however, communicated my design to any body but the emperor, whose authority I stood in need of, to erect offices for casting barrels for guns, and other kinds of weapons; and I was in hopes, that, by the help of these instruments, all the enemies of this empire might in a short time be subdued. After I had got some hundreds of muskets made, together with a quantity of ball, I gave a public specimen of my invention, to the great astonishment of every body. A certain number of men were immediately set aside, to be continually exercised in the management of these muskets. After the musketeers came to be pretty ready in their exercises, I was declared Jachal by the emperor, or generalissimo of all his forces, and all the subordinate officers were ordered to receive their commands from me. Whilst these affairs were transacting, I had frequent conferences with Tomopoloko, the general of the Tanachites, in order to discover the state, the manners, and disposition of that nation. I found him, to my great surprise, to be a person of prudence, learning, and politeness, and was informed by him, that literature and arts were in no small esteem in the country of the Tanachites. He told me likewise, that there were a very warlike people eastward of them, whom the Tanachites were obliged to be perpetually upon their guard against. The inhabitants were small of stature, and much inferior to the Tanachites in strength of body; but then their understandings were very acute, and they were eminent for their dexterity in managing their javelins, or darts, and for this reason had often compelled the Tanachites to sue for peace. I learnt afterward, that that nation was composed of cats, and that, of all the inhabitants of the firmament, they were the most remarkable for their able judgment and skill in politics. It was no small grief to me to be informed, that learning, wisdom, and politeness, flourished among all the creatures of this subterraneous world, man only excepted, and that the Quamites alone were barbarous and uncivilized. I hoped, however, that this reproach would soon be removed, and that the Quamites would recover that dominion which nature has given to man over all other animals.

The Tanachites continued quiet for a long time after their last defeat; but after they had discovered, by means of their spies, the state and disposition of the new body of horse, namely, that those centaurs, which had struck such terror into them, were nothing else but horses, which had been broke and managed, they resumed new courage, and raised fresh forces, which the king himself commanded in person. The army consisted of twenty thousand tigers, all veteran troops, except two regiments which had lately been enlisted. These new-raised forces were, however, a nominal, and not a real addition to their strength. This army, flushed with hopes of victory, struck a terror into the whole empire of Quama. Twelve thousand of our foot advanced to meet them, among which were six hundred musketeers, together with four thousand horse. As I had no doubt about the success of the battle, lest the emperor should be defrauded of the glory of the victory, I entreated the old man to put himself at the head of his forces. I lost nothing of my credit by this feigned modesty, since the whole army looked upon me as their leader. I thought it most advisable not to let my musketeers have any share in the first assault, having a mind to try whether we could not carry the victory by means of the horse alone; but this piece of management cost me dear; for the Tanachites attacked our foot with so much violence, that they obliged them to give way. They stood likewise the shock of our horse so valiantly, that for a long time it could not be said to which side the victory inclined. While we were in the heat of the battle, I led my musketeers on to the attack. At the first discharge of our artillery, the Tanachites were in a manner stupified. They could not conceive from whence those thunders and light-

sings proceeded; but when they saw the dreadful effects thereof, they were seized as it were with a panic. This first salutation laid two hundred tigers prostrate on the ground, amongst which were two chaplains belonging to the camp, who were each of them pierced through with a musket-ball, whilst they were encouraging the soldiers to do their duty by very pathetic discourses in praise of valour. Their fate was bitterly lamented by all, for they were reckoned admirable orators. As soon as I perceived the terror our enemies were in, I ordered a second discharge to be made. This did more execution than the former; great numbers were killed, and among the rest, the king himself. Upon this the enemy, losing all hopes, turned their backs. Our horse pursued them, and made so great a slaughter of them as they fled, that the multitude of carcasses, with which the field was covered, at length put a stop to their pursuit. After the battle was over, and we had time to take an account of the number of the slain, they were found to amount to thirteen thousand. The enemy being thus entirely routed, the victorious army entered the country of the Tanachites, and after a few days march encamped under the walls of the metropolis. Such a terror had at that time seized all people's minds, that though the town was strong, and well secured by its situation, walls, and forts, and well stored with provisions of all kinds, yet the magistrates came out in the most suppliant manner to meet the conquerors, and to offer them the keys of the city. This city was no less remarkable for its great extent, than for the cleanness of its streets, and the neatness of its buildings; and it was certainly matter of great wonder, that the Quamites, who were encompassed on all sides by nations so polite, should have continued so long in their barbarity. But they were in this respect like some other nations, who, though ignorant of what passes in foreign countries, entertain a high conceit of themselves, and who, having no commerce or communication with others, live hugely contented in their own sordidness and ignorance, of which it would be very easy to produce instances among the Europeans. This defeat became a new era among the Tanachites; and as this decisive battle was fought, according to their computation, upon the third day of the month Torul, they reckon this among the unlucky days. At this season of the year, the planet Nazar, whose revolution round the subterranean sun regulates the time, and distinguishes the seasons, is at its farthest distance from this part of the firmament. The whole firmament likewise makes its revolution round the sun; but as the planet moves with greater velocity, Nazar seems to increase or decrease, according as it is nearer to, or more remote from, this or that hemisphere. The increase or decrease of this planet, as also the eclipses of the sun, are the subject of astronomical observations in this country. I once took the pains, at my hours of leisure, to examine the Tanachitish kalender, and it seemed to me to be an orderly and well digested thing.

The taking of the capital city was followed by the surrender of the whole kingdom; so that the contempt with which the Quamites had been before stigmatized, was changed into renown; and the empire of Quama, by the addition of this conquered nation, became almost twice as powerful as it was before. But as every body looked upon this success to be owing to my industry and management, the esteem which they had for a long time conceived for me was heightened almost into adoration. The Tanachites being thus subdued, and governors appointed in every city, to keep this fierce and warlike people in their duty, I went to work, to finish the task I had begun, and to root out that barbarity in which the Quamites were as yet involved. It was a matter of great difficulty, however, to introduce the study of the liberal arts at once; for the Latin tongue, and a few scraps of Greek, which I had learned in Europe, would not, I knew, be here of any use. For this reason, I caused twelve of the most learned tigers to be sent for out of the enemies country. These were made professors, and commanded to found an university upon the model of those in their own country. I likewise ordered the royal library of Tanachin to be removed to Quama. I was determined, however, that as soon as the Quamites had made such a progress in literature as to be able to stand upon their own legs, I would send these foreigners back into their own country.

I was very desirous of seeing the Tanachitish library, because I had been informed by their general Tomopoloko, that amongst other manuscripts in the archives of the library, there was one composed by an author who had been in our world, and had left a description of its different kingdoms, especially the European ones; he told me likewise, that the Tanachites had got possession of this book when they were at war in a very distant country, but that the name of the author was concealed, nor could it ever be learned who he was, or how he was carried to the superterranean habitations.

Upon looking over the book, I found what Tomopoloko had told me concerning the author was true, and therefore I candidly discovered my race and country to him, assuring him at the same time, that I had declared the

same thing to the Quamites at my first arrival, but that the stupid mortals gave no credit to my narration, but would needs have me to be an ambassador from the sun, and still continued to persist obstinately in that error. I added likewise, that as I looked upon it to be a crime to keep so vain a title any longer. I was at length determined to discover my origin to the public; by which ingenuous confession I thought my reputation would not in the least suffer, especially as I hoped that the reading of this book would convince every body how much the Europeans excel all other people in virtue and in knowledge. The prudent Tomopoloko did not seem pleased with my design, and gave me his sentiments upon it, as I remember, in the following terms: Good sir, before you proceed in your design, it will be necessary for you to see the book, the reading of which may perhaps divert you from your purpose; for either the author has misrepresented them, or the manners of the superterranean are foolish and absurd, and they are governed by laws and customs more worthy of laughter than regard. But after you have read the book, you may use your own discretion. One piece of advice, however, I will presume to give you, and that is, not rashly to reject a title which has rendered you so venerable in the opinion of the Quamites; for nothing serves more effectually to restrain men within the bounds of duty, than the opinion which the vulgar entertain of birth and high descent.

I took the advice, and determined, with the assistance of Tomopoloko, to read the book. The title of it is this; "Tanian's Journey to the Superterranean World, or a Description of the Kingdoms and Countries upon Earth." The name of Tanian is thought to be fictitious; and as the book was grown mouldy for want of being taken due care of, and imperfect in several places through length of time, what I wanted most to see, namely, which way the author got up to our world, and down again, was missing. These are the contents of what remained of the work.

*Fragments of Tanian's Journey above Ground. Translated from the Original, by the celebrated, noble, and valiant Tomopoloko, General of the Tanachites.*

* * * This country (*i. e.* Germany) goes by the name of the Roman empire; but this is merely titular, for the Roman monarchy has been extinct for several ages. The language which the Germans use, is with much difficulty to be understood, because the natural order of the words is inverted; for what goes first in other languages, comes last in this, so that you may be obliged to read to the end of a page before you can comprehend the meaning of it. The form of government is strange. The Germans think they have a king, and yet in reality they have none. Germany is said to be one empire, and yet it is divided into many separate principalities, each of which has the sovereign power within itself; so that they often make war upon one another, and have most certainly a right so to do. The empire is said to be always august, though it is sometimes very much diminished; holy, though without any holiness; invincible, though often exposed to the depredations of its neighbours. Nor are the rights and privileges of this nation less wonderful, since many have rights which they are prohibited from making any use of. Infinite are the comments which have been published upon the state of the German empire; but so intricate is the subject, that, in spite of all their labours, they are at every turn as much at a loss as ever concerning it; for * * * *

* * * * The capital of this kingdom (France,) which is very large, is called Paris. It may in some sense be styled the capital of Europe; for it exercises a kind of jurisdiction over all other European nations. For example, it prescribes rules to them about their eating, and about the fashion of their clothes; so that let any fashion be as ridiculous and as inconvenient as it will, all other nations are obliged to follow it, whenever the Parisians are pleased to lead the way. How or what time they acquired this right, I could never learn. Their authority, however, did not, as I understood, extend to other things; for the rest of the European nations are often at war with the French, and sometimes force them to accept of peace upon very severe terms. But the servitude they are under, with regard to dress and the manner of eating, is perpetual; so that whatever fashion is invented at Paris, the rest of Europe are strictly obliged to come into it. The Parisians very much resemble the Martinians in quickness of apprehension, the love of novelty, and a fertility of invention.

* * * Having left Bononia, we went to Rome. This city is subject to a priest, who, though his dominions are very narrow, is reckoned the most powerful of all the European kings and princes: For other princes exercise dominion only over the persons and estates of their subjects, but this can destroy their souls likewise. The Europeans in general believe, that the keys of Heaven are in the custody of this priest. I was very desirous of seeing so great a curiosity, but I lost my labour; nor do I know, to this day, what form they are of, or in what cabinet they are kept. The authority which this pontiff exercises, not only over his own subjects, but over all mankind,

chiefly consists in this, that he can absolve whom God condemns, and condemn whom he absolves. An enormous power, indeed! and such an one as our subterraneans will never believe can fall to any mortal's share. But it is an easy matter to impose upon the Europeans as one pleases, and to make them swallow the greatest absurdities, though they imagine that nobody has any understanding but themselves; and being puffed with this opinion, they look down with contempt upon all other mortals, as if they were barbarians in comparison of them.

For my part, I do not undertake to justify the manners, laws, and customs of our subterraneans; I will only produce some instances of the customs of the Europeans, in order to make it appear how undeservedly they pass a censure upon the manners of other nations.

It is a custom all over Europe, for people to scatter a kind of meal, which is made by grinding the fruits of the earth, and which nature intended for food, over their hair and clothes. This meal is commonly called powder, and great care and pains are used to cleanse their hair from it every morning, with an instrument called a comb, in order to make room for more of the same sort. They have another custom which appeared to me no less ridiculous, which is this: They have a kind of little cover, or hat, to defend their heads against the cold, which cover they very often wear under one of their arms, even in the very depth of winter. This appeared as absurd to me, as it would have been to have seen a man walking through the streets with his coat or his breeches in his hand, and leaving his body to be exposed to the inclemencies of the air, from which they were intended to defend it.

The religious opinions of the Europeans are very sound and agreeable to right reason. They are under an injunction carefully to study the books in which the rule of faith and practice is contained, in order to discover their true sense and meaning. These books recommend indulgence to weak brethren, and such as happen to be mistaken; but if any should chance to understand a thing in a different sense from the majority, he is punished for this defect of judgment by fines, imprisonment, whipping, and even sometimes by dying at a stake. This seemed to me the same thing, as if a man, who happened to be short-sighted, should undergo the bastinado, only because objects, which seem square to me, appear round to him. I was informed that thousands had been hanged and burnt, by order of the magistrate, on this account.

In almost every town and village, you see men standing up in places of public resort, and severely reprimanding others for those sins which they themselves are daily guilty of; which is just as if one should hear a man in liquor declaiming against drunkenness.

Oftentimes a person who is born humpbacked, crooked, or lame, shall be ambitious of being thought handsome; and another, sprung from the dregs of the people, shall be ambitious of a coat of arms, or a title: which is full as absurd as if a dwarf should affect to be called a giant, or an old man, young.

It is a custom in great towns, for friends and acquaintances to visit one another after dinner, in order to drink a kind of black broth made of burnt beans. This broth is commonly called coffee. When they make these visits, they are shut up in a box, which is fixed upon four wheels, and drawn to the place of rendezvous by two beasts of very great strength: For the Europeans think it a disgrace to use their legs.

Upon the first day of the year the Europeans are seized with a disease, which we have no knowledge of amongst us. The symptoms of it are strange commotions and agitations of mind, and an inability to sit still in any place. They run about at such times from one house to another, as if they were distracted, without knowing why they do it. The disease sometimes lasts for fourteen days. At length, when they are quite fatigued and spent with continually running about, they come to themselves again, and recover their former health.

As the Europeans have innumerable diseases of mind, so they have innumerable remedies. Some are seized with a strange passion of walking in such a manner, as that the left sides of their bodies may be turned towards the right sides of others. The farther north you go, the stronger you find this humour, which proves that it is all owing to the climate, and the intemperature of the air. This disease is cured by certain sealed papers, filled with characters of a particular kind. As long as the patient carries these papers about him, by way of talisman or charm, he grows better and better by degrees, till he is quite recovered.

Another raging distemper they have which is cured by the sound of a bell, at the noise of which the mind immediately grows calm, and the disorder abates: Yet this remedy is by no means effectual, because in two or three hours time the same raging evil returns.

In Italy, France, and Spain, during the winter season, an epidemic madness prevails for several weeks. They put a stop to it at length, by sprinkling the foreheads of the patients with ashes, at an appointed time. But in the northern parts of Europe these ashes have no virtue, and the inhabitants of the north recover by the help of nature only.

Most of the Europeans enter into a solemn covenant with God, which they call the communion, three or four times a year, and break it as soon as ever they have made it; so that they seem to make it for no other reason, but that they may show that they are resolved not to stand to their agreement.

When they confess their sins, and implore the mercy of God, their words are generally set to music. Flutes, trumpets, and drums, are sometimes added to the concert, according to the greatness of the crime for which they are suing pardon.

Almost all the European nations are obliged to confess their belief of a doctrine contained in a certain sacred book. But the reading this book is totally prohibited in the southern countries; so that people there are laid under a necessity of believing what it is criminal to read or inquire into.

In the same countries, men are forbid to worship God in any but an unknown tongue; so that such prayers only are thought to be legitimate, and agreeable to the Divine Being, as are put up by persons who do not understand a word they say.

In the great cities, such as arrive at honours and profitable employments are all paralytic; for they are obliged to be carried along the streets, like weak and impotent people, on a kind of couch, made in the figure of a chest or box.

Most of the Europeans shave their heads, and, to conceal their baldness, wear an artificial covering made of other people's hair.

The controversies which are commonly discussed in the schools in Europe, are about things, the knowledge of which neither concerns mankind, nor is within the reach of their comprehension. But the most learned subjects of all, which the Europeans comment upon, are the rings, robes, slippers, shoes, and buskins of certain antiquated people, who lived many centuries ago. As to the sciences, as well sacred as prophane, the generality do not judge for themselves, but subscribe implicitly to the opinion of others. Whatever sect they happen to fall into, they stick to it with all imaginable firmness. As to what they say of pinning their faith upon the sleeve of others who are wiser than themselves, I should approve of it, were the vulgar and illiterate proper judges of this matter; for to be able to distinguish who is this wise man that may be relied upon, requires the greatest wisdom.

In the southern countries, a sort of little cakes or wafers are carried about the streets, which the priests say are gods: But what is most surprising, the very bakers themselves, who show you the flower of which they were made, will take their oaths upon it, that the world was created by these wafers.

The English are very fond of liberty, and are subject to nobody but their wives. As to their religion, it is hard to say what it is, for they take up an opinion one day, and throw it aside the next. I imputed this fickle disposition to the situation of the country; for the English live upon an island, and being a maritime people, partake much of the nature of the inconstant element that surrounds them.

The English are very solicitous about the health of every one they meet, so that a man would take them all to be physicians. But that common question, How do you do? I found to be only an empty form of speech, and a sound without any sense or meaning in it. Many of these islanders take so much pains to improve their minds, and polish their understandings, that at length they entirely lose them.

Towards the north, there is a republic consisting of seven provinces. These go by the name of the United Provinces, though there is but little sign of concord or unity amongst them. The people here boast of their power, as if the whole authority of the republic was lodged in their hands; and yet the populace are no where more excluded from public employments, and the supreme power is vested in a very few families. The inhabitants of these provinces are deeply attentive upon heaping up riches, which they make no use of; so that while their purses are full, their bellies are empty. They seem to live upon smoke only, which they suck in through a tube or pipe, which is made of clay. It must be allowed, however, for the honour of this nation, that they are the neatest of all people, for they take great care to wash every thing except their hands.

In the cities and great towns in Europe, a watch is kept in the street by night. The watchmen go their rounds every hour, and wake people out of their sleep, by wishing them a good night.

Every country has its peculiar laws, and its peculiar customs likewise, which are often diametrically opposite to those laws. For example: A wife, according to the laws, ought to be subject to her husband; but according to custom, she has a right to govern him.

Those who live most luxuriously, and consume the greatest quantity of the products of the earth, are held in most esteem in Europe; and only husbandmen, and such as supply materials for the luxury of the great, are treated with contempt.

The great number of gibbets, gallowses, and places of execution, which are every where

to be seen, show the Europeans to be people of very bad dispositions, and subject to many kinds of vices. There is a public executioner in every city; the English are an exception to this rule, amongst whom, I believe, there are no executioners, for the people in that country hang themselves.

One would suspect the Europeans to be Anthropophagi, or men-eaters; for it is a custom amongst them to shut up a great number of able-bodied men in cloisters, which they call monasteries, for no other end, but that they may grow sleek and fat; and whilst they are kept in these cells, they are utterly exempted from all labour, and have nothing to do but to eat and drink.

The Europeans have a custom of drinking water every morning, to moderate the heat of their stomachs; but before they are well grown cool by this means, they go to work to warm them again, by swallowing down draughts of fiery liquors, which they call drams.

The religion of the Europeans is divided into two principal sects, one of which are called Protestants, and the other Papists. The former worship one God only, but the latter adore several, for they have as many gods and goddesses, as there are towns and villages. All these gods and goddesses are made by the Roman pontiff, or high priest. This pontiff himself is made by presbyters, commonly called cardinals. Hence it appears how great the power of these cardinals must be, since they can make him who makes the gods.

The ancient inhabitants of Italy conquered the whole world, and were only subject to their wives; but the modern ones tyrannize over their wives, and are slaves to all mankind besides.

The animals in Europe are divided into terrestrial and aquatic. There are some amphibious ones likewise, as frogs, dolphins, and Dutchmen. The last dwell in a marshy soil, and live upon land or water indifferently.

The Europeans use much the same food that we do, but a Spaniard will live upon air.

Trade flourishes much in every part of Europe, and many commodities are sold there in which we never traffic: Thus, for example, the Romish church sells heaven; the Swiss sell themselves; and in * * * * * crowns, sceptres, and the royal authority itself are set to sale.

In Spain, laziness is the token of a gentleman, and nothing is a greater recommendation of nobility than sleeping much. Those are called good men and true believers, who believe what they do not understand, and never think it worth their while to examine what they hear. Some have even been reckoned saints merely for their slothfulness, their want of curiosity, and their neglecting to inquire into religious matters. But those who are solicitous about their own salvation, and happen, through a diligent and accurate inquiry, to dissent from any reigning opinion, are said to be damned to all eternity.

It is a prevailing opinion in Europe, that future happiness or misery does not depend upon good works, or the exercise of virtue and religion, but upon the place of a man's nativity; for all agree, that if they had been born in another place, or of other parents, they should have been of a different religion. Hence they in reality condemn people not so much on account of their religion, as the place or other circumstances of their birth. But how this opinion is reconcileable with the Divine justice or goodness, I cannot comprehend.

Amongst the men of letters, those are most esteemed, whose business it is to invert the natural order of words, and render that obscure and perplexed, which before was plain and easy. These are called poets, and this art of disjointing words goes by the name of poetry. But poetry does not consist in this perversity of style only; because to deserve that name, a composition must likewise be extremely full of lies. An ancient poet, Homer by name, is held in high esteem, and almost adoration, because he excelled in both these arts. Many have imitated him, but nobody ever yet came up to him, either in confounding the order of words, or perverting the truth.

The literati of Europe are very fond of buying books; but in this point they do not so much regard the matter they contain, as they do the form and neatness of them. The booksellers, who are well aware of this, and know that their learned customers had rather feast their eyes than their minds, are perpetually reprinting their books in a different size and letter, and with new decorations; by which means they make an infinite advantage. For in this country the liberal arts are made a trade of, and some authors are reckoned as sharp and cunning as any trader at all.

The universities in Europe are shops, where degrees, promotions, dignities, and various kinds of titles, and other learned wares, are set to sale at reasonable rates, all which are not to be acquired in our subterranean world without indefatigable pains and study for years together. Those who have reached the summit of all erudition, or (in the European phrase) have got to the top of a certain mountain, called Parnassus, inhabited by nine virgins, are styled doctors. The next to these

are masters of arts, who come at their titles at somewhat a less expence, and are therefore thought to be less learned. The good will which these superterranean schools bear to mankind is evident, from their thus rendering the way to learning smooth and easy. The northern seminaries were a little more rigid in this respect, since the highest honours are not there conferred without a previous examination.

The learned are distinguished from the illiterate by their dress and manners, but chiefly by their religion; for the latter worship only one God, but the former pay their devotions to several. The principal deities of the learned are Apollo, Minerva, the nine muses, and others of an inferior rank, which writers, and especially poets, are wont to invoke at such times as they fall into raptures, or a kind of raving.

The learned, according to the diversity of their studies, are distinguished into various classes; for instance, philosophers, poets, grammarians, naturalists, metaphysicians, &c.

A philosopher is a literary merchant, who sets to sale precepts concerning self-denial, temperance, and poverty, at a stated price, and spends his time in writing and declaiming against riches till he grows rich himself. The father of these philosophers was one Seneca, who, by this method, amassed together a princely fortune.

A poet is a person who acquires renown by being thought to be out of his senses. Hence it is usual to speak of all great poets, as possessed with a divine fury or distraction; and all who express their thoughts with simplicity and perspicuity, are judged unworthy of the laurel.

The grammarians are a sort of militia, whose only business is to disturb the public peace. They differ from the other soldiery in this respect, that instead of a coat of mail, they wear a gown, and fight with their pens instead of swords. They contend as obstinately for letters and syllables, as the others do for their liberties and properties. The reason why they are kept up, I believe, is this: That the European princes are afraid lest people in a time of peace should grow dull, and lose their spirits for want of somewhat like a war. Sometimes, however, when these differences begin to threaten bloodshed, the senate interposes its authority. An accident of this kind happened not long ago at Paris, as I was told; for a dispute concerning the letters Q and K growing to a height among the doctors, the senate wisely put an end to it, by allowing every one to use the letter he liked best.

A naturalist, or natural philosopher, is a person who diligently inquires into the nature of quadrupeds, reptiles, and insects of all kinds, and who is acquainted with every thing, except himself.

A metaphysician is one who alone knows those things which are concealed from others, and who can describe and define the essence of spirits and of souls, of entities and non-entities; and who, being very sharp-sighted in spying out things at a distance, overlooks such as are almost under his nose.

Such is the state of learning in Europe. I could say more upon this head, but it is sufficient to have touched upon the principal points. The reader will easily judge from hence, whether the Europeans are right or wrong, in thinking no people have any knowledge but themselves.

It must be confessed, however, that the doctors and masters in Europe are much more dextrous in instructing youth, than our subterraneans are; for they have masters of arts, and of languages, among them, who teach others not only what they have learned themselves, but even what they are utterly unacquainted with. If it is an arduous task to communicate clearly to others what we know ourselves, surely it is much more so to teach them what we are entirely ignorant of.

Amongst the men of learning, there are some who apply themselves, with equal diligence, both to philosophy and divinity. These men, as divines, dare not deny, what, as philosophers, they very much doubt of.

The Europeans apply themselves to letters with as much industry as we do; but they become learned in much less time, by means of a certain extraordinary magical invention, by the help whereof they can read over a hundred volumes in a day.

The superterraneans are very religious, and constant at divine service; but their times of worship are not regulated by the motions of the heart, but by the ringing of bells, by clocks, or sun-dials; so that this devotion seems to be purely mechanical, and to depend upon externals, upon custom, or upon stated times, rather than to flow from the dictates of the heart.

Their taste for religious duties appears from their custom of singing hymns or psalms, while they are cleaving wood, washing dishes, or employed in any other manual labour.

When I arrived in Italy, I looked upon myself to be lord of the whole country, for every one I met professed himself my slave. Having a mind to try how far this servility, which they made such a show of, would extend, I ordered my landlord's wife to be brought to me one night: but he immediately fell into a passion, and commanded me to pack up my baggage and be gone; and as I did not make haste enough, he fairly turned me out of doors.

In the northern countries, people are very fond of titles, though they have not the possessions which belong to them. They are likewise extremely ambitious of the upper hand. Moreover • • •

Thus far I patiently attended, but my indignation was now raised, and I would hear no more, declaring, that these were fictions of a partial writer, and one who was over-run with spleen. But when my heat a little abated, I began to form a more favourable judgment of this itinerary, as I saw that the author, though he appeared in many places to be partial, and not to have had the best regard to truth, was not, however, mistaken in his judgment, but had often hit the nail, as we say, on the head.

I now determined with myself, to take the advice of Tomopoloko, and cherish the error of the Quamites concerning my origin; since I thought it more for my interest to pass for an ambassador extraordinary from the sun, than for a citizen of Europe.

Our neighbours had now continued quiet for a long time, and I had taken the advantage of this wished-for peace, to settle the republic to my satisfaction. News at length arrived, that three very powerful nations had entered into an alliance to invade the Quamites. These were the Arctonians, the Kispucians, and the Alectorians. The Arctonians were a nation of bears, who were endued with speech and reason, and were reckoned very fierce and warlike. The Kispucians were cats of an extraordinary size, and were in great repute among the subterraneans, for their sagacity and judgment: For this reason they kept some very powerful enemies in awe, not so much by their superior strength, as by their artifice and stratagems. The Alectorians fought in the air, as well as upon land, and by that means gave their enemies infinite vexation: these were game-cocks, armed with bows and arrows dipt in poison, which they managed with wonderful dexterity, and thereby did great execution.

These three nations, alarmed at the unusual success of the Quamites, entered into a league or alliance, by which it was agreed to check the growing power of the Quamites with their united force, before it spread any farther. However, before they declared war, they sent ambassadors to Quama, to demand that the liberties of the Tanachites might be restored, and to threaten war, in case such demands were not complied with.

The ambassadors delivered their commission, and received the following answer, which was given them by my advice: That the Tanachites having broken the peace, and violated the faith of treaties, ought to impute the misfortune they were fallen into to their own folly and presumption; that the emperor was resolved, with all his might, to defend the territories he had acquired by right of war; and, lastly, that he was not to be awed by the threats of the confederate nations. The heralds were dismissed with this answer, and we turned our thoughts towards making preparations for the impending war. In a short time I got together an army of forty thousand men, among which were eight thousand horse, and two thousand musketeers. The emperor, though he was grown decrepid through age, resolved to be present in this expedition, and was inflamed with such a thirst of glory, that neither I myself, nor the empress and her children, who joined with me in striving to overcome his obstinacy, could divert him from his purpose. What gave me the most disturbance at that time, was my jealousy of the Tanachites; for I was afraid lest they should grow weary of their servitude, and lay hold of that occasion to shake off the yoke, and join the enemy. Nor was I deceived in my conjecture; for a little while after war had been proclaimed, news was brought us, that twelve thousand Tanachites had taken arms, and were gone over to the enemy. Hence I saw, that we should have four powerful enemies to struggle with at one and the same time.

All necessary preparations being made, the army was commanded to begin their march towards the enemy in the beginning of the month Kilian. As we were upon the road, intelligence was brought us, that the confederate forces had entered the country of the Tanachites, and laid siege to the castle of Sibol, which was situated on the borders of the Kispucian territories. The place was attacked with so great a force, and with so much violence, that the governor was just going to surrender it. But as soon as the enemy were informed of our approach, they broke up the siege, and marched against us. The battle was fought upon a plain, not far from the fortress which had been besieged, from whence it was called the battle of Sibol. The Arctonians, which composed the enemies left wing, falling upon our horse, made great slaughter of them; and, as the attack was supported by the rebel Tanachites, it was very near proving fatal to us. But the musketeers going in to their assistance, and having thrown the enemy into disorder by two discharges of their artillery, the face of the battle was quite changed; so that they who but just now had borne down our horse, and were almost conquerors, being now borne down themselves, began to give way, and at last to turn their backs. In the mean time the Kispucians briskly attacked our foot, and shot their arrows with so much art, and with

such success, that six hundred Quamites were, in a very little time, either shot dead, or desperately wounded. But the horse, together with the musketeers, coming to their assistance, the enemy were obliged to save themselves by flight; which they did, however, in so good order, without once breaking their ranks, that they might be rather said to yield than fly. This was owing to the conduct of Monsonius, general of the Kispucians, who at that time was thought to excel all the subterranean generals in the art of war. The Alectorians yet remained, whom it was no easy matter to subdue; for as oft as our musketeers fired upon them, the enemy sprung up all at once into the air, and thence discharged a shower of arrows, which were so well aimed, that few of them fell to the ground without doing execution. The reason why these arrows seldom missed their aim, was because it is easier to hit an object when you are above, than when you are below it. Our men often missed their mark, because the enemy were so volatile, and perpetually shifting places. In the midst of the engagement, whilst the emperor was in the very heat of action, his neck was pierced through with a poisoned arrow. He fell from his horse immediately, and was carried out of the battle to his tent, where he expired soon after. In this ticklish situation of affairs, I thought it most advisable to enjoin all such as had been witnesses of this unhappy accident, to keep it secret, lest the ardour of the soldiers should abate upon hearing the emperor was dead. I bade them take courage, and told them, that the king indeed was stunned with the sudden stroke, but that the arrow had not entered deep; that the wound had been searched, and taken due care of; that every thing would go well, and that they might expect to see their emperor again very soon. By this means most of the army were kept in ignorance of what had happened, and the battle was prolonged till night. At length the Alectorians, quite spent with labour, and the wounds they had received, retired into their camp, and a truce of a few days continuance was agreed upon, in order to bury the dead bodies. In the mean time, as I found that there was need of some other stratagem to subdue the Alectorians, I ordered our musket-balls to be cast into small shot. This project was attended with so good success, that at our next encounter the Alectorians came tumbling down apace, and one half of the army perished in a miserable manner: Those that were left, seeing this, threw down their arms, and begged for peace. The Arctonians and Kispucians followed their example, and committed themselves, their arms, and fortresses to our mercy. Matters being thus brought to a happy issue, I called a council, and addressed them in the following harangue:—

Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers, I do not doubt but most of you are well acquainted, how earnestly I dissuaded our most serene emperor from this expedition; but his innate fortitude and magnanimity would not permit him to remain idle at home, while his faithful subjects were exposing their lives abroad in his defence. I can truly say, that this is the only request which his imperial majesty ever refused to grant me. How happy should I have thought myself had he refused me every thing besides, and only been indulgent to me in this! For then we should not have known that calamity that now hangs over us; our return into the imperial city would have been truly triumphant, and our joys for our success would have been pure and unmixed. I cannot, nor indeed ought I, any longer conceal from you that fatal accident which has thus da hed all our happiness. Attend then to the dreadful news: Your emperor, while he was gallantly fighting for his subjects, was pierced by an arrow in the battle, and now lies breathless in his tent. What grief, what anguish, must not the loss of such a prince occasion! I can easily make a judgment of your sorrows from what I feel myself. But let us not give way to despondency; death, to such a hero, is not the end of life, but only the period of mortality. We have not wholly lost our emperor, since he has left two princes behind, formed after the example of the best of parents, and who inherit their father's virtues, as well as his dominions. You cannot, therefore, be so properly said to change your king, as the bare name of king. And since the eldest prince, Timuso, is, by right of primogeniture, to be promoted to his father's throne, I shall henceforth derive my authority from him. He it is to whom we ought to swear allegiance, and to whom we will now pay homage.

## CHAP. XIV.

*The Author is elevated to the Imperial Dignity.*

At the conclusion of this harangue, the soldiery lifted up their voice and cried, We will have no emperor but Pikilsu. I was all astonishment at this, and with a flood of tears besought them to consider better, to remember the allegiance they owed to the imperial house, and the public as well as private benefits they had received from the departed monarch, which it was not possible to forget, without bringing an indelible stain upon their

character. To this I added, that if ever they had occasion to command my services, I could be of equal use to them in a private capacity. But all this signified nothing. The officers and soldiers joined in the common cry, and the whole camp resounded with the before-mentioned acclamation. Upon this, I retired to my tent in confusion, and ordered the guards to give entrance to none; because, probably, the soldiers might return to reason, when this sudden fit of zeal should cool. But the generals and common soldiers burst into my tent, and, in spite of all my reluctance, adorned me with the ensigns of royalty, and conducting me out of the tent with trumpets and drums, proclaimed me emperor of Quama, king of Tanachin, Arctonia, Alectoria, and great duke of the Kispucians. Seeing then how vain was all resistance, I no longer struggled with my fortune, but followed the torrent; and I must own, that I was not altogether unwilling to be raised to this elevation; for an empire, with three kingdoms, and a great duchy, was too delicious a morsel to be eyed with indifference. I immediately sent to the prince, to acquaint him with the present situation of affairs, and to advise him to insist strenuously upon his natural and hereditary rights, and to declare this new election void, as being contrary to the laws of the realm. But at the same time I had resolved with myself not to relinquish in haste an empire thus spontaneously offered me; so that this advice of mine to his highness the prince was rather to feel his pulse upon this occasion. The prince had an admirable understanding, and a very solid judgment; and as he well knew the doubles and disguises of the human heart, and that this modesty of mine was only put on to serve a turn, he wisely yielded to the necessity of the times, and after the example of the army, he himself proclaimed me emperor in the capital city, to which I was soon after led in triumph, attended by the generals and officers of the army, in the midst of the shouts and acclamations of the populace. In a few days after this, I was solemnly crowned, and invested with the regal authority. Being thus metamorphosed from a miserable shipwrecked sailor into a monarch, that I might strengthen my interest with the Quamites, who I perceived had still a great veneration for the royal race of Quama, I espoused the daughter of the deceased emperor, whose name was Ralac.

Having performed these great things, I projected new schemes, to raise the empire to a height that should make it formidable to the whole subterranean world. My first care was to assure myself of the duty and allegiance of the lately conquered nations. To this end I garrisoned all their citadels and fortified places in the strongest manner, treated the conquered with the utmost humanity, and advanced some of them to very great offices in the capital. In particular, the captive generals, Tomopoloko and Monsonius, had the highest share in my favour, a circumstance that raised the envy of the Quamites, though they suppressed their dissatisfaction for the present; but in time the spark, which had long lain concealed under the ashes, burst into an open flame, as shall be related in its proper place. To return to my domestic affairs. The liberal sciences, and the art of war, I laboured to bring to the highest perfection: And as this country abounded with very deep woods, which could furnish plenty of timber for the building a fleet after the manner of the Europeans, I pursued this point with such unwearied ardour, that though in reality I had a thousand other affairs to perplex me, it seemed as if my whole thoughts were directed to this one view. The Kispucians were of great service to me in this case; they had a tolerable knowledge of maritime affairs, and their general Monsonius I appointed lord high admiral of the fleet.

And now the timber is felling, the instruments for working it preparing, and with such vehemence I apply myself to the business, that in sixty days from the first falling of the wood, a fleet of twenty ships now rides at anchor in the harbour. All this corresponding exactly with my wishes, I looked upon myself as the Alexander of the subterranean world, and that below I was the author of as great revolutions as he was above. The lust of power is infinite, and never finds the point to stop at. Some few years since, the office of a deacon, or that of a writer, or clerk, was the height of my ambition, nor did I aspire to any thing greater; and now four or five kingdoms seem too narrow for me: So that with respect to my desires, which rise in proportion to our wealth and power, I never found myself more indigent than now.

Having made myself acquainted, from the accounts and informations of the Kispucian mariners, with the nature of the seas, and the situation of the kingdoms on the coasts, and understanding that it was very practicable with a fair wind to make the Mezendoric shore in eight days sail, from whence it would be but a short trip to Martinia, and that over a well known ocean; I say, being acquainted with all this, I made preparation for the voyage. Indeed, Martinia was the principal object of my designs. I was spurred on by the immense wealth of that nation, and the information I should gain from a people of their knowledge in maritime affairs, since the lights

I might receive from them would be very useful to me in the course of all my great undertakings. There was also another incentive, namely, a thirst of revenge, which prompted me to subdue this nation. I took the elder of the two royal princes along with me as an associate in this expedition, pretending that a fine occasion offered itself to his highness of exercising his bravery and martial virtues. But the true meaning of this was, that I might keep him as a hostage or pledge of the fidelity of the Quamites. The younger prince indeed remained at home; but the regency of the empire I committed to the empress, who was then big with child. The whole fleet consisted of twenty ships, great and small; and were all built after the Martinian model, by the direction and superintendency of Monsonius, the Kispucian general, to whom the sole management of the navy was intrusted, and who had made draughts and designs of them with his own hand. For the Martinians were among the subterraneans what the Tyrians and Sidonians were in ancient days, or what the English and Dutch are in our times. that is, sovereigns of the seas. Yet, when we arrived at Martinia, I perceived that in the built of our ships we had widely erred from their model.

We set sail about that time of year when the planet Nazar was at its mean distance from us. Having sailed three days, we spied a large island, the conquest of which would be no difficult matter, by reason of the feuds and factions into which the inhabitants were split; but (what is remarkable) as they were destitute of arms, and were ignorant of the use of them, they fought only with their tongues, and gave all the hard names, curses, and foul language they could invent. This was all we had to fear. The only punishment that in this country was inflicted upon offenders, was that they were taken up and imprisoned, and upon full proof of the crime, were openly brought into the forum, there to hear themselves reviled in the bitterest manner. Certain people were appointed for this very purpose, called Sabuti, that is, revilers, and are there looked upon in the same light as an executioner amongst us. As to the make of their body, they differed only from us in one or two circumstances, which was, that the women had beards and the men none; the feet also of them all were turned backwards. After we had made a descent upon this island, about three hundred Canaliscans, (so the islanders were called) met us. They attacked us in a hostile manner with their usual weapons, that is to say, with a volley of curses and hard names. With such exquisite malice, and in such a diabolical spirit of bitterness, their foul language was conceived and uttered, (as we were informed by an Alectorian interpreter of the Canaliscan tongue) that they showed themselves perfect masters of their weapons, and not inferior to the grammarians of our world. However, knowing that rage alone was insignificant without power, I forbid any violence to be offered to them; but only to spread terror among them, I ordered some guns to be fired, which had this effect, that they fell upon their knees, and implored mercy. Presently the several little kings of the island came down, and made a formal surrender of themselves and subjects, putting their whole dominions under tribute to me, making me at the same time a compliment, that it was no dishonour to be subdued by him, whom it was impiety to resist, nor any disgrace to submit to him, whom fortune had raised above all the world. Thus this island, (the conquest of which added something to my power, though little to my glory, by reason of the effeminacy of the inhabitants) becoming tributary to me, we hoisted sail, and after a fair voyage of some few days, arrived at the Mezendoric coast. I then called a council of war, to inquire what was best to be done, whether it were adviseable immediately to act in a hostile manner, or to send an embassy to the emperor, to know if he would make a peaceable surrender, or whether we must come to an open rupture. The majority were for the latter. Wherefore five persons were commissioned for this embassy, one of each nation, a Quamite, an Arctonian, an Alectorian, a Tanachite, and a Kispucian. Being introduced into the capital, they were asked by the chief magistrate, in the name of the emperor, the meaning of this unexpected visit to the Mezendoric dominions? The deputies replied, that it was not by accident, but by design they came there, and forthwith they produced their credentials, and a letter from me to the emperor, the tenor of which was as follows:

"Nicholas Klimius, Ambassador of the Sun, Emperor of Quama, King of Tanachia, Arctonia, and Alectoria, Great Duke of the Kispucians, and Lord of Canalisca, to Miklopolatu, Emperor of Mezendoria, greeting. Be it known unto thee, that by the immutable council of Heaven it is ordained, that all the empires and kingdoms of the world submit to the Quamite sovereignty; and since the decrees of Heaven are irrevocable, it is necessary your empire should undergo the common destiny of all. We exhort you therefore to a voluntary surrender, and cordially admonish you not to subject your realms to the chance of war, by a rash opposition to our victorious arms. A timely obedience may

save the effusion of innocent blood, and mend your own condition. Given aboard our fleet, the 3d day of the month Rimat."

In a few days the ambassadors returned with a fierce and haughty answer. Hereupon all prospect of peace disappearing, we made a descent. Having ranged our troops in order of battle, we sent out spies to explore the condition of the enemy. They soon returned with news, that the enemy's army was in readiness; that it consisted of lions, bears, tigers, elephants, and birds of prey, to the number of sixty thousand. Hereupon we posted ourselves on an advantageous piece of ground, and waited their coming. All things being now in readiness, and the signal of battle being given, suddenly there came four ambassadors, all foxes, from the enemy, to renew the negociations, and treat of a peace. But having spent some days in conferences with our generals, they departed without coming to any conclusion. It appeared afterwards that these were spies, rather than ambassadors, sent for no other end but to explore the state and condition of our army. They pretended indeed that they would soon return with more ample powers; but as we quickly perceived the whole body of the enemy marching briskly towards us, we hoisted our colours, and marched to meet them. An obstinate fight ensued, for though our musketeers made a furious slaughter among them, yet the elephants every where kept their rank, the hardness of their hide being proof against our ball. But as soon as our heavy artillery began to thunder upon them, and the elephants perceived the horrible effects of it, they were seized with a panic, and left the field. In this battle thirty-three thousand Mezendorians were slain, and twenty thousand taken prisoners. Those who escaped, fled to the metropolis, a city very well fortified, and filled the inhabitants with terror and consternation. We pushed our victory, and in three days march came to the capital, which we besieged by sea and land. At our approach, we were saluted by a new embassy, which brought much softer terms of peace. In this the emperor offered me his daughter in marriage, who was esteemed the most beautiful lioness throughout the whole dominions, together with half his empire in dower with her. These conditions were by no means agreeable to me, especially with respect to the nuptials of his daughter; for it seemed to me neither safe nor honourable to divorce my empress to marry a lioness. Hereupon the ambassadors were dismissed without any answer. Presently our great guns began to play against the city walls, which, though composed of stone, were soon torn and shattered in many places. And as this city was full of animals of all species, it was strange to hear the variety of noises upon this occasion, such as roaring, howling, bellowing, braying, bleating, and hissing. The serpents retired into the clefts and fissures of the earth. The birds hovered in the air, and seeing the city so fiercely assaulted, fled off to the rocks and open country. The trees trembled and dropped their leaves all over the city. We heard that twenty maids of honour, (these were roses and lilies) upon the first discharge of our cannon shrunk up, and withered away through fear. Such a prodigious concourse of animals of all kinds, as well those of the city, as those from the neighbourhood, miserably straitened each other; and that very assistance which was so necessary, was the cause of diseases and infection. The elephants stood the siege better than the rest; but upon the discharge of the great guns, they abandoned the walls. Hereupon the emperor, despairing to hold out much longer, summoned a council to deliberate upon the present posture of affairs. They were all unanimous for a peace upon any terms; and therefore without delay his imperial highness made a formal surrender of himself, with all his territories. Thus in one day my power was increased by the addition of an empire, together with nine or ten lesser realms or principalities; for immediately all the petty sovereignties followed the example of the emperor, and strove who should be foremost in their submissions.

After such marvellous success, having first placed a garrison of six hundred musketeers in the capital, I ordered the captive emperor to be conducted aboard our fleet. I treated him with the most perfect humanity, and upon our return some time after to Quama, I gave him an entire province, the revenues of which enabled the royal prisoner to live with a good degree of splendour.

We now set sail from this place, and coasted along the Mezendoric shores. In this voyage we demanded hostages of all the several states and governments subject to the emperor Miklopolatu; so that in a small time the very Mezendoric name and empire were in a manner extinguished. These people were for the most part the same of which I have formerly given some account in my description of my voyage from Martinia. Leaving therefore the Mezendoric territories, we steered directly for Martinia, which, after a prosperous, though long voyage, we happily arrived at. Never was the sight of any country so highly grateful to me as this; and when I reflected, that in times past I had been condemned to the oar in this very place, to which I now returned as a puissant conqueror, I was

hardly able to conceal the transport of joy I felt. I had at first resolved to declare myself, in order to spread the greater terror among the Martinians; but I changed that resolution, and determined to cherish the old error concerning my birth, and still to pass for an ambassador of the sun.

I flattered myself, that in a short time, and with a very little trouble, I should be able to make a complete conquest of the Martinians, whose effeminacy I was well acquainted with; for this people have a strong propensity to pleasure, and are hurried on to all vicious excesses, not only through a natural bent, but from that affluence and abundance, which both sea and land conspire to indulge them in. However, I found by experience, that I had an arduous enterprize upon my hands; for by means of that vast commerce carried on by these people, they had amassed such endless riches as enabled them to have always at their devotion the choicest of the most warlike troops among the neighbouring nations, who stood ready at their nod to fight their battles for them. Add to this, that the Martinians were eminent for their skill in maritime affairs beyond all the subterraneans, and our vessels were, in comparison of theirs, extremely rude, and very slow of motion; for it is easy to judge what sort of ships ours must be, which were run up in haste under the direction and supervision of a bachelor of philosophy, as also what a censure they would undergo were they to be submitted to the criticism of the Dutch, English, or Danes. But this defect my artillery atoned for, a method of fighting hitherto unknown to the Martinians.

Before I attempted any thing in a hostile manner, I sent an embassy to the senate with the same tenders of peace which I had lately offered the emperor of Mezendoria: but while we waited for an answer, all on a sudden we beheld a fleet of ships coming full sail upon us in order of battle. At sight hereof, we ranged our vessels in as much order on our side as the hurry would permit, and immediately gave out the signal for engagement. The battle was fought with equal bravery and ardour on both sides. The Martinians, instead of guns, made use of a machine, which flung stones of an enormous size and weight, and which grievously galled our sailors. They had also fireships, loaded with pitch, brimstone, sulphur, and other combustible materials. These set fire to our best ship, and utterly consumed it. Victory was a long time in suspence, and my forces even began to deliberate whether they had best fight or fly; but at last, the explosion of the great guns changed the face of things, and so sunk the courage of the Martinians, that they retired precipitately into their harbour. Yet we took not one of the enemy's ships, because, as they were light sailers, they could at any time escape from us. After this fight, we landed our forces, and with all speed made directly towards the metropolis of Martinia. In our march we met our own ambassadors returning from the senate, by whom they had been received in a proud and lofty manner, and dismissed with much such a message as Neptune gave to the winds:

*Maturate fugam, regique hæc dicite vestro;*
*Non illi imperium Pelagi; sævumque tridentem,*
*Nobis sorte datum: tenet ille immania saxa,*

For the Martinians, claiming the sovereignty of the seas, received my offers with all imaginable disdain.

And now they levied a vast body of forces, for besides the mercenary troops, the whole military power of Martinia took the field upon this occasion. We had not marched far before we espied a numerous army, composed of different nations, advancing directly against us. This confidence and presumption of the enemy, notwithstanding their late defeat at sea, occasioned a good deal of uneasiness on our side. But all this was but a meteor, which suddenly appears, and as suddenly vanishes: for at the very first discharge of our artillery they all turned their backs and fled. We pursued the flying foe, and made a prodigious slaughter of them. What the number of the slain were, appeared from that of the perriwigs, which we collected after the action, and which upon a moderate computation amounted to the number of five thousand. The make of these perriwigs was pretty much altered since my time, and I observed above twenty different fashions of them; nor is that at all strange, for so ingenious a nation would give a thousand improvements to any invention whatever.

After this successful battle, or rather carnage, we immediately set about the siege of the capital; but, when we had prepared every thing for the enterprize, and disposed our cannon in proper order, the whole body of senators came in a suppliant manner to our camp, and made a voluntary surrender of the city, together with the whole republic. Hereupon, peace being declared, we entered in triumph into this most splendid city. Upon our entrance into the gates, there was not that tumult and hurry as is generally observable in conquered towns, but a sorrowful silence, and an universal sadness every where prevailed. But when we declared that we would not do the least injury to the citizens, their sadness was changed into joy. The first thing I did, was to make a visit to the public treasury. I was beyond measure astonished at the immense stores of riches deposited there,

great part of which I distributed among my soldiers, reserving the rest for my own finances. I left a garrison at Martinia, and took several of the senators aboard the fleet by way of hostages. Among these was my old friend the syndic, together with his wife, who had falsely accused me of the crime for which I was condemned to the gallies. Yet I entertained no thoughts of vengeance, as thinking it beneath an emperor of Quama to resent an injury done to a chairman.

After this complete conquest of the Martinians, I resolved to reduce the several neighbouring powers; but while I was upon the point of executing this design, the ambassadors of four different realms arrived, and made their submissions. I had already so many states and kingdoms under my dominion, that I did not so much as give myself the trouble to inquire the names of these four surrendered territories, but was contented to comprehend them under the general name of the Martinian Provinces.

## CHAP. XV.

### *The Catastrophe.*

HAVING performed such an amazing series of exploits, and our fleet being considerably augmented by the addition of the Martinian ships, we now hoisted sail, and returned to Quama, where, upon our arrival, we triumphed with more than Roman magnificence. And, in good truth, the noble deeds we had atchieved deserved the highest pomp of festivals and public rejoicings; for what can be conceived more heroic, than to transform a nation the most abject, and the most exposed to the insults of their neighbours, into the lords and sovereigns of the whole subterranean globe? What can be conceived more glorious, or more for my honour, as a man, whose fate it happened to be to live among so many heterogeneous creatures, what, I say, could redound more to my glory, than to have asserted that dominion which nature gave mankind over the animal creation? A description of the splendour of this triumph, the crowds, and the applauses of men of all ranks and ages, would of itself make a regular volume, and therefore I shall not attempt it in this short account. I shall only observe, that from this time a new era appears in history, and there may now be reckoned five monarchies, namely, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, the Roman, and the Quamatic, the last of which seems to surpass the rest in power and grandeur. And accordingly I accepted the title of Koblu, or Great, which was offered me, as well by the Quamites, as by the other vanquished nations. There is, I confess, something excessively vain and arrogant in the name Great: but yet, when you compare me with the Cyrus's, the Alexanders, the Pompeys, and the Cæsars, the title then seems perfectly humble and modest. Alexander indeed enslaved the East, but with what forces? with hardy veteran troops inured to war; for such were the Macedonians in the time of his father Philip. But I, in a shorter space of time, subdued far more and fiercer nations than the Persians, and that by the help only of a rude and barbarous people, whom I myself had formed and instructed. The titles I now used were these: Nicolas the Great, Emperor of Quama and Mezendoria, King of Tanachin, Alectoria, and Arctonia, Great Duke of Kispucia, Lord of Martinia, and Canalisca, &c. &c.

*Ingens jam stabat regnum, potentaque videri*
*Exilio felix: sed scilicet ultima semper*
*Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus*
*Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.*

Being thus lifted up to a point of power and success, beyond even the wishes of a mortal man, the same thing happened to me, as to almost all those who rise to greatness from a sordid original; for, unmindful of my former state, I grew intolerably vain and haughty, and instead of all those winning ways, which artful princes use to procure the popular esteem, I became a hot and cruel persecutor of all orders of men, despising as very slaves those subjects, whom before I had courted to my interest with all imaginable affability; insomuch, that none had access to my person, without a ceremony almost like that of adoration, and when they were admitted, were received with a most disdainful air; all which alienated the minds of the people from me, and changed their love into coldness and terror. This disposition of my subjects I soon experienced, and particularly upon the following occasion. The empress, my spouse, whom I had left big with child, was in my absence brought to bed of a young prince. Intending to acknowledge this prince for my successor, I assembled the several states of my empire, as well those of the conquered kingdoms, as those of Quama, to the solemn inauguration of the infant. As none dared disobey my orders, the ceremony was performed with all possible pomp and grandeur. But it was easy to perceive in the visages of my subjects, that all the joy upon this occasion was forced, unnatural, and mixed with hidden discontent. What helped to confirm my jealousy was, that at this time certain libels or pasquinades, written by anonymous authors, were handed about, in which the in-

jury done to prince Timuso by this inauguration was set forth with much satire and acrimony. This created such disorders in my spirits, that I could take no rest till I had got rid of that best of princes. However, I thought it by no means adviseable to dispatch this illustrious rival in an arbitrary manner, and therefore I suborned certain witnesses to accuse him of high treason. As sovereigns never want for ministers of darkness to serve their criminal purposes, I quickly found out proper persons to swear that the prince was projecting a revolution, and had a design against my life. Upon this he was thrown into prison, and condemned by his judges, the majority of whom I had corrupted. However, he was executed privately, for fear of raising disturbances.

As to the second prince, because he was very young, I deferred sacrificing him to my repose yet a while, so that the weakness of his age was his protection. Thus stained with the parricide of his brother, I began now to rule with so much cruelty and rigour, and carried my rage to such a height, that all persons whose fidelity I suspected, whether Quamites or others, I delivered over to immediate death. Not a day passed but was remarkable for some extraordinary execution, which hastened the rebellion, which the nobles had been for a considerable time projecting, as will be related in its proper place.

I own I deserved all those misfortunes, which I afterwards experienced. It had doubtless been more glorious and more worthy of a Christian monarch, to have guided a gross and barbarous people to the knowledge of the true God, rather than to have proceeded from conquest to conquest, and to have shed such torrents of innocent blood. And, indeed, it had been easy for me to have converted the whole empire, for there was a time when all my determinations were revered like oracles. But unmindful of God, and of myself, I dreamed of nothing but the vain splendour of a court, and the increase of my power. Moreover, being now given up to a depraved and reprobate mind, I chose to aggravate and inflame these discontents, rather than remove them, as if the offences of my injustice were to be rectified by my cruelty. To all the remonstrances of my friends I still urged,

Necessity, the tyrant's hellish plea.

So that misfortune on misfortune came thick upon me, and I fell into such disgrace and wretchedness, that, from my example, all mortals may learn what a vicissitude there is in human affairs, and how short is the duration of arbitrary power and violence.

My subjects' aversion increased with the severity of my government, and when they perceived that the vices to which I abandoned myself but ill agreed with that divine original I boasted, and were utterly irreconcilable with my character, as ambassador of the sun, they began to examine every thing with more attention, particularly the circumstance of my arrival into these parts, and the condition I was in when I landed upon their coast. They now saw, that all the great things I had done were owing more to the savageness of the Quamites, than to any extraordinary abilities of my own; especially as they found, after that mist of ignorance was dispelled, that I had actually committed many errors in the course of my government. Above all, my conduct was highly censured by the Kispocians, a judicious and penetrating people. They had observed in my public edict a multitude of things so crude and indigested, as betrayed the grossest ignorance in politics. Nor was the censure unjust; for as my academical tutors and instructors never dreamed of crowns and sceptres for me, they gave me an education more adapted to a private station than that of a sovereign; and my studies, which extended no farther than to some little system of divinity, and a few metaphysical terms, were by no means equal to my present elevation, where I had the charge of two empires, and almost twenty kingdoms upon my hands. The Martinians had also remarked, that the ships of war I had built were so rude and clumsy, that in an engagement they were of no manner of use against a regular and well-appointed fleet, and that all my naval glory was to be ascribed solely to the invention of cannon. All these cutting remarks they industriously dispersed, and at the same time called to remembrance the manner of my first appearance in this country; namely, how I had escaped from a shipwreck, and, being ready to perish with hunger, was taken up by the inhabitants all in tattered garments, an equipage surely very unsuitable to an ambassador of the sun. Add to this, that these same Martinians, being excellent natural philosophers, had now given the Quamites a tincture of astronomy, enough to know that the sun was an inanimate body, placed in the centre of the heavens by the Almighty, to give light and heat to all creatures; and that as it was a globe of fire, it could of consequence be no proper habitation for a mortal man.

With these and other such unlucky discourses, was I from day to day distracted. But they were mere murmurs, since nobody, through fear of my power, dared talk thus with any degree of openness. And in reality, I was a long time ignorant that the malevolence of my subjects had rose to such a pitch, as to question my condition, till at length I

was convinced of it by a book composed in the Canaliscan tongue, and published with this title, "The Happy Shipwreck;" for I observed before, that the Canaliscans were perfect artists at satire and reproaches, which were all the weapons they waged war with. The book in question comprehended all those accusations, of which I have just now given a detail, and was wrote in a style the most severe and sarcastical that can well be imagined, according to the genius of the Canaliscans, who excel in this manner of writing.

But such was the weakness of my mind at this juncture, such my vain presumption and confidence of my own power, that no advices or remonstrances whatever could make me change my conduct, or bring me to my senses. The most wholesome counsels, instead of checking, contributed only to inflame my cruelty. Wherefore, those whom I had most reason to suspect, I put to the torture to discover the author of this libel; but all endured their torture with an astonishing firmness; insomuch, that this cruelty produced no other effect, than to irritate the spirits of my people still more against me. Thus my fate would have it, and I ran headlong to my destruction.

In this state of affairs I determined to sacrifice the surviving prince Hicoba. I opened my design to the high chancellor Kalac, in whom I placed great confidence. He promised me all obedience and assistance, and straight withdrew, on pretence of contriving the means of putting this scheme in execution. But detesting the villainy in his heart, he discovered the plot to the prince. Both of them retired into the citadel, which was well fortified, and there the chancellor harangued the guards, and in the most pathetic manner laid open their present condition. His discourse, together with the tears of the young prince, which added considerable weight to it, produced the desired effect. The soldiers ran to their arms, and vowed they would die to save their prince. Upon this the dexterous chancellor did not give their ardour time to cool, but persuaded them immediately to swear allegiance to their prince, and then out of hand sent private messengers to those whom he knew to be exasperated against me, exhorting them to take arms against a tyrant, who attempted the extinction of the whole royal progeny. Upon this all the disaffected rose and joined with the garrison. While I was expecting the return of the chancellor, a messenger brought me the news of this grand insurrection. My friend Tomopoloko advised me by all means to retreat to Tanachin. There, says he, we can quickly raise an army, and bring these mutineers to reason. These words produced in me various agitations of mind, and hope and fear alternately governed me each moment. At length, in compliance with his admonition, I fled from Quama, and that with little or no difficulty, as the bulk of the Quamites were yet unacquainted with the reasons of this sedition. Soon after this, I returned with an army of forty thousand soldiers, the greatest part of which were Tanachites, expecting a considerable augmentation from such Quamites as continued in their duty. But I deceived myself egregiously; for instead of those auxiliaries I flattered myself with, I met a herald who brought me letters from the prince, to acquaint me, that war was declared against me as an usurper and invader, and that my wife and son were prisoners of state. Soon after the departure of the herald, I beheld the Quamitic army advancing with my young rival at their head. As they had a fine artillery, I would not run the risk of an engagement, till I was reinforced with fresh troops: Therefore I made a stop, and entrenched myself in the best manner I could. But when I perceived that my own soldiers deserted to the enemy, who besides expected hourly new supplies, I took advice of my general officers, and resolved to engage directly; nor did Tomopoloko oppose this resolution. We fought upon the same plain, where some years ago, in a decisive battle, the Tanachites were entirely routed. The enemy's cannon now threw our ranks into great disorder, and it grieved me to the soul to be baffled by my own invention, and to be conquered by those very arms I myself had devised. For a while, however, my soldiers sustained the attack of the rebellious army, till a ball took off Tomopoloko. Then every one lost his courage, and we all turned our backs and fled to the woods and mountains. I, for my part, climbed to the top of a rock, from whence I descended into the valley on the other side. There I paused a while to curse my fate, or rather my folly, and to pour out my soul in tears and sighs. But, alas! it was all too late. So great was the disorder of my spirits, that I forgot to throw off my diadem, which was the very thing that in all likelihood must have discovered me. After I had sat trembling for half an hour in that valley, I heard the voices of some persons climbing the rock, and roaring out vengeance against me if they found me. I then looked all round me for a place to conceal myself in. There was hard by a deep wood, over-grown with trees and bushes. I presently entered into it, and having picked out something like a path, I walked on till I came to a cave. Here I stopped some moments to take breath. By and by I crept into the cave, like a serpent, upon my belly, and as I perceived it to be very deep and shelving, yet of easy descent,

I resolved to penetrate to the bottom of it. But I had scarce walked a quarter of a mile, when all on a sudden I tumbled down, and, as if thunder drove me, was hurried headlong through the thickest darkness, till at last a faint glimmering light dawned in upon me. With the increase of that light the force of my motion was proportionably diminished, so that by little and little, and in the gentlest manner, like a person rising out of the water, I found myself among some mountains, which to my unutterable amazement, I observed to be the very same from whence some years ago I was hurried down into the subterranean world. The reason of that abatement of my motion, I found after some reflection to be owing to the quality of our atmosphere, which is much denser, and consequently resists more than the subterranean atmosphere. Unless it were so, the same thing would have happened to me in my ascent as in my descent, and in all likelihood I must then have been carried aloft through the air as far as the region of the moon. Yet I submit this hypothesis to the maturer examination of philosophers.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The Author's Return into his own Country.*

I LAY for a considerable time among the mountains, almost destitute of sense; for my late violent motion, together with that strange metamorphosis, from a founder of a fifth monarchy into a famished bachelor of arts, had occasioned very great disorders in my brain: and, in truth, my adventure was so singular and so poetical, that it might well shock the frame of the soundest head. In this condition I began to ask myself, whether what I saw was a reality, or whether it was not some visionary deception; but my distraction abating, and returning by degrees to my senses, my astonishment gave place to grief and indignation. And, indeed, turn over the annals of remote antiquity, as well as those of modern date, and you will not be able to find a parallel adventure with mine; unless, perhaps, in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, who, from the greatest monarch in the world, was transformed into a wild creature, and lived like one of the beasts of the field. Much the same freaks of fortune I experienced; for in a few hours two mighty empires were wrested from me, together with almost twenty kingdoms, the shadows and faint images of which now only remained. Lately I was a monarch; and now the utmost of my hopes was to procure the mastership of some little school for my subsistence. Lately I was called the ambassador of the sun; and now I feared necessity would drive me to become the servant of some bishop or dean. But a few days ago, glory, hope, victory, and success, attended my steps; and now, care and misery, tears and lamentations, are all my companions. In short, I resembled those summer herbs, which suddenly spring up, and as suddenly die away; and to say all in one word, sorrow, rage, anxiety, disappointment, and despair, raised such a conflict in my breast, that sometimes I resolved to end my being with my sword, sometimes I determined to plunge again into the cavern to try if I could not succeed better in a second expedition. But a regard for my immortal soul, and the principles of the Christian religion, restrained me from these mad attempts.

I now endeavoured to descend the mountain by that narrow path which leads to Sandwic, but my imagination was so disturbed, that I stumbled almost every step I took; for the whole powers of my mind were taken up in contemplating upon the fifth monarchy. This idea so constantly haunted me, that it almost unhinged my understanding. And indeed the loss of so much dignity and power could never be recompenced by any advantages which my own country could bestow; for suppose they should make me governor of Bergen, or what is more, lord-lieutenant of Norway, yet, alas! what compensation, what comfort would this be to the monarch and founder of so many empires and kingdoms! However, I resolved not to refuse a thing of that kind, in case it should be offered me.

After I had got half way down the hill, I saw at a little distance some children, to whom I beckoned and made signs to come to my assistance, pronouncing aloud at the same time these words, *Jeru pikal salim*, which, in the Quamitic language, signifies, show me the way. But the boys, at the sight of a man clothed in a foreign habit, and with a diadem upon his head embroidered with rays like those of the sun, ran down the mountain as fast as they could, and soon gaining the start of me, (for I was forced to drag my weary and wounded feet but slowly after me) they got to Sandwic an hour before me, where they alarmed the whole village, vowing and protesting that they had seen the wandering Jew among the mountains, his head all glittering with rays, and by his groans expressing great uneasiness of mind. The inhabitants inquiring how they knew it was the wandering Jew, they readily answered, that I myself had told my name and country. This mistake I guessed must proceed from those words of mine misinterpreted, *Jeru pikal salim*, which indeed have some affinity in sound to that conceit of the children. All the village was now in an uproar, and nobody

doubted the truth of the fact, especially as there had been but very lately a story cooked up about this wanderer, who was said to have appeared not long since at Hamburgh.

About evening I arrived at Sandwic, where I found a mob of the inhabitants gathered together, from a natural curiosity implanted in all men to see strange sights. They stood at the foot of the mountain to meet me, but as soon as ever they heard me speak, they all took to their heels as if they were seized with a panic, except one old man, who, having more courage than the rest, would not move out of his place. To this man I addressed myself, and begged to know if he would have the goodness to entertain a stranger. He asked me who I was? and whence I came? To which I replied with a deep sigh, that the day was too far spent to begin my story, but that if he would receive me into his house, I should relate to him such a series of adventures, as were not to be paralleled in all history, and which must consequently stagger human belief. The old man, who was a lover of novelty, took me by the hand, and led me to his house; and as we went, he rallied the ridiculous fears of the populace, who are frightened at a strange face as much as at a comet. As soon as I was within the house, I begged the favour of some cold water to assuage my thirst; instead of which a cup of ale was brought me by my host himself, because his wife and maids were all afraid to venture themselves near me. Having drank off my liquor, and slaked my thirst, I spoke to my good host in the following terms: You see before you a man, who has experienced the most cruel reverses of fate, and who has been the bubble and sport of fortune to a degree beyond all mortal men. It is indeed an undoubted truth, that in a moment of time the greatest affairs may be disconcerted and thrown into confusion; yet, nevertheless, what has happened to me surpasses all credibility.—To which my host replied, That this must be the condition of those who wander for such a length of time; for, continued he, what vicissitudes, what misfortunes may not happen to a man in a course of sixteen hundred years peregrination?—I could not comprehend the meaning of this, and therefore I asked him what he meant by those sixteen hundred years?—If, returned he, any credit is to be given to history, it is now sixteen hundred years since Jerusalem was destroyed: I doubt not, most venerable sir, but that about the time of that memorable action, you was even then something advanced in years; for if what is related concerning you be true, we may refer the date of your nativity to the reign of Tiberius.—At these words I was silent for a considerable time, and thought the old man doated; but at last I told him, that his language required an Œdipus to unriddle it. With that he brought me a print of the temple of Jerusalem, and asked me, whether I thought it differed very much from the original?—In spite of all my grief, I could not help bursting into a laugh, and asked him the meaning of this odd puzzling discourse.—He replied, Whether I am in an error or not, I cannot say; but the inhabitants of this place aver, that you are that famous Jew, who ever since the days of Christ have been condemned to wander over the world. But yet, methinks, the nearer I survey you, the more I discover in your face the features of an old friend of mine, who some twelve years ago perished on the top of this mountain. At these words, the mist before my eyes was dissipated, and I knew my old friend Abeline, whose house in Bergen I used to frequent. I flew into his arms immediately, and tenderly embraced him. And do I live to hold thee thus, my Abeline? said I; I scarce believe my eyes and senses. Yes, I am Klimius, returned in a manner from the grave! I am that very Klimius, who, about twelve years since, descended into that cavern.—My friend, confounded at this unexpected turn, stood like one thunder-struck; at length he cried out, Yes! it is he! I see my Klimius! I hear his voice!

*Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.*

But though no twin can be more like his brother, than you are like my Klimius, yet I neither can nor dare believe my senses; for miracles are ceased, and the dead rise not now: I must have therefore stronger and more convincing proofs, ere I can give credit to what you tell me. Hereupon, at once to conquer his incredulity, I gave him a succinct detail of all that had passed between us formerly. This removed every doubt, and straightway he embraced me with tears of joy, and cried out, It is, it is the very man, whose ghost I thought I had seen! But explain to me, pursued he, in what part of the world you have lost yourself all this time, and in what country you procured that wonderful dress you have on.—Then I proceeded to recount to him every particular which had happened to me, and he heard me with profound attention, till I came to that part of my history concerning the planet Nazar, and trees endued with speech and reason. At this he lost all patience: Not all the absurdities, says he, which dreams convey to us, not all the follies which madness produces, or all the nonsense which drunkenness utters, can equal these visions of yours. I should rather chuse to believe with the vulgar, that you must have fallen into the hands of witches or hobgoblins; for how idle soever such tales are, yet they have an appearance of truth, if put in competition with this subterranean journey

of yours.—I begged and entreated of him to have but a moment's patience more, till I had finished my recital; upon which, as I observed he kept silence, I proceeded to relate all that had happened to me below, the sundry accidents and reverses of fortune I had experienced, and how I had been the founder of the fifth and greatest monarchy that ever was. All these things increased the suspicion he had entertained, that I was bewitched, or had had some commerce with magicians or evil spirits; and that being abused with their diabolical delusions, I had embraced a cloud instead of Juno. In order to try how far the force of these charms and incantations had spread, or to what a length my extravagance would run, my friend began to interrogate me concerning the state of the happy, and that of the damned in the other world; concerning the Elysian fields, and divers other matters of that kind. I soon perceived the sly design of these questions, and told my friend, that I, for my part, could hardly blame his incredulity, since my narration appeared too fabulous to command a ready assent: However, it was not my fault; for that in reality my adventures were so marvellous, as to baffle all human belief. I solemnly protest to you, continued I, that I have not added or supplied one jot or tittle from my own invention, but that I have recounted every thing simply and ingenuously in the order they happened to me.—My friend, persisting in his incredulity, desired that I would compose my mind, and take a few days rest and refreshment, in which time, he told me, he hoped these commotions in my brain would by degrees subside and die away.

After I had reposed myself for full eight days, my friend, now thinking I had taken sufficient rest, was resolved to try if I had recovered my senses, and therefore artfully resumed the conversation concerning my subterranean journey. He was now in hopes, that the fifth monarchy, together with the twenty conquered kingdoms, was all vanished into smoke, and so utterly buried in oblivion, that not an idea remained of so much as a single town or village. But when he heard me repeat the very same things in the very same order I had before done; when at the conclusion of my history I upbraided him with his obstinate unbelief, and moreover alleged certain indubitable facts, such as that about twelve years ago it was notorious I had descended into that cavern, and that I was now returned into my own country in a strange and foreign habit, he then began to waver, and had not a word to reply. I took the advantage of this his situation of mind, and pressed the matter still more home. I demonstrated to him, that his hypothesis concerning witchcraft and sorcery, was far, infinitely far more absurd than this expedition of mine; for that those were justly to be thrown into the class of old wives fables. But that, on the other hand, he could not but know that several philosophers of reputation were of opinion, that the earth was concave, and that probably it contained within it a lesser habitable world; and that I, for my part, being convinced of it by experience, could not possibly give up my senses with respect to this article.

Convinced at length by these arguments, Your constancy, said he, and your punctuality in affirming these things, the pretence of which could not be the least advantage to you, has at last entirely vanquished my incredulity; I must and do believe you.—My friend thus persuaded of the facts in question, now begged me to renew my story to him, if possible, in a more full and copious manner; accordingly I obeyed him. He was quite charmed with my account of the planet Nazar, and the Potuan government, the laws and institutions of which, he said, were such as deserved to be a model to all the kingdoms in the world. He also observed in justice to me, that a description of so wise and well-regulated a government, could not possibly proceed from a disordered head, or a confused imagination; for that such principles were rather of divine, than human original.

When I found that his conviction was perfectly sincere, and well established, I then thought it high time to talk to him about my own affairs; accordingly I desired to know of him, what he thought I had best do in my present condition, or what I might reasonably expect in my own country, after the mighty exploits I had atchieved in the subterranean world. To which he answered thus: Let me persuade you, says he, never to discover these things to any mortal. You know the zeal of our priests. You know they persecuted the author of that famous discovery of the earth's motion round the sun, and all who adhered to that philosophy. And what then do you think will become of you for asserting the existence of a subterranean sun and planets? You will be declared a heretic, and as such unworthy to live in a Christian community. How will Master Rupert thunder against you? He who, but a year ago, sentenced a man to do public penance for asserting the doctrine of the antipodes! Certainly, so holy a person will condemn to the flames the author of so new a system, as that of the world under ground. I give it you, therefore, as my best advice, that you suffer these things to lie buried in eternal oblivion, and that you live privately in my house for a time.

He then made me throw aside my subter-

ranean habit, and equipped me according to the fashion of my own country. Moreover, he drove away all those crowds of people from the door, who came out of curiosity to see the wandering Jew, assuring them, that he disappeared all at once. However, the affair was noised all over the country, and, in a short time, all the pulpits rung with predictions and prophecies of the evils and misfortunes that must follow upon this apparition. It was said at Sandwic, that the wandering Jew was come, publishing every where the approaching vengeance of Heaven, and exhorting the people to repentance. And this story (as stories always gain in telling) was presently enriched with various additions and interpolations. Accordingly some said, that the wandering Jew had foretold the end of the world, and that the next St John's day would be the day of the general conflagration, unless they would prevent it by a very sincere repentance; with abundance of other things in the same style. Nay, these predictions had occasioned such troubles in a certain parish, that the farmers all gave off plowing and sowing, because, as the world was soon to be at an end, there would certainly be no harvest. Hereupon, Master Nicholas, the minister of the parish, fearing he should fall short in his tithes and other articles of his income, told his congregation, that to his certain knowledge, the day of judgment was put off to the next year. The stratagem took, and they all returned to their wonted labours. As the origin of all this folly and superstition was known only to my friend and me, it afforded us plentiful matter of mirth and laughter from time to time.

At length, as I did not care to continue longer in a house that was not my own, and as I was under a necessity of coming abroad one time or other, in order to procure myself a competent livelihood, I thought it was now high time to begin. Accordingly, we both went to Bergen; and my friend made me pass for a student of Drontheim, and a relation of his, who came to spend some time in that capital. Soon after he recommended me so earnestly to the bishop of Bergen, sometimes by letters, and sometimes in conversation, that that venerable prelate promised me the first vacant mastership of any school or college he had in his gift. This was an office to my palate, inasmuch as it seemed to be something a-kin to the elevation I was lately fallen from; for the government of a school is the shadow or image of imperial power: The ferula is the sceptre, and the chair a throne. But as no vacancy happened in a long time, and as it was necessary something should be done for my present subsistence, I was resolved to embrace the first offer that should be made me. Luckily the curate of St Cross now died, and the bishop appointed me to succeed him. This promotion seemed ridiculous enough for the monarch of so many empires and kingdoms. But as nothing makes men more ridiculous than poverty, and as it is too high a strain of niceness to refuse muddy water, when a man is parched with thirst, I accepted the gracious offer, and am now spending the residue of my days in this office, with the contentedness of a philosopher.

A little after this promotion, a match was proposed to me with the daughter of a merchant of Bergen, whose name was Magdalen. The lady pleased me highly: But as it was very likely that the empress of Quama was still alive, I was afraid lest, by this marriage with Magdalen, I should be guilty of polygamy. But my friend Abeline, to whom I unbosomed myself on this occasion, ridiculed my fears, and by so many arguments demonstrated the folly of my scruples, that I no longer hesitated to conclude the match. I lived six years with this wife in the utmost love and friendship; although in all that time I never once related my subterranean history to her. But as I could never entirely lose the remembrance of that height of glory from which I was fallen, some sudden starts and gestures would now and then escape me, which did not seem to agree with my present condition. By this second venture I had three sons, Christiern, John, and Jasper; so that in the whole I have four, if so be that the prince of Quama is still alive.

Thus far the Manuscript of Nicholas Klimius reaches. What follows is the Appendix of Master Abeline.

NICHOLAS KLIMIUS lived to the year 1695. He was beloved and esteemed for the sobriety of his life, and the purity of his manners. The rector, however, was now and then displeased at his excessive gravity, which he thought proceeded from pride; but I, who knew the man, and knew his history, rather wondered at his exemplary modesty and patience, who, from the government of so many kingdoms, could humbly accommodate himself to such an employment. However, with other men, to whom his amazing metamorphosis was unknown, he could not altogether escape the charge of pride. It was his custom, at certain times of the year, while his strength permitted him, to ascend the old mountain, and take an earnest view of the famous cavern. His friends observed, that he always returned from thence with his eyes swoln, and his face all bathed in tears; that

he would afterwards shut himself up whole days in his study, and seemed to shun the conversation of mankind. His wife also assured me, that he would often talk in his sleep about land armies and forces at sea. This absence of mind went so far once, as to give orders for the governor of Bergen to come immediately before him. His spouse imagined these disorders of his brain proceeded from an excessive application to his studies. His library consisted chiefly of political books, and as such a choice but ill agreed with the office of a curate, he could not avoid some censures upon that head. He himself wrote his own adventures, and his manuscript, which is the only one in being, is at present in my custody. Though I always intended it for the press, yet I have hitherto been hindered from publishing it by very important reasons.

END OF A JOURNEY TO THE WORLD UNDER GROUND.

THE

# LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

# PETER WILKINS,

A CORNISH MAN.

TAKEN FROM HIS OWN MOUTH, IN HIS PASSAGE TO ENGLAND, FROM OFF CAPE HORN IN AMERICA, IN THE SHIP HECTOR.

By R. S. A PASSENGER IN THE HECTOR.

# INTRODUCTION.

It might be looked upon as impertinent in me, who am about to give the life of another, to trouble the reader with any of my own concerns, or the affairs that led me into the South Seas. Therefore, I shall only acquaint him, that in my return on board the Hector, as a passenger, round Cape Horn, for England, full late in the season, the wind and currents setting strong against us, our ship drove more southernly, by several degrees, than the usual course, even to the latitude of 75 or 76; when the wind chopping about, we began to resume our intended way. It was about the middle of June, when the days are there at the shortest, on a very starry and moonlight night, that we observed at some distance a very black cloud, but seemingly of no extraordinary size or height, moving very fast towards us, and seeming to follow the ship, which then made great way. Every one on deck was very curious in observing its motions; and perceiving it frequently to divide, and presently to close again, and not to continue long in any determined shape, our captain, who had never before been so far to the southward as he then found himself, had many conjectures what this phenomenon might portend; and every one offering his own opinion, it seemed at last to be generally agreed, that there might possibly be a storm gathering in the air, of which this was the prognostic; and by its following, and nearly keeping pace with us, we were in great fear lest it should break upon and overwhelm us, if not carefully avoided. Our commander, therefore, as it approached nearer and nearer, ordered one of the ship's guns to be fired, to try if the percussion of the air would disperse it. This was no sooner done, than we heard a prodigious flounce in the water, at but a small distance from the ship, on the weather-quarter; and after a violent noise, or cry in the air, the cloud, that upon our firing dissipated, seemed to return again, but by degrees disappeared. Whilst we were all very much surprised at this unexpected accident, I, being naturally very curious and inquisitive into the causes of all unusual incidents, begged the captain to send the boat, to see, if possible, what it was that had fallen from the cloud, and offered myself to make one in her. He was much against this at first, as it would retard his voyage, now we were going so smoothly before the wind. But in the midst of our debate, we plainly heard a voice calling out for help, in our own tongue, like a person in great distress. I then insisted on going, and not suffering a fellow-creature to perish for the sake of a trifling delay. In compliance with my resolute demand, he slackened sail; and hoisting out the boat, myself and seven others made to the cry, and soon found it to come from an elderly man, labouring for life, with his arms across several long poles, of equal size at both ends, very light, and tied to each other in a very odd manner. The sailors at first were very fearful of assisting or coming near him, crying to each other, He must be a monster! and, perhaps, might overset the boat and destroy them; but hearing him speak English, I was very angry with them for their foolish apprehensions, and caused them to clap their oars under him, and at length we got him into the boat. He had an extravagant beard, and also long blackish hair upon his head. As soon as he could speak, (for he was almost spent) he very familiarly took me by the hand, I having set myself close by him to observe him, and squeezing it, thanked me very kindly for my civility to him, and likewise thanked all the sailors. I then asked him by what possible accident he came there; but he shook his head, declining to satisfy my curiosity. Hereupon reflecting that it might just then be troublesome for him to speak, and that we should have leisure enough in our voyage for him to relate, and me to hear, his story, (which, from the surprising manner of his falling amongst us, I could not but believe would contain something very remarkable) I waved any farther speech with him at that time.

We had him to the ship, and taking off his wet clothes, put him to bed in my cabin; and I having a large provision of stores on board, and no concern in the ship, grew very fond of him, and supplied him with every thing he wanted. In our frequent discourses together, he had several times dropped loose hints of his past transactions, which but the more inflamed me with impatience to hear the whole of them. About this time, having just begun to double the Cape, our captain thought of watering at the first convenient place; and finding the stranger had no money to pay his passage, and that he had been from England no less than thirty-five years, despairing of his reward for conducting him thither, he intimated to him that he must expect to be put

on shore to shift for himself, when we put in for water. This entirely sunk the stranger's spirits, and gave me great concern; insomuch, that I fully resolved, if the captain should really prove such a brute, to take the payment of his passage on myself.

As we came nearer to the destined watering, the captain spoke the plainer of his intentions, (for I had not yet hinted my design to him or any one else;) and one morning the stranger came into my cabin, with tears in his eyes, telling me, he verily believed the captain would be as good as his word, and set him on shore, which he very much dreaded. I did not chuse to tell him immediately what I designed in his favour, but asked him if he could think of no way of satisfying the captain, or any one else who might thereupon be induced to engage for him; and farther, how he expected to live when he should get to England, a man quite forgotten and pennyless. Hereupon he told me he had, ever since his being on board, considering his destitute condition, entertained a thought of having his adventures written; which, as there was something so uncommon in them, he was sure the world would be glad to know; and he had flattered himself with hopes of raising somewhat by the sale of them to put him in a way of living; but as it was plain now he should never see England without my assistance, if I would answer for his passage, and write his life, he would communicate to me a faithful narrative thereof, which he believed would pay me to the full any charge I might be at on his account. I was very well pleased with this overture, not from the prospect of gain by the copy, but from the expectation I had of being fully satisfied in what I had so long desired to know; so I told him I would make him easy in that respect. This quite transported him: he caressed me, and called me his deliverer, and was then going open-mouthed to the captain to tell him so. But I put a stop to that: For, says I, though I insist upon hearing your story, the captain may yet relent of his purpose, and not leave you on shore; and if that should prove the case, I shall neither part with my money for you, nor you with your interest in your adventures to me. Whereupon he agreed I was right, and desisted.

When we had taken in best part of our water, and the boat was going its last turn, the captain ordered up the strange man, as they called him, and told him he must go on board the boat, which was to leave him on shore with some few provisions. I happening to hear nothing of these orders, they were so sudden, the poor man was afraid, after all, he should have been hurried to land without my knowledge; but begging very hard of the captain only for leave to speak with me before he went, I was called, (though with some reluctance, for the captain disliked me for the liberties I frequently took with him, on account of his brutal behaviour.) I expostulated with the cruel wretch on the inhumanity of the action he was about; telling him, if he had resolved the poor man should perish, it would have been better to have suffered him to do so when he was at the last extremity, than to expose him afresh, by this means, to a death as certain, in a more lingering and miserable way. But the savage being resolved, and nothing moved by what I said, I paid him part of the passage down, and agreed to pay the rest at our arrival in England.

Thus having reprieved the poor man, the next thing was to enter upon my new employ of amanuensis: and having a long space of time before us, we allotted two hours every morning for the purpose of writing down his life from his own mouth; and frequently, when wind and weather kept us below, we spent some time of an afternoon in the same exercise, till we had quite completed it. But then there were some things in it so undescribable by words, that if I had not had some knowledge in drawing, our history had been very incomplete. Thus it must have been, especially in the description of the *Glumms* and *Gawrys* therein mentioned. In order to gain (that so I might communicate) a clear idea of these, I made several drawings of them from his discourses and accounts; and, at length, after divers trials, I made such exact delineations, that he declared they could not have been more perfect resemblances if I had drawn them from the life. Upon a survey, he confessed the very persons themselves could not have been more exact. I also drew with my pencil the figure of an aerial engagement, which, having likewise had his approbation, I have given a draught of.

Then, having finished the work to our mutual satisfaction, I locked it up, in order to peruse it at leisure, intending to have presented it to him at our arrival in England, to dispose of as he pleased, in such a way as might have conduced most to his profit; for I resolved, notwithstanding our agreement, and the obligations he was under to me, that the whole of that should be his own. But he, having been in a declining state some time before we reached shore, died the very night we landed; and his funeral falling upon me, I thought I had the greatest right to the manuscript, which, however, I had no design to have parted with; but showing it to some judicious friends, I have by them been prevailed with not to conceal from the world what may prove so very entertaining, and perhaps useful.

THE

# LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

# PETER WILKINS.

## CHAP. I.

*Giving an Account of the Author's Birth and Family—The fondness of his Mother—His being put to an Academy at Sixteen by the Advice of his Friend—His Thoughts of his own Illiterature.*

I WAS born at Penhale, in the county of Cornwall, on the twenty-first day of December, 1685, about four months after my father, Peter Wilkins, who was a zealous protestant of the church of England, had been executed by Jefferys, in Somersetshire, for joining in the design of raising the Duke of Monmouth to the British throne. I was named, after my father and grandfather, Peter, and was my father's only child by Alice his wife, the daughter of John Capert, a clergyman in a neighbouring village. My grandfather was a shopkeeper at Newport, who, by great frugality, and extraordinary application, had raised a fortune of about one hundred and sixty pounds a year in lands, and a considerable sum of ready money, all which at his death devolved upon my father, as his only child; who being no less parsimonious than my grandfather, and living upon his own estate, had much improved it in value before his marriage with my mother; but he coming to that unhappy end, my mother, after my birth, placed all her affection upon me, (her growing hopes as she called me) and used every method, in my minority, of increasing the store for my benefit.

In this manner she went on, till I grew too big, as I thought, for confinement at the apron string, being then about fourteen years of age; and having met with so much indulgence from her, for that reason, found very little or no contradiction from any body else; so I looked on myself as a person of some consequence, and began to take all opportunities of enjoying the company of my neighbours, who hinted, frequently, that the restraint I was under was too great a curb upon an inclination like mine of seeing the world; but my mother, still impatient of any little absence, by excessive fondness, and encouraging every inclination I seemed to have, when she could be a partaker with me, kept me within bounds of restraint till I arrived at my sixteenth year.

About this time I got acquainted with a country gentleman, of a small paternal estate, which had been never the better for being in his hands, and had some uneasy demands upon it. He soon grew very fond of me, hoping, as I had reason afterwards to believe, by an union with my mother, to set himself free from his entanglements. She was then about thirty-five years old, and still continued my father's widow, out of particular regard to me, as I have all the reason in the world to believe. She was really a beautiful woman, and of a sanguine complexion, but had always carried herself with so much reserve, and given so little encouragement to any of the other sex, that she had passed her widowhood with very few solicitations to alter her way of life. This gentleman observing my mother's conduct, in order to ingratiate himself with her, had shown numberless instances of regard for me; and, as he told my mother, had observed many things in my discourse, actions, and turn of mind, that presaged wonderful expectations from me, if my genius was but properly cultivated.

This discourse, from a man of very good parts, and esteemed by every body an accomplished gentleman, by degrees wrought upon my mother, and more and more inflamed her with a desire of adding what lustre she could to my applauded abilities, and influenced her so far as to ask his advice in what manner most properly to proceed with me. My gentleman then had his desire, for he feared not the widow could he but properly dispose of

her charge; so having desired a little time to consider of a matter of such importance, he soon after told her he thought the most useful method of establishing me, would be at an academy, kept by a very worthy and judicious gentleman, about thirty, or more, miles from us, in Somersetshire; where, if I could but be admitted, the master taking in but a stated number of students at a time, he did not in the least doubt but I should fully answer the character he had given her of me, and outshine most of my contemporaries.

My mother, over anxious for my good, seeming to listen to this proposal, my friend (as I call him) proposed taking a journey himself to the academy, to see if any place was vacant for my reception, and learn the terms of my admission; and in three days time returned with an engaging account of the place, the master, the regularity of the scholars, of an apartment secured for my reception, and, in short, whatever else might captivate my mother's opinion in favour of his scheme; and, indeed, though he acted principally from another motive, as was plain afterwards, I cannot help thinking he believed it to be the best way of disposing of a lad sixteen years old, born to a pretty fortune, and who, at that age, could but just read a chapter in the Testament: for he had before beat my mother quite out of her inclination to a grammar-school in the neighbourhood, from a contempt, he said, it would bring upon me from lads much my juniors in years, by being placed in the first rudiments of learning with them.

Well, the whole concern of my mother's little family was now employed in fitting me out for my expedition; and as my friend had been so instrumental in bringing it about, he never missed a day inquiring how preparations went on; and, during the process, by humouring me, ingratiated himself more and more with my mother, but without seeming in the least to aim at it. In short, the hour of my departure arrived; and, though I had never been master of above sixpence at one time, unless at a fair or so, for immediate spending, my mother, thinking to make my heart easy at our separation, (which, had it appeared otherwise, would have broke her's, and spoiled all) gave me a double pistole in gold, and a little silver in my pocket to prevent my changing it.

Thus I, (the coach waiting for us at the door) having been preached into a good-liking of the scheme by my friend, who now insisted upon making one of our company to introduce us, mounted the carriage with more alacrity than could be expected for one who had never before been beyond the smoke of his mother's chimney; but the thoughts I had conceived, from my friend's discourse, of liberty in the academic way, and the weight of so much money in my pocket, as I then imagined would scarce ever be exhausted, were prevailing cordials to keep my spirits on the wing. We lay at an inn that night, near the master's house, and the next day I was initiated; and, at parting with me, my friend presented me with a guinea. When I found myself thus rich, I must say I heartily wished they were all fairly at home again, that I might have time to count my cash, and dispose of such part of it as I had already appropriated to several uses then in embryo.

The next morning left me master of my wishes, for my mother came and took her last (though she little thought it) leave of me, and, smothering me with her caresses and prayers for my well-doing, in the height of her ardour put into my hand another guinea, promising to see me again quickly; and desiring me, in the mean time, to be a very good husband, which I have since taken to be a sort of prophetic speech, she bid me farewell.

I shall not trouble you with the reception I met from my master, or his scholars, or tell you how soon I made friends of all my companions, by some trifling largesses which my stock enabled me to bestow as occasion required; but I must inform you, that, after sixteen years of idleness at home, I had but little heart to my nouns and pronouns, which now began to be crammed upon me; and being the eldest lad in the house, I sometimes regretted the loss of the time past, and at other times despaired of ever making a scholar at my years; and was ashamed to stand like a great lubber, declining of *hæc mulier*, a woman, whilst my school-fellows, and juniors by five years, were engaged in the love stories of Ovid, or the luscious songs of Horace. I own these thoughts almost overcame me, and threw me into a deep melancholy, of which I soon after, by letter, informed my mother; who (by the advice, as I suppose, of my friend, by this time her suitor) sent me word to mind my studies, and I should want for nothing.

## CHAP. II.

*How he spent his Time at the Academy—An Intrigue with a Servant Maid there—She declares herself with Child by him—Her Expostulations to him—He is put to it for Money—Refused it from home by his Friend, who had married his Mother—Is drawn in to marry the Maid—She lies in at her Aunt's—Returns to her Service—He has another Child by her.*

I HAD now been passing my time for about three months in this melancholy way, and,

you may imagine, under that disadvantage, had made but little progress in my learning, when one of our maids, taking notice one day of my uneasiness, as I sat musing in my chamber according to my custom, began to rally me, that I was certainly in love I was so sad. Indeed, I never had a thought of love before, but the good-natured girl seeming to pity me, and seriously asking me the cause, I fairly opened my heart to her; and, for fear my master should know it, gave her half a crown to be silent. This last engagement fixed her my devotee, and from that time we had frequent conferences in confidence together, till at length inclination, framed by opportunity, produced the date of a world of concern to me; for, about six months after my arrival at the academy, instead of proving my parts by my scholarship, I had proved my manhood, by being the destined father of an infant, which my female correspondent then assured me would soon be my own.

We, nevertheless, held on our frequent intercourse; nor was I so alarmed at the news as I ought to have been, till about two months after, when Patty (for that was the only name I then knew her by) explained herself to me in the following terms:—You know, Mr Peter, how matters are with me: I should be very sorry, for your sake, and my own too, to reveal my shame, but, in spite of us both, nature will show itself; and, truly, I think, some care should be taken, and some method proposed, to preserve the infant, and avoid, as far as may be, the inconveniences that may attend us, for here is now no room for delay.—This speech, I own, gave me the first reflection I ever had in my life, and locked up all my faculties for a long time; nor was I able, for the variety of ideas that crowded my brain, to make a word of answer, but stood like an image of stone, till Patty, seeing my confusion, desired me to recollect my reason; for as it was too late to undo what had been done, it remained now only to act with that prudence and caution which the nature of the case required; and that, for her part, she would concur in every reasonable measure I should approve of; but, I must remember, she was only a servant, and had very little due to her for wages, and not a penny besides that; and that there must necessarily be a preparation made for the reception of the infant when time should produce it. I now began to see the absolute necessity of all she said, but how to accomplish it was not in me to comprehend. My own small matter of money was gone, and had been so a long time; we therefore agreed I should write to my mother for a fresh supply. I did so; and, to my great confusion, was answered by my former friend in the following words:—

"SON PETER,

"Your mother and I are much surprised you should write for money, having so amply provided for you; but as it is not many months to Christmas, when possibly we may send for you home, you must make yourself easy till then, as a school-boy, with all necessaries found him, cannot have much occasion for money. *Your loving father,*

"J. G."

Imagine, if it is possible, my consternation at the receipt of this letter. I began to think I should be tricked out of what my father and grandfather had, with so much pains and industry, for many years been heaping up for me, and had a thousand thoughts all togegether jostling out each other, so could resolve on nothing. I then showed Patty the letter, and we both condoled my hard fortune, but saw no remedy. Time wore away, and nothing done, or like to be, as I could see. For my part, I was like one distracted, and no more able to assist or counsel what should be done than a child in arms. At length poor Patty, who had sat thinking some time, began with telling me she had formed a scheme which in some measure might help us; but, fearing it might be disagreeable to me, she durst not mention it till I should assure her, whatever I thought of that, I would think no worse of her for proposing it. This preparatory introduction startled me a great deal; for it darted into my head she waited for my concurrence to destroy the child, to which I could never have consented. But, upon my assuring her that I would not think the worse of her for whatever she should propose, but freely give her my opinion upon it, she told me, as she could see no other way before us, but what tended to our disgrace and ruin, if I would marry her, she would immediately quit her place and return to her aunt, who had brought her up from a child, and had enough prettily to live upon, who, she did not doubt, would entertain her as my wife; but she was assured, upon any other score, or under any other name, would prove her most inveterate enemy. When Patty had made an end, I was glad to find it no worse; and revolving matters a little in my mind, both as to affairs at home and the requested marriage, I concluded upon this latter, and had a great inclination to acquaint my mother of it, but was diverted from that, by suspecting it might prove a good handle for my new father to work with my mother some mischief against me; so determined to marry

forthwith, send Patty to her aunt's, and remain still at the academy myself till I should see what turn things would take at home. Accordingly, the next day good part of Patty's wages went to tie the connubial knot, and to the honest parson for a bribe to antedate the certificate; and she very soon after took up the rest to defray her journey to her aunt's.

Though Patty was within two months of her time, she had so managed that no one perceived it; and, getting safe to her aunt's, was delivered of a daughter, of which she wrote me word, and said she hoped to see me at the end of her month. How, thought I, can she expect to see me; money I have none! and then I despaired of leave for a journey if I had it; and to go without leave, would only arm J. G. against me, as I perceived plainly his interest and mine were very remote things; so I resolved to quit all thoughts of a journey, and wait till opportunity better served, for seeing my wife and child, and our good aunt, to whom we were so much obliged. While these and such like cogitations engrossed my whole attention, I was most pleasingly surprised one day, upon my return from a musing walk by the river side, at the end of our garden, where I frequently got my tasks, to find Patty sitting in the kitchen, with my old mistress, my master's mother, who managed his house, he having been a widower many years. The sight of her almost overcame me, as I had bolted into the kitchen, and was seen by my old mistress before I had seen Patty was with her. The old lady, perceiving me discomposed, inquired into the cause, which I directly imputed to the symptoms of an ague, that, I told her, I had felt upon me best part of the morning. She, a good motherly woman, feeling my pulse, and satisfying herself of its disorder, immediately ran to her closet to bring me a cordial, which she assured me had done wonders in the like cases; so that I had but just time to embrace Patty and inquire after our aunt and daughter, before madam returned with the cordial. Having drank it, and given thanks, I was going to withdraw, but she would not part with me so; for nothing less than my knowledge, that this cordial was of her own making, from whence she had the receipt, and an exact catalogue of the several cures it had done, would serve her turn; which, taking up full three quarters of an hour, gave room to Patty and me to enjoy each other's glances for that time, to our mutual satisfaction. At last, the old prattlebox having made a short pause, to recover breath, from the narrative of the cordial, Mr Peter, says she, you look as if you did not know poor Patty; she has not left me so long that you should forget her; she is a good tight wench, and I was sorry to part with her; but she is out of place, she says, and as that dirty creature Nan is gone, I think to take her again.—I told her, I well knew she was judge of a good servant, and I did not doubt Patty was such, if she thought so; and then I made my exit, lighter in heart by a pound than I came.

I shall not tire you any farther with the amours between self and Patty; but to let you know she quitted her place again seven months after, upon the same score.

## CHAP. III.

*Minds his Studies—Informs his Master of his Mother's Marriage, and Usage of him—Hears of her Death—Makes his Master his Guardian—Goes with him to take Possession of his Estate—Is informed all is given to his Father-in-law—Moral Reflections on his Condition, and on his Father's Crimes.*

I WAS now near nineteen years of age; and though I had so much more in my head than my school-learning, I know not how it happened, but ever since the commencement of my amour with Patty, having somebody to disburden my mind to, and to participate in my concerns, I had been much easier, and had kept true tally with my book, with more than usual delight; and being arrived to an age to comprehend what I heard and read, I could, from the general idea I had of things, form a pretty regular piece of Latin, without being able to repeat the very rules it was done by; so that I had the acknowledgment of my master for the best capacity he ever had under his tuition: this, he not sparing frequently to mention it before me, was the acutest spur he could have applied to my industry; and now, having his good will, I began to disuse set hours of exercise, but at my convenience applied myself to my studies, as I best pleased, being always sure to perform as much, or more, than he ever enjoined me; till I grew exceedingly in his confidence, and by reason of my age, (though I was but small, yet manly) I became rather his companion upon parties, than his direct pupil.

It was upon one of these parties I took the opportunity to declare the dissatisfaction I had at my mother's second marriage. Sir, says I, surely I was of age to have known it first, especially, considering the affection my mother had always shown to me, and my never once having done the least thing to disoblige her; but, sir, said I, something else I fear is intended, by my mother's silence to

ther; for I have never received above three letters from her since I came here, which is now, you know, three years, and those were within the first three months. I then showed him the fore-mentioned letter I received from my new father-in-law, and assured him, that gave me the first hint of this second marriage.

I found, by the attention my master gave to my relation, he seemed to suspect this marriage would prove detrimental to me; but not, on the sudden, knowing what to say to it, he told me he would consider of it; and, by all means, advised me to write a very obliging letter to my new father, with my humble request, that he would please to order me home the next recess of our learning. I did so, under my master's dictation; and not long after received an answer to the following effect:—

"Son Peter,

"Your mother has been dead a good while; and as to your request, it will be only expensive, and of little use; for a person who must live by his studies cann't apply to them too closely."

This letter, if I had a little hope left, quite subdued my fortitude, and well nigh reduced me to clay. However, with tears in my eyes, I showed it to my master; who, good man! calling me well, Peter, says he, what can this mean? here is some mystery concealed in it; here is some ill design on foot! Then taking the letter into his hand, "A person who must live by his studies," says he; here is more meant than we can think for. Why, have not you a pretty estate to live upon, when it comes to your hands? Peter, says he, I would advise you to go to your father, and inquire how your affairs are left; but I am afraid to let you go alone, and will, when my students depart at Christmas, accompany you myself with all my heart; for, you must know, I have advised on your affair already, and find you are of age to chuse yourself a guardian, who may be any relation or friend you can confide in; and may see you have justice done you.—I immediately thanked him for the hint, and begged him to accept of the trust, as my only friend, having very few, if any, near relations: this he with great readiness complied with, and was admitted accordingly.

So soon as our scholars were gone home, my master lending me a horse, we set out together, to possess ourselves of all my father's real estate, and such part of the personal as he had been advised would belong to me. Well, we arrived at the old house, but were not received with such extraordinary tokens of friendship, as would give the least room to suppose we were welcome. For my part, all I said, or could say, was, that I was very sorry for my mother's death. My father replied, so was he. Here we paused, and might have sat silent till this time for me, if my master, a grave man, who had seen the world, and was unwilling any part of our time there, which he guessed would be short, should be lost, had not broke silence. Mr G. says he, I see the loss of Master Wilkins's mother puts him under some confusion; so that you will excuse me, as his preceptor and friend, in making some inquiry how his affairs stand, and how his effects are disposed; as I don't doubt you have taken care to schedule every thing that will be coming to him; and though he is not yet of the necessary age for taking upon himself the management of his estate, he is nevertheless of capacity to understand the nature, and quantum of it, and to show his approbation of the disposition of it, as if he was a year or two older.—During this discourse, Mr G. turned pale, then reddened, was going to interrupt, then checked himself; but, however, kept silence till my master had done; when, with a sneer, he replied, Sir, I must own myself a great stranger to your discourse; nor can I, for my life, imagine what your harangue tends to; but sure I am, I know of no estate, real or personal, or any thing else belonging to young Mr Wilkins, to make a schedule of, as you call it: but this I know, his mother had an estate in land, near two hundred a year, and also a good sum of money, when I married her; but the estate she settled on me before her marriage, to dispose of after her decease as I saw fit; and her money and goods are all come to my sole use, as her husband.—I was just ready to drop, while Mr G. gave this relation, and was not able to reply a word; but my master, though sufficiently shocked at what he had heard, replied, Sir, I am informed the estate, and also the money, you mention, was Mr Wilkins's father's at his death; and I am surprised to think any one should have a better title to them than my pupil, his only child.—Sir, says Mr G, you are deceived; and though what you say seems plausible enough, and is in some part true, as that the late Mr Wilkins had such estate, and some hundreds, I may say thousands, at his death; yet you seem ignorant that he made a deed, just before entering into the fatal rebellion, by which he gave my late wife both the estate, money, and every thing else he had, absolutely, without any conditions whatsoever: all which, on his unhappy execution, she enjoyed; and now of right, as I told you before, belongs to me: however, as I have no child, if Peter behaves well under your direction, I have thoughts of

paying another year's board for him, and then he must shift for himself.—Oh! cried I, for the mercy of some savage beast to devour me! Is this what I have been cocker'd up for! Why was I not placed out to some laborious craft, where I might have drudged for bread in my proper station! But, I fear, it is too late to inquire into what is past, and must submit.

My master, good man! was thunderstruck at what he had heard; and finding our business done there, we took our leaves; after Mr G. had again repeated, that if I behaved well, my preceptor should keep me another year, which was all I must expect from him; and, at my departure, he gave me a crown piece, which I then durst not refuse, for fear of offending my master.

We made the best of our way home again to my tutor's, where I stayed but a week to consider what I should do for myself. In this time he did all he could to comfort me; telling me, if I would stay with him, and become his usher, he would complete my learning for nothing, and allow me a salary for my trouble. But my heart was too lofty to think of becoming an usher, within so little way from mine own estate in other hands. However, since I had not a penny of money to endeavour at recovering my right with, I told my master I would consider of his proposal.

During my stay with him, he used all methods to make me as easy as possible; and frequently moralized with so much effect, that I was almost convinced I ought to submit, and be content. Amongst the rest of his discourse, he endeavoured to show me, (one day, after I had been loudly condemning my cruel fortune, and saying I was born to be unhappy) that I was mistaken, if I thought or imagined, it was chance or accident that had been against me, when I complained of fortune; For, says he, Peter, there is nothing done below, but is at least fore-known, if not decreed, above; and our business in life is to believe so: not that I would have such belief make us careless, and think it to no purpose to strive, as some do; who, being persuaded that our actions are not in our own choice, but that, being pressed by an irresistible decree, we are forced to act this or that, fancy we must be necessarily happy or miserable hereafter; or, as others, who, for fear of falling upon that shocking principle, would even deprive the Almighty of fore-knowledge, lest it should consequentially amount to a decree: For, say they, what is fore-known, will, and must be. But I would have you act so, as that, let either of these tenets be true, you may still be sure of making yourself easy and happy; and for that purpose let me recommend to you an uniform life of justice and piety; always chusing the good rather than the bad side of every action: for this, say they what they will to the contrary, is not above the power of a reasonable being to practise: and doing so, you may without scruple say,—If there is fore-knowledge of my actions, or they are decreed, I then am one who is fore-known or decreed to be happy. And this, without farther speculation, you will find the only means always to keep you so; for all men, of all denominations, fully allow this happy effect to follow good actions. Again, Peter, a person acting in a vicious course, with such an opinion in his head as above, must surely be very miserable, as his very actions themselves must pronounce the decree against him: whilst, therefore, we have not heard the decree read, you see we may easily give sentence whether it be for good or evil to us, by the tenor and course of our own actions.

You are not now to learn, Peter, that the crimes of the father are often punished in the children, often in the father himself, sometimes in both, and not seldom in neither, in this life; and though, at first, one should think the future punishment, annexed to bad actions, was sufficient, still it is necessary some should suffer here also for an example to others; we being much more affected with what the eye sees, than what the heart only meditates upon.

Now, to bring it to our own case; your father, Peter, rose against the lawful magistrate, to deprive him (it matters not that he was a bad one) of his lawful power. Your father's policy was such, and his design so well laid, as he thought, that, upon any ill success to himself, he had secured his estate to go in the way of all others he could wish to have it, and sits down very well contented, that, happen what would, he should bite the government, in preventing the forfeiture. But, lo! his policy is as a wall of sand blown down with a puff! for it is to you it ought, even himself being umpire, to have come, as no one would think he could prize any before you, his own child. Now, could he look from the grave, and know what passes here, and see Mr G. in possession of all he fancied he had secured for you, what a weak and short-sighted creature would he find himself! If it be said, he did not know he should have a child, then herein appears God's policy beyond man's; for he knew it, and has so ordered, that that child should be disinherited; for, by the way, Peter, take this for a maxim, wherever the first principle of an action is ill, no good consequence can possibly ever be an attendant on it. Could he, as I said before, but look up and see you, his only child, undone by the very instrument he designed for your security, how pungent would be his anxiety!

I say, Peter, though there is something so unaccountable to human wisdom, in such events of things, yet there is something therein so reasonable and just withal, that by a prying eye, the Supreme Hand may very visibly be seen in them. Now, this being plainly the case before us, and herein the glory of the Almighty exalted, rest content under it, and let not this disappointment, befallen you for your father's faults, be attended with others sent down for your own; but remember this, the Hand that depresses a man, is no less able to exalt and establish him.

## CHAP. IV.

*Departs secretly from his Master—Travels to Bristol—Religious Thoughts by the Way—Enters on Shipboard, and is made Captain's Steward.*

I SEEMED to be very well satisfied whilst my master was speaking; but though I thought he talked like an angel, my former uneasiness seized me at parting with him. In short, without more consideration, I rose in the morning early, and marched off, having first wrote to my wife, at her aunt's, relating the state of the case to her, with my resolution to leave England the first opportunity, giving her what comfort I could, assuring her, if I ever was a gainer in life, she should not fail to be a partaker, and promising also to let her know where I settled. I walked at a great rate, for fear my master's kindness should prompt him to send after me; and taking the bye-ways, I reached by dark-night a little village, where I resolved to halt. Upon inquiry I found myself thirty-five miles from my master's. I had eaten nothing all day, and was very hungry and weary, but my crown-piece was as yet whole; however I fed very sparingly, being over-pressed with the distress of my affairs, and the confusion of my thoughts. I slept that night tolerably; but the morning brought its face of horror with it. I had inquired over night where I was, and been informed that I was not above sixteen miles from Bristol, for which place I then resolved.

At my setting out in the morning, after I had walked about three miles, and had recollected a little my master's last discourse, I found by degrees my spirit grew calmer than it had been since I left Mr G. at my house, (as I shall ever call it) and looking into myself for the cause, found another set of thoughts were preparing a passage into my mind, which did not carry half the dread and terror with them that their predecessors had; for I began to cast aside the difficulties and apprehensions I before felt in my way, and encouraging the present motions, soon became sensible of the benefit of a virtuous education; and though what I had hitherto done in the immediate service of God, I must own, had been performed from force, custom, and habit, and without the least attention to the object of the duty; yet, as under my mother at home, and my master at the academy, I had been always used to say my prayers, as they called it, morning and night; I began, with a sort of superstitious reflection, to accuse myself of having omitted that duty the night before, and also, at my setting out in the morning, and very much to blame myself for it, and, at the same instant, even wondered at myself for that blame. What, says I, is the real use of this praying; and to whom or to what do we pray? I see no one to pray to; neither have I ever thought that my prayers would be answered. It is true, they are worded as if we prayed to God: but he is in Heaven; does he concern himself with us, who can do him no service? Can I think all my prayers that I have said, from day to day, so many years, have been heard by him? No, sure; if they had, I should scarce have sustained this hard fate in my fortune. But hold, how have I prayed to him? Have I earnestly prayed to him, as I used to petition my mother for any thing when I wanted it against her inclination? No, I cann't say I have. And would my mother have granted me such things, if she had not thought I had from my heart desired them, when I used to be so earnest with her? No, surely; I can't say she had any reason for it. But I had her, indeed, before me; now I have not God in my view, he is in Heaven: yet, let me see, my master (and I can't help thinking he must know) used to say, that God is a spirit, and not confined by the incumbrance of a body, as we are; now, if it is so, why may he not virtually be present with me, though I don't perceive him? Why may he not be at once in Heaven and elsewhere? For, if he consists not in parts, nothing can circumscribe him: and, truly, I believe it must be so; for if he is of that supreme power as he is represented, he could never act in so unconfined a capacity, under the restraint of place; but if he is an operative and purely spiritual Being, then I can see no reason why his virtual essence should not be diffused through all nature; and then, (which I begin to think most likely) why should I not suppose him ever present with me, and able to hear me? And why should not I, when I pray, have a full idea of the being, though not of any corporeal parts or form of God, and so have actually somewhat to be intent upon in my prayers? and not do as I have hitherto done, say so many words only upon my knees; which, I cannot help

thinking may be as well without either sense or meaning in themselves, as without a proper object in my mind to direct them unto.

These thoughts agitated me at least two miles, working stronger and stronger in me; till at length, bursting into tears, Have I been doing nothing, says I, in the sight of God, under the name of prayers, for so many years? Yes, it is certainly so. Well, by the grace of God, it shall be so no longer; I will try somewhat more. So looking round about me, to see if I was quite alone, I stept into an adjoining copse, and could scarce refrain falling on my knees, till I came to a proper place for kneeling in. I then poured forth my whole soul and spirit to God; and all my strength, and every member, every faculty, was to the utmost employed, for a considerable time, in the most agreeable as well as useful duty. I would, indeed, have began with my accustomed prayers and had repeated some words of them; when, as though against and contrary to my design, I was carried away by such rapturous effusions, that, to this hour, when I reflect thereon, I cannot believe but I was moved to them by a much more than human impulse. However, this ecstasy did not last above a quarter of an hour; but it was considerably longer before my spirits subsided to their usual frame. When I had a little composed myself, how was I altered; how did I condemn myself for all my past disquiet! what calm thanks did I return for the ease and satisfaction of mind I then enjoyed! And coming to a small rivulet, I drank a hearty draught of water, and contentedly proceeded on my journey. I reached Bristol about four o'clock in the afternoon. Having refreshed myself, I went the same evening to the Kay, to inquire what ships were in the river, whither bound, and when they would depart. My business was with the sailors, of whom there were at that time great numbers there; but I could meet with no employ, though I gave out I would gladly enter myself before the mast: after I had done the best I could, but without success, I returned to the little house I had dined at, and went to bed very pensive. I did not forget my prayers; but I could by no means be roused to such devotion as I felt in the morning. Next day I walked again to the Kay, asking all I met, who looked like seafaring men, for employment; but could hear of none, there being many waiting for births; and I feared my appearance (which was not so mean as most of that sort of gentry is) would prove no small disappointment to my preferment that way. At last, being out of heart with my frequent repulses, I went to a landing-place just by, and as I asked some sailors, who were putting two gentlemen on shore, if they wanted a hand on board their ship, one of the gentlemen, whom I afterwards found to be the master of a vessel bound to the coast of Africa, turned back, and looking earnestly on me, Young man, says he, do you want employment on board? I immediately made him a bow, and answered, Yes, sir. Said he, There is no talking in this weather, (for it then blew almost a storm) but step into that tavern, pointing to the place, and I will be with you presently.—I went thither, and not long after came my future master. He asked me many questions, but the first was, whether I had been at sea. I told him no; but I did not doubt soon to learn the duty of a sailor. He then looked on my hand, and shaking his head, told me it would not do, for I had too soft a hand. I told him I was determined for the sea, and that my hand and heart should go together; and I hoped my hand would soon harden, though not my heart. He then told me, it was a pity to take such a pretty young fellow before the mast; but if I understood accounts tolerably, and could write a good hand, he would make me his steward, and make it worth my while. I answered in the affirmative, joyfully accepting his offer; but on his asking me where my chest was, (For, says he, if the wind had not been so strong against me, I had fallen down the river this morning.) I looked very blank, and plainly told him I had no other stores than I carried on my back. The captain smiled. Says he, Young man, I see you are a novice; why, the meanest sailor in my ship has a chest, at least, and perhaps something in it: come, says he, my lad, I like your looks; be diligent and honest, I will let you have a little money to set you out, and deduct it in your pay. He was then pulling out his purse, when I begged him, as he seemed to show me so great a kindness, that he would order somebody to buy what necessaries he knew I should want for me, or I should be under as great a difficulty to know what to get, and where to buy them, as I should have been at for want of them. He commended my prudence, and said he would buy them, and send them on board himself; so bid me trouble myself no more about them, but go to the ship, in the return of his boat, and stay there till he came; giving me a ticket to the boat's crew to take me in. When I came to the shore, the boat was gone off, and at a good distance; but I hailed them, and showing my ticket, they put back, and took me safe to the ship; heartily glad that I was entered upon my new service.

## CHAP. V.

*His first Entertainment on Board—Sets sail—His Sickness—Engagement with a French Privateer—Is taken and laid in Irons—Twenty-one Prisoners turned Adrift in a small Boat with only two Days Provision.*

BEING once on board, and in pay, I thought I was a man for myself, and set about considering how to behave; and nobody knowing, as yet, upon what footing I came on board, they took me for a passenger, as my dress did not at all bespeak me a sailor; so every one, as I sauntered about, had something to say to me. By and by comes a pert young fellow up; Sir, says he, your servant; what, I see, our captain has picked up a passenger at last—Passenger? says I; you are pleased to be merry, sir, I am no passenger.—Why, pray, says he, what may you be then?—Sir, says I, the captain's steward.—You impertinent puppy, says he, what an answer you give me; you the captain's steward! No, sir, that place, I can assure you, is in better hands! and away he turned.—I knew not what to think of it, but was terribly afraid I should draw myself into some scrape. By and by, others asked me, some one thing, some another, and I was very cautious what answers I made them, for fear of offence: till a gavish sailor came and sat down by me; and, after talking of the weather, and other indifferent matters, Pray, says I, sir, who is that gentleman that was so affronted at me even after I came on board?—Oh, says he, a proud insignificant fellow, the captain's steward; but don't mind him, says he, he uses the captain himself as bad; they have had high words just before the captain went on shore; and had he used me as he did him, I should have made no ceremony of tipping him over-board; a rascal!—Says I, you surprise me; for the captain sent me on board to be his steward, and agreed with me about it this afternoon.—Hush, says he, I see how it will go; the captain, if that's the case, will discharge him when he comes on board; and, indeed, I believe he would not have kept him so long, but we have waited for a wind, and he could not provide himself.—The captain came on board at night; and the first thing he did was, to demand the keys of Mr Steward, which he gave to me, and ordered him on shore.

The next morning the captain went on shore himself; but the wind chopping about, and standing fair about noon, he returned then with my chest, and before night we were got into sailing order, and before the wind, with a brisk gale. What happened the first fourteen days of our passage I know not, having been all that time so sick and weak, I could scarcely keep life and soul together; but after grew better and better. We prosecuted our voyage, touching, for about a week, at the Madeiras in our way. The captain grew very fond of me, and never put me to hard duty, and I passed my time, under his favour, very pleasantly. One evening, being within sixty leagues of the Cape of Palmes, calm weather, but the little wind we had against us, one of our men spied a sail, and gave the captain notice of it. He, not suspecting danger, minded it little; and we made what way the wind would permit: but, night coming on, and the calm continuing, about peep of day we perceived we were infallibly fallen in with a French privateer; who, hoisting French colours, called out to us to strike. Our captain had scarce time to consider what to do, they were so near us; but as he had twenty-two men on board, and eight guns he could bring to, he called all hands upon deck, and telling them the consequence of a surrender, asked them if they would stand by him. One and all swore they would fight the ship to the bottom, rather than fall into the privateer's hands. The captain immediately gave the word for a clear deck, prepared his fire-arms, and begged them to be active, and obey orders; and perceiving the privateer out-numbered our hands by abundance, he commanded all the small arms to be brought upon deck loaded, and to run out as many of the ship's guns as she could bring to on one side; and to charge them all with small shot, then stand to till he gave directions.—The privateer being a light ship, and a small breeze arising, run up close to us; first firing one gun, then another, still calling out to us to strike; but we neither returned fire nor answer, till he came almost within pi-tol-shot of us, and seeing us a small vessel, thought to board us directly; but then our captain ordered a broadside, and immediately all hands to come on deck; himself standing there at the time of our first fire with his fusee in his hand, and near him I stood with another. We killed eight men and wounded several others. The privateer then fired a broadside through and through us. By this time our hands were all on deck, and the privateer pushing in hopes to grapple and board us, we gave them a volley from thence, that did good execution; and then all hands to the ship's guns again, except four, who were left along with me to charge the small arms. It is incredible how soon they had fired the great guns, and were on deck again. This last fire, being with ball, raked the privateer miserably. Then we fired the small arms, and away to the ship's guns. This we did

three times successively without loss of a man, and I believe if we could have held it once more, and no assistance had come to the privateer, she had sheered quite off: but our captain spying a sail at some distance behind the privateer, who lay to windward of us, and seeing by his glass it was a Frenchman, was almost dismayed; the same sight put courage into our enemies, who thereupon redoubled the attack, and the first volley of their small arms shot our captain in the breast, upon which he dropped dead without stirring. I need not say, that sight shocked me exceedingly. Indeed, it disconcerted the whole action; and though our mate, a man of good courage and experience, did all that a brave man could do to animate the men, they apparently drooped, and the loss of the ship became inevitable; so we struck, and the Frenchman boarded us.

During the latter part of the engagement, we had two men killed, and five wounded, who died afterwards of their wounds. We, who were alive, were all ordered on board the Frenchman; who, after rifling us, chained us two and two, and turned us into the hold. Our vessel was then ransacked; and the other privateer, who had suffered much the day before, in an engagement with an English twenty-gun ship of war, coming up, the prize was sent by her into port, where she her-self was to refit. In this condition did I, and fourteen of our crew, lie for six weeks; till the fetters on our legs had almost eaten to the bone, and the stench of the place had well nigh suffocated us.

The Glorieux (for that was the name of the privateer who took us) saw nothing farther in five weeks worth her notice, which very much discouraged the men; and, consulting together, it was agreed to cruize more northward, between Sierra Leon and Cape de Verde: but, about noon, next day, they spied a sail, coming west-north-west, with a fresh gale. The captain thereupon ordered all to be ready, and lie by for her. But, though she discerned us, she kept her way, bearing only more southward; when the wind shifting to north-east, she ran for it, full before the wind, and we after her with all the sail we could crowd; and though she was a very good sailer, we gained upon her, being laden, and before night came pretty well up with her; but, being a large ship, and the evening hazy, we did not chuse to engage her till morning. The next morning we found she was slunk away; but we fetched her up, and, hoisting French colours, fired a shot, which she not answering, our captain run along-side of her, and fired a broadside; then slackening upon her, a hard engagement ensued; the shot thumping so against our ship, that we prisoners, who had nothing to do in the action, expected death, one or other of us, every moment. The merchantman was so heavy loaded, and drew so much water, that she was very unwieldy in action; so after a fight of two hours, when most of her rigging and masts were cut and wounded, she struck. Twelve men were sent on board her, and her captain and several officers were ordered on board us.

There were thirty-eight persons in her, including passengers; all of whom, except five, and the like number which had been killed in the action, were sent chained into the hold to us, who had lain there almost six weeks. This prize put Monsieur into good heart, and determined him to return home with her. But in two days time, his new acquisition was found to have leaked so fast near the bottom, that before they were aware of it, the water was risen some feet. Several hands were employed to find out the leak; but all asserted it was too low to be come at: and as the pumps, with all the labour the prisoners, who were the persons put to it, could use, would not reduce it, but it still increased, they removed what goods they could into the privateer; and before they could unload it, the prize sunk.

The next thing they consulted upon, was what to do with the prisoners, who, by the loss of the prize, were now grown too numerous to be trusted in the privateer; fearing, too, as they were now so far out at sea, by the great addition of mouths, they might soon be brought to short allowance; it was, on both accounts, resolved to give us the prize boat, which they had saved, and turn us adrift to shift for ourselves. There were in all forty-three of us; but the privateer having lost several of their own men in the two engagements, they looked us over, and picking out two-and-twenty of us, who were the most likely fellows for their purpose, the remaining one-and-twenty were committed to the boat, with about two days provision and a small matter of ammunition, and turned us

## CHAP. VI.

*The Boat, Two Hundred Leagues from Land, makes no Way, but drives more to Sea by the Wind—The People live Nine Days on a quarter Allowance—Four die with Hunger the twelfth Day—Five more the fourteenth Day—On the fifteenth they eat one just dead—Want of Water excessive—Spy Sail—Are taken up—Work their Passage to the African Shore—Are sent on a new*

*Expedition—Are way-laid, taken Slaves, and sent up the Country.*

When we, who were in the boat, came to reflect on our condition, the prospect before us appeared very melancholy; though we had at first readily enough embraced the offer, rather than perish in so much misery as we suffered in our loathsome confinement. We now judged we were above two hundred leagues from land, in about eight degrees north latitude; and it blowing north-east, a pretty stiff gale, we could make no way, but rather lost, for we aimed at some port in Africa, having neither sail, compass, nor any other instrument to direct us; so that all the observation we could make was by the sun for running southward, or as the wind carried us, for we had lost the north-pole. As we had little above two days provisions, we perceived a necessity of almost starving voluntarily, to avoid doing it quite; seeing it must be many days before we could reach shore, if ever we did, having visibly driven a great deal more southward than we were; nay, unless a sudden change happened, we were sure of perishing, unless delivered by some ship that Providence might send in our way. In short, the ninth day came, but no relief with it; and though we had lived at quarter allowance, and but just saved life, our food, except a little water, was all gone, and this caused us quite to de-pair. On the twelfth day four of our company died with hunger, in a very miserable way; and yet the survivors had not strength left to move them to pity their fellows. In truth, we had sat still, attempting nothing in several days; as we found that, unless the wind shifted, we only consumed the little strength we had left to no manner of purpose. On the fourteenth day, and in the night, five more died, and a sixth was near expiring; and yet we, the survivors, were so indolent, we would scarce lend a hand to throw them overboard. On the fifteenth day, in the morning, our carpenter, weak as he was, started up, and as the sixth man was just dead, cut his throat, and, whilst warm, would let out what blood would flow; then, pulling off his old jacket, invited us to dinner, and cutting a large slice off the corpse, devoured it with as much seeming relish as if it had been ox-beef. His example prevailed with the rest of us, one after another, to taste and eat; and as there had been a heavy dew or rain in the night, and we had spread out every thing we had of linen and woollen to receive it, we were a little refreshed by wringing our clothes, and sipping what came from them; after which we covered them up from the sun, stowing them all close together to keep in the moisture, which served us to suck at for two days after, a little and a little at a time; for now we were in greater distress for water than for meat. It has surprised me, many times since, to think how we could make so light a thing of eating our fellow-creature just dead before our eyes; but I will assure you, when we had once tasted, we looked on the blessing to be so great, that we cut and eat with as little remorse as we should have had for feeding on the best meat in an English market: and most certainly, when this corpse had failed, if another had not dropped by fair means, we should have used foul, by murdering one of our number as a supply for the rest.

Water, as I said before, to moi-ten our mouths, was now our greatest hardship, for every man had so often drank his own, that we voided scarce any thing but blood, and that but a few drops at a time; our mouths and tongues were quite flayed with drought, and our teeth just falling from our jaws; for, though we had tried, by placing all the dead men's jackets and shirts one over another, to strain some of the sea-water through them by small quantities, yet that would not deprive it of its pernicious qualities; and though it refreshed a little in going down, we were so sick, and strained ourselves so much after it, that it came up again, and made us more miserable than before. Our corpse now stunk so, what was left of it, that we could no longer bear it en board, and every man began to look with an evil eye on his fellow, to think whose turn it would be next; for the carpenter had started the question, and preached us into the necessity of it; and we had agreed, the next morning, to put it to the lot who should be the sacrifice. In this distress of thought, it was so ordered, by good Providence, that, on the twenty-first day, we thought we spied a sail coming from the north-west, which caused us to delay our lots, till we should see whether it would discover us or not: we hung up some jackets upon our oars, to be seen as far off as we could, but had so little strength left we could make no way towards it; however, it happened to direct its course so much to our relief, that, an hour before sun-set, it was within a league of us, but seemed to bear away more eastward, and our fear was, that they should not know our distress, for we were not able to make any noise from our throats that might be heard fifty yards; but the carpenter, who was still the best man amongst us, with much ado, getting one of the guns to go off, in less than half an hour she came up with us, and, seeing our deplorable condition, took us all on board, to the number of eleven. Though no methods were unessayed for our recovery, four more of us died in as many days. When the

remaining seven of us came a little to ourselves, we found our deliverers were Portuguese, bound for Saint Salvadore. We told the captain, we begged he would let us work our passage with him, be it where it would, to shore; and then, if we could be of no farther service to him, we did not doubt getting into Europe again: but, in the voyage, as we did him all the service in our power, we pleased him so well, that he engaged us to stay with him, to work the ship home again, he having lost some hands by fevers soon after his setting sail.

We arrived safe in port; and, in a few days, the captain, who had a secret enterprize to take in hand, hired a country coasting vessel, and sent her seventeen leagues farther on the coast for orders from some factory or settlement there. I was one of the nine men who were destined to conduct her; but, not understanding Portuguese, I knew little of the business we went upon. We were to coast it all the way; but, on the tenth day, just at sun-rise, we fell in with a fleet of boats, which had way-laid us, and were taken prisoners. Being carried ashore, we were conducted a long way up the country, where we were imprisoned, and almost starved; though I never knew the meaning of it; nor did any of us, unless the mate, who, we heard, was carried up the country, much farther, to Angola; but we never heard more of him, though we were told he would be sent back to us.

Here we remained under confinement almost three months, at the end of which time our keeper told us we were to be removed; and coupling us two and two together, sent a guard with us to Angola; when crossing a large river, we were set to work in removing the rubbish and stones of a castle, or fortress, which had been lately demolished by an earthquake and lightning. Here we continued about five months, being very sparingly dieted, and locked up every night.

This place, however, I thought a paradise to our former dungeon; and, as we were not over-worked, we made our lives comfortable enough, having the air all day to refresh us from the heat, and not wanting for company; for there were, at least, three hundred of us about the whole work; and I often fancied myself at the tower of Babel, each labourer, almost, speaking in a language of his own.

Towards the latter end of our work, our keepers grew more and more remiss in their care of us. At my first coming thither, I had contracted a familiarity with one of the natives, but of a different kingdom, who was then a slave with me; and he and I being able tolerably to understand each other, he hinted to me, one day, the desire he had of seeing his own country and family; who neither knew whether he was dead or alive, or where he was, since he had left them, seven years before, to make war in this kingdom; and insinuated, that as he had taken a great liking to me, if I would endeavour to escape with him, and we succeeded, he would provide for me; For, says he, you see, now our work is almost over, we are but slightly guarded; and if we stay till this job is once finished, we may be commanded to some new works, at the other end of the kingdom, for aught we know, so that our labours will only cease with our lives: and, for my part, immediate death, in the attempt of liberty, is to me preferable to a lingering life of slavery.

These, and such like arguments, prevailed on me to accompany him, as he had told me he had travelled most of the country before, in the wars of the different nations; so, having taken our resolution, the following evening, soon after our day's work, and before the time came for locking up, we withdrew from the rest, but within hearing; thinking, if we should then be missed, and called, we would appear and make some excuse for our absence, but if not, we should have the whole night before us.

When we were first put upon this work, we were called over singly, by name, morning and evening, to be let out and in, and were very narrowly observed in our motions; but not one of us having been ever absent, our actions were at length much less minded than before, and the ceremony of calling us over was frequently omitted; so that we concluded, if we got away unobserved the first night, we should be out of the reach of pursuers by the next; which was the soonest it was possible for them to overtake us, as we proposed to travel the first part of our journey with the utmost dispatch.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Author escapes with Glanlipze, a Native—Their hardships in Travel—Plunder of a Cottage—His Fears—Adventure with a Crocodile—Passage of a River—Adventure with a Lioness and Whelps—Arrive at Glanlipze's House—The Trial of Glanlipze's Wife's Constancy—The tender Meeting of her and her Husband—The Author's Reflections thereupon.*

HAVING now set out with all possible speed, we seemed to each other as joyful as we could; though it cannot be supposed we had no fears in our minds, the first part of our journey, for we had many; but as our way advanced our fears subsided; and having, with scarce any delay, pushed forwards for

the first twenty-four hours, nature then began to have two very pressing demands upon us, food and rest; but as one of them was absolutely out of our power to comply with, she contented herself with the other, till we should be better able to supply her, and gave a farther time till the next day.

The next morning found us very empty, and sharp set, though a very sound night's rest had contributed its utmost to refresh us. But what added much to our discomfort was, that though our whole subsistence must come from fruits, there was not a tree to be found at a less distance than twelve leagues, in the open rocky country we were then in; but a good draught of excellent water we met with, did us extraordinary service, and sent us with much better courage to the woods, though they were quite out of the way of our rout: there, by divers kinds of fruits, which, though my companion knew very well, I was quite a stranger to, we satisfied our hunger for the present, and took a moderate supply for another opportunity. This retarded our journey very much, for in so hard travel every pound weighed six before night.

I cannot say this journey, though bad enough, would have been so discouraging, but for the trouble of fetching our provisions so far; and then, if we meant not to lose half the next day in the same manner, we must double load ourselves, and delay our progress by that means; but we still went on, and in about eight days got quite clear of Angola.

On the eighth day, my companion, whose name was Glanlipze, told me we were very near the confines of Congo, but there was one little village still in Angola, by which we must pass, within half a league; and, if I would agree to it, he would go see what might be got here to supply ourselves with. I told him I was in an unknown world, and would follow wherever he should lead me; but asked him if he was not afraid of the people, as he was not of that country. He told me, as there had been wars between them and his country for assisting their neighbours of Congo, he was not concerned for any mischief he should do them, or they him. But, says he, you have a knife in your pocket, and with that we will cut two stout clubs, and then follow me, and fear nothing.

We soon cut our clubs, and marching on, in the midst of some small shrubs, and a few scattering trees, we saw a little hovel, larger, indeed, but worse contrived, than an English hog-stye, to which we boldly advanced; and Glanlipze entering first, saluted an old man, who was lying on a parcel of rushes. The man attempted to run away, but Glanlipze stopped him, and we tied his hands and feet. He then set up such a hideous howl, that, had not Glanlipze threatened to murder him, and prepared to do it, he would have raised the whole village upon us: but we quieted him; and rummaging to find provision, which was all we wanted, we, by good luck, spied best part of a goat hanging up behind a large mat at the farther end of the room. By this time in comes a woman with two children, very small. This was the old man's daughter, of about five-and-twenty. Glanlipze bound her also, and laid her by the old man; but the two children we suffered to lie untied. We then examined her; who told us the old man was her father, and that her husband, having killed a goat that morning, was gone to carry part of it to his sister; that they had little or no corn; and finding we wanted victuals, she told us there was an earthen pot we might boil some of the goat in if we pleased.

Having now seen all that was to be had, we were going to make up our bundle; when a muletto, very gently, put his head into the door-way: him Glanlipze immediately seized; and, bidding me fetch the great mat and the goat's flesh, he, in the mean time, put a long rope he found there about the beast's neck, and laying the mat upon him, we packed up the goat's flesh, and a little corn, in a calabash-shell; and then, turning up the mat round about, skewered it together, and over all we tied the earthen pot; Glanlipze crying out, at every thing we loaded, It is no hurt to plunder an enemy! and so we marched off.

I own, I had greater apprehensions from this adventure than from any thing before: For, says I, if the woman's husband returns soon, or if she or her father can release themselves, they will raise the whole village upon us, and we are undone. But Glanlipze laughed at me; saying, we had not an hour's walk out of the Angola dominions, and that the king of Congo was at war with them, in helping the king of Loango, whose subject himself was; and that the Angolans durst not be seen out of their bounds on that side the kingdom; for there was a much larger village of Congovians in our way, who would certainly rise and destroy them, if they came in any numbers amongst them; and though, the war being carried on near the sea, the borders were quiet, yet, upon the least stir, the whole country would be in arms, whilst we might retire through the woods very safely.

Well, we marched on, as fast as we could, all the remainder of that day, till moon-light, close by the skirt of a long wood, that we might take shelter therein, if there should be occasion; and my eyes were the best part of the way behind me: but neither hearing nor

seeing any thing to annoy us, and finding by the declivity of the ground we should soon be in some plain or bottom, and have a chance of water for us all, and pasture for our muletto, which was now become one of us, we would not halt till we found a bottom to the hill; which in half an hour more we came to, and in some minutes after to a rivulet of fine clear water, where we resolved to spend the night. Here we fastened our muletto by his cord to a stake in the ground; but perceiving him not to have sufficient range to fill his belly in before morning, we, under Glanlipze's direction, cut several long slips from the mat, and soaking them well in water, twisted them into a very strong cord, of sufficient length for the purpose. And now, having each of us brought a bundle of dry fallen sticks from the wood with us, and gathered two or three flints as we came along, we struck fire on my knife upon some rotten wood, and boiled a good piece of our goat's flesh; and having made such a meal as we had neither of us made for many months before, we laid us down and slept heartily till morning.

As soon as day broke we packed up our goods; and, filling our calabash with water, we loaded our muletto, and got forward very pleasantly that day and several others following, and had tolerable lodgings.

About noon, one day, travelling with great glee, we met an adventure which very much daunted me, and had almost put a stop to my hopes of ever getting where I intended. We came to a great river, whose name I have now forgot, near a league over, but full, and especially about the shores, of large trees that had fallen from the mountains, and been rolled down with the floods, and lodged there in a shocking manner. This river, Glanlipze told me, we must pass: for my part I shrunk at the sight of it, and told him, if he could get over, I would not desire to prevent his meeting with his family; but, as for my share, I had rather take my chance in the woods on this side, than plunge myself into such a stream only for the sake of drowning.—Oh! says Glanlipze, then you can't swim?—No, says I, there's my misfortune.—Well, says the kind Glanlipze, be of good heart, I'll have you over.—He then bade me go cut an armful of the tallest of the reeds that grew there near the shore, whilst he pulled up another where he then was, and bring them to him. The side of the river sloped for a good way with an easy descent, so that it was very shallow where the reeds grew, and they stood very close together upon a large compass of ground. I had no sooner entered the reeds a few yards, to cut some of the longest, but (being about knee-deep in the water and mud, and every step raising my feet very high to keep them clear of the roots, which were matted together) I thought I had trod upon a trunk of one of the trees, of which, as I said, there was such plenty thereabouts; and, raising my other foot to get that also upon the tree, as I fancied it, I found it move along with me: upon which I roared out, when Glanlipze, who was not far from me, imagining what was the matter, cried out, Leap off, and run to shore to the right!—I knew not yet what was the case, but did as I was bid, and gained the shore. Looking back, I perceived the reeds shake and rustle all the way to the shore, by degrees, after me. I was terribly frightened, and ran to Glanlipze, who then told me the danger I had escaped, and that what I took for a tree was certainly a large alligator or crocodile.

My blood ran chill within me, at hearing the name of such a dangerous creature; but he had no sooner told me what it was, than out came the most hideous monster I had ever seen. Glanlipze ran to secure the muletto; and then, taking the cord which had fastened him, and tying it to each end of a broken arm of a tree that lay on the shore, he marched up to the crocodile without the least dismay, and beginning near the tail, with one leg on one side, and the other on the other side, he straddled over him, still mending his pace as the beast crept forward, till he came to his fore feet; then throwing the great log before his mouth, he, by the cord in his hand, bobbed it against the creature's nose, till he gaped wide enough to have taken in the muletto; then of a sudden, jerking the wood between his jaws with all his force by the cord, he gagged the beast, with his jaws wide open up to his throat, so that he could neither make use of his teeth, nor shut his mouth; he then threw one end of the cord upon the ground, just before the creature's under-jaw, which, as he by degrees crept along over it, came out behind his fore-legs on the contrary side; and serving the other end of it in the same manner, he took up those ends and tied them over the creature's back, just within his fore-legs, which kept the gag firm in his mouth; and then calling out to me, (for I stood at a good distance) Peter, says he, bring me your knife! I trembled at going so near; for the crocodile was turning his head this way and that very uneasy, and wanting to get to the river again; but yet I carried it, keeping as much behind him as I could, still eyeing him which way he moved, and at length tossed my knife so near that Glanlipze could reach it; and he, just keeping behind the beast's fore-feet, and leaning forward, first darted the knife into one eye, and then into the other; and in-

mediately leaping from his back, came running to me. So, Peter, says he, I have done the business.—Aye! business enough, I think, says I, and more than I would have done to have been king of Congo —Why, Peter, says he, there is nothing but a man may compass by resolution, if he takes both ends of a thing in his view at once, and fairly deliberates on both sides what may be given and taken from end to end. What you have seen me perform, is only from a thorough notion I have of this beast, and of myself, how far each of us hath power to act and counter-act upon the other, and duly applying the means.—But, says he, this talk will not carry us across the river—Come, here are the reeds I have pulled up, which, I believe, will be sufficient without any more, for I would not overload the muletto.—Why, says I, is the muletto to carry them?—No, they are to carry you, says he.—I can never ride upon these, says I.—Hush! says he, I'll not lose you, never fear. Come, cut me a good tough stick, the length of these reeds —Well, says I, this is all conjuration; but I don't see a step towards my getting over the river yet, unless I am to ride the muletto upon these reeds, and guide myself with the stick.—I must own, Peter, says he, you have a bright guess. So, taking an armful of the reeds, and laying them on the ground, Now, Peter, says he, lay that stick upon those reeds, and tie them tight at both ends. I did so. Now, Peter, says he, lay yourself down upon them. I then laying myself on my back, lengthwise, upon the reeds, Glanlipze laughed heartily at me, and turning me about, brought my breast upon the reeds at the height of my arm-pits; and then taking a handful of the reeds he had reserved by themselves, he laid them on my back, tying them to the bundle close at my shoulders, and again at the ends. Now, Peter, says he, stand up; which I did, but it was full as much as I could do. I then seeing Glanlipze laughing at the figure I cut, desired him to be serious, and not put me upon losing my life for a joke; for I could not think what he would do next with me. He bid me never fear; and, looking more soberly, ordered me to walk to the river, and so stand just within the bank till he came; then leading the muletto to me, he tied me to her, about a yard from the tail, and, taking the cord in his hand, led the muletto and me into the water. We had not gone far before my guide began to swim; then the muletto and I were presently chin-deep, and I expected nothing but drowning every moment: however, having gone so far, I was ashamed to cry out; when, getting out of my depth, and my reeds coming to their bearing, up I mounted, and was carried on with all the ease imaginable: my conductor guiding us between the trees so dexterously, that not one accident happened to either of us all the way, and we arrived safe on the opposite shore.

We had now got into a very low, close, swampy country, and our goat's flesh began to be very stale through the heat, not only of the sun, but the muletto's back; however, we pleased ourselves we should have one more meal of it before it was too bad to eat; so, having travelled about three miles from the river, we took up our lodging on a little rising, and tied our muletto in a valley about half a furlong below us, where he made as good a meal in his way as we did in ours.

We had but just supped, and were sauntering about to find the easiest spot to sleep on, when we heard a rustling and a grumbling noise in a small thicket just on our right; which seeming to approach nearer and nearer, Glanlipze rouzed himself, and was on his legs just time enough to see a lioness, and a small whelp which accompanied her, within thirty yards of us, making towards us, as we afterwards guessed, for the sake of our goat's flesh, which now smelt very strong. Glanlipze whipped on the contrary side of the fire to that where the goat's flesh lay, and fell to kicking the fire about at a great rate, which being made of dry wood, caused innumerable sparks to fly about us; but the beasts still approaching in a couchant manner, and seizing the ribs of the goat, and other bones, (for we had only cut the flesh off) and grumbling and cracking them like rotten twigs, Glanlipze snatched up a fire-brand, flaming, in each hand, and made towards them; which sight so terrified the creatures, that they fled with great precipitation to the thicket again.

Glanlipze was a little uneasy at the thoughts of quitting so good a lodging as we had found, but yet held it best to move farther; for as the lions had left the bones behind them, we must expect another visit if we staid there, and could hope for no rest; and, above all, we might possibly lose our muletto; so we removed our quarters two miles farther, where we slept with great tranquillity.

Reflections on the nature of mankind have often astonished me. I told you at first my thoughts concerning prayer, in my journey to Bristol, and of the benefit I received from it, and how fully I was convinced of the necessity of it; which one would think was a sufficient motive to a reasonable creature to be constant in it; and yet, it is too true that, notwithstanding the difficulties I had laboured under, and hardships I had undergone, and the danger of starving at sea or being murdered for food by my fellows, when there was as urgent a necessity of begging Divine assistance as can be conceived, I never once thought

of it, nor of the Object of it, nor returned thanks for my being delivered, till the lioness had just left me; and then I felt near the same force, urging me to return thanks for my escape, as I had impelling me to prayer before; and I think I did so with great sincerity.

I shall not trouble you with a relation of the common accidents of our journey, which lasted two months and better, nor with the different methods we used to get subsistence; but shall at once conduct you to Quamis; only mentioning that we were sometimes obliged to go about, and were once stopped by a cut that my guide and companion received by a ragged stone in his foot, which growing very bad almost deprived me of the hopes of his life; but, by rest and constant sucking and licking it, which was the only remedy we had to apply, except green leaves chewed, that I laid to it by his direction, to supple and cool it, he soon began to be able to ride upon the mulctto, and sometimes to walk a little.

I say, we arrived at Quamis, a small place on a river of that name, where Glanlipze had a neat dwelling, and left a wife and five children when he went out to the wars. We were very near the town when the day closed; and, as it is soon dark there after sun-set, you could but just see your hand at our entrance into it. We met nobody in the way, but I went directly to Glanlipze's door, by his direction, and struck two or three strokes hard against it with my stick. On this there came a woman to it stark-naked. I asked her, in her own language, if she knew one Glanlipze. She told me, with a deep sigh, that once she did. I asked then, where he was. She said, with their ancestors, she hoped, for he was the greatest warrior in the world; but, if he was not dead, he was in slavery. Now, you must know, Glanlipze had a mind to hear how his wife took his death, or slavery, and had put me upon asking these questions before he discovered himself. I proceeded then to tell her, I brought some news of Glanlipze, and was lately come from him, and by his order.—And does my dear Glanlipze live! says she, flying upon my neck, and almost smothering me with caresses, till I begged her to forbear, or she would strangle me, and I had a great deal more to tell her; then ringing for a light, when she saw I was a white man, she seemed in the utmost confusion at her own nakedness; and, immediately retiring, she threw a cloth round her waist, and came to me again. I then repeated to her, that her husband was alive and well, but wanted a ransom to redeem himself, and had sent me to see what she could any ways raise for that purpose. She told me, she and her children had lived very hardly ever since he went from her, and she had nothing to sell, or make money of, but her five children; that, as this was the time for the slaving-trade, she would see what she could raise by them, and if that would not do, she would sell herself and send him the money, if he would let her know how to do it.

Glanlipze, who heard every word that passed, finding so strong a proof of his wife's affection, could hold out no longer; but, bursting into the room, clasped her in his arms, crying, No, Zulika! (for that was her name) I am free; there will be no occasion for your or my dear children's slavery, and rather than have purchased my freedom at that rate, I would willingly have died a slave myself. But my own ears have heard the tender sentiments my Zulika has for me.—Then, drowned in tears of joy, they embraced each other so close, and so long, that I thought it impertinent to be seen with them, till their first transports were over. So I retired without the house, till Glanlipze called me in, which was not in less than full half an hour. I admired at the love and constancy of the persons I had just left behind me; and, Good Heaven, thinks I to myself, with a sigh, how happy has this our escape rendered Glanlipze and his wife! what a mutual felicity do they feel! And what is the cause of all this? is it that he has brought home great treasures from the wars? Nothing like it; he is come naked. Is it that, having escaped slavery and poverty, he is returned to an opulent wife, abounding with the good things of life? No such thing. What, then, can be the cause of this excess of satisfaction, this alternate joy, that Patty and I could not have been as happy with each other? Why, it was my pride that interposed and prevented it. But what am I like to get by it, and by all this travel, and these hazards? Is this the way to make a fortune, to get an estate? No, surely, the very contrary. I could not, forsooth, labour for Patty and her children, where I was known; but am I any better for labouring here, where I am not known, where I have nobody to assist me, than I could have been where I am known, and where there would have been my friends about me, at least, if they could have afforded no great assistance? I have been deceived, then, and have travelled so many thousand miles, and undergone so many dangers, only to know, at last, I had been happier at home; and have doubled my misery for want of consideration, that very consideration which, impartially taken, would have convinced me I ought to have made the best of my bad circumstances, and to have laid hold of every commendable method of improving them. Did I come hither to avoid daily labour or voluntary servitude at home? I have

had it in abundance. Did I come hither to avoid poverty or contempt? Here I have met with them ten-fold. And now, after all, was I to return home empty and naked, as Glanlipze has done, should I meet a wife, as bare as myself, so ready to die in my embraces, and to be a slave herself, with her children, for my sake only? I fear not!

These and the like reflections had taken possession of me, when Glanlipze called me in; where I found his wife, in her manner, preparing our supper, with all that chearfulness which gives a true lustre to innocence.

The bustle we made had by this time awakened the children; who, stark-naked, as they were born, both boys and girls, came crawling out, black as jet, from behind a curtain at the farther end of the room, which was very long. The father, as yet, had only inquired after them; but upon sight of them, he fell into an ecstasy, kissing one, stroaking another, dandling a third, for the eldest was scarce fourteen; but not one of them knew him, for seven years makes a great chasm in young memories. The more I saw of this sport, the stronger impression Patty and my own children made upon me. My mind had been so much employed on my own distresses, that those dear ideas were almost effaced; but this moving scene introduced them afresh, and imprinted them deeply on my imagination, which cherished the sweet remembrance.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How the Author passed his Time with Glanlipze—His Acquaintance with some English Prisoners—They project an Escape—He joins them—They Seize a Portuguese Ship, and get off—Make a long run from Land—Want Water—They Anchor at a Desart Island—The Boat goes on Shore for Water—They Lose their Anchor in a Storm—The Author and one Adams drove to Sea—A miraculous Passage to a Rock—Adams drowned there—The Author's miserable Condition.*

I PASSED my time with Glanlipze and his wife, who both really loved me, with sufficient bodily quiet, for about two years: my business was chiefly, in company with my patron, to cultivate a spot of ground wherein we had planted grain and necessaries for the family; and once or twice a week we went a fishing, and sometimes hunted and shot venison. These were our chief employments; for as to excursions for slaves, which is a practice in many of those countries, and what the natives get money by, since our own slavery, Glanlipze and I could not endure it.

Though I was tolerably easy in my external circumstances, yet my mind hankering after England made my life still unhappy; and that infelicity daily increased, as I saw the less probability of attaining my desire. At length, hearing of some European sailors, who were under confinement for contraband trade, at a Portuguese fort about two miles from Quamis, I resolved to go to see them; and, if any of them should be English, at least to inquire after my native country. I went, and found two Dutchmen, who had been sailors in British pay several years, three Scotchmen, an Irishman, and five Englishmen, but all had been long in English merchants service. They were taken, as they told me, by a Portuguese vessel, together with their ship, as a Dutch prize, under pretence of contraband trade. The captain was known to be a Dutchman, though he spoke good English, and was then in English pay, and his vessel English; therefore they would have it that he was a Dutch trader, and so seized his ship in the harbour, with the prisoners in it. The captain, who was on shore with several of his men, was threatened to be laid in irons, if he was taken, which obliged him and his men to abscond, and fly over land to an English factory, for assistance to recover his ship and cargo; being afraid to appear and claim it, amongst so many enemies, without an additional force. They had been in confinement two months, and their ship confiscated and sold. In this miserable condition I left them, but returned once or twice a week, for a fortnight or three weeks, to visit them. These instances of regard, as they thought them, created some confidence in me, so that they conversed with me very freely. Amongst other discourse, they told me, one day, that one of their crew, who went with the captain, had been taken ill on the way, and, being unable to proceed, was returned; but as he talked good Portuguese, he was not suspected to belong to them; and that he had been to visit them, and would be there again that day. I had a mind to see him, so staid longer than I intended, and in about an hour's time he came. After he was seated, he asked who I was, and (privately) if I might be trusted. Being satisfied I might, for that I was a Cornish man, he began as follows, looking narrowly about to see he was not overheard: My lads, says he, be of good courage, I have hopes for you; be but men, and we shall see better days yet. I wondered to what this preface tended; when he told us, that since his return from the captain, as he spoke good Portuguese, and had sailed on board Portuguese traders several years, he mixed among that people, and particularly among the crew of the Del Cruz, the ship which had taken them; that that

ship had partly unloaded, and was taking in other goods for a future voyage; that he had informed himself of their strength, and that very seldom more than three men and two boys lay on board; that he had hired himself to the captain, and was to go on board the very next day. Now, says he, my lads, if you can break prison any night after to-morrow, and come directly to the ship, (telling them how she lay, for, says he, you cannot mistake, you will find two or three boats moored in the gut against the church) I will be ready to receive you, and we will get off with her, in lieu of our ship they have taken from us, for there is nothing ready to follow us.

The prisoners listened to this discourse very attentively; but scratched their heads, fearing the difficulty of it, and severer usage if they miscarried, and made several objections; but, at last, they all swore to attempt it the night but one following. Upon which the sailor went away, to prepare for their reception on board. After he was gone, I surveyed his scheme attentively in my own mind, and found it not so difficult as I first imagined, if the prisoners could but escape cleverly. So, before I went away, I told them I approved of their purpose: and as I was their countryman, I was resolved, with their leaves, to risk my fortune with them. At this they seemed much pleased, and all embraced me. We then fixed the peremptory night, and I was to wait at the water-side, and get the boats in readiness.

The prison they were in was a Portuguese fort, which had been deserted ever since the building a much better on the other side of the river, a gun-shot lower. It was built with walls too thick for naked men to storm; the captives were securely locked up every night; and two soldiers, or centinels, kept watch in an outer-room, who were relieved from the main-guard in the body of the building.

The expected night arrived; and a little before midnight, as had been concerted, one of the prisoners cried out, he was so parched up, he was on fire, he was on fire! The centinels were both asleep; but the first that waked, called at the door, to know what was the matter. The prisoner still crying out, I am on fire! the rest begged the centinel to bring a bowl of water for him, for they knew not what ailed him.

The good-natured fellow, without waking his companion, brought the water, and, having a lamp in the guard-room, opened the door; when the prisoners seizing his arms, and commanding him to silence, bound his hands behind him, and his feet together; then serving the other in the same manner, who was now just awake, and taking from them their swords and muskets, they made the best of their way over the fort-wall; which, being built with buttresses on the inside, was easily surmounted. Being got out, they were not long in finding me, who had before this time made the boats ready, and was impatiently waiting for them; so in we all got, and made good speed to the ship, where we were welcomed by our companion, ready to receive us.

Under pretence of being a new-entered sailor, he had carried some Madeira wine on board, and treated the men and boys so freely that he had thrown them into a dead sleep; which was a wise precaution. There being now, therefore, no fear of disturbance or interruption, we drew up the two boats, and set all hands at work to put the ship under way; and plied it so closely, the wind favouring us, that by eleven o'clock the next morning we were out of sight of land; but we set the men and boys adrift, in one of the boats, nigh the mouth of the river.

The first thing we did, after we had made a long run from shore, was to consult what course to steer. Now, as there was a valuable loading on board, of goods from Portugal, and others taken in since, some gave their opinion for sailing directly for India, selling the ship and cargo there, and returning by some English vessel: but that was rejected; for we did not doubt but notice would be given of our escape along the coast, and if we should fall into the Portuguese's hands, we could expect no mercy; besides, we had not people sufficient for such an enterprize. Others, again, were for sailing the directest course for England; but I told them, as our opinions were different, and no time was to be lost, my advice was, to stretch southward, till we might be quite out of fear of pursuit, and then, whatever course we took, by keeping clear of all coasts, we might hope to come safe off.

My proposal seemed to please the whole crew; so, crowding all the sail we could, we pushed southward very briskly before the wind for several days. We now went upon examining our stores, and found we had flour enough, plenty of fish, and salt provisions, but were scant of water and wood; of the first whereof there was not half a ton, and but very little of the latter. This made us very uneasy; and being none of us expert in navigation, farther than the common working of the ship, and having no chart on board that might direct us to the nearest land, we were almost at our wits end, and came to a short allowance of liquor. That we must get water if we could, was indisputable; but where to do it puzzled us, as we had determined not to get in with the African shore, on any account whatever.

In this perplexity, and under the guidance

of different opinions, (for we were all captains now) we sometimes steered eastward, and sometimes westward, for about nine days; when we espied a little bluish cloud-like appearance to the south-west; this continuing, we hoped it might be land, and therefore made to it. Upon our nearer approach, we found it to be, as we judged, an island; but, not knowing its name, or whether it was inhabited, we coasted round it two days to satisfy ourselves as to this last particular. Seeing no living creature on it during that time, and the shore being very broken, we came to an anchor about two miles from it, and sent ten of our crew in our best boat, with some casks, to get water and cut wood. The boat returned at night, with six men, and the casks filled, having left four behind, to go on with the cutting of wood against next day. Accordingly, next morning, the boat went off again, and made two turns with water and wood ere night, which was repeated for two or three days after. On the sixth she went off for wood only, leaving none but me and one John Adams on board.

The boat had scarce reached the island this last turn, before the day overcast, and there arose such a storm of wind, thunder, lightning, and hail, as I had never before seen. At last our cable broke close to the anchor, and away we went with the wind, full southward by west: and not having strength to keep the ship upon a side wind, we were forced to set her head right before it, and let her drive. Our hope was, every hour, the storm would abate; but it continued with equal violence for many days; during all which time, neither Adams nor I had any rest, for one or other of us was forced, and sometimes both, to keep her right before the wind, or she would certainly have overset. When the storm abated, as it did by degrees, neither Adams nor I could tell where we were, or in what part of the world.

I was sorry I had no better a sailor with me, for neither Adams nor myself had ever made more than one voyage till now, so that we were both unacquainted with the latitude, and scarce knew the use of the compass to any purpose; and, being out of all hope of ever reaching the island to our companions, we neither knew which way to steer, nor what to do: and, indeed, had we known where we were, we two only could not have been able to navigate the ship to any part we desired, or ever to get to the island, unless such a wind as we had before would of itself have driven us thither.

Whilst we were considering, day after day, what to do, though the sea was now very calm and smooth, the ship seemed to sail at as great a rate as before, which we attributed to the velocity she had acquired by the storm, or to currents that had set that way by the violence of the winds. Contenting ourselves with this, we expected all soon to be right again; and as we had no prospect of ever seeing our companions, we kept the best look-out we could, to see for any vessel coming that course, which might take us in; and resolved to rest all our hopes upon that.

When we had sailed a good while after this manner, we knew not whither, Adams called out, I see land! My heart leapt within me for joy; and we hoped, the current that seemed to carry us so fast, set in for some islands or rivers that lay before us. But still we were exceedingly puzzled at the ship's making such way; and the nearer we approached the land, which was now very visible, the more speed the ship made, though there was no wind stirring. We had but just time to think on this unexpected phenomenon, when we found that what we had taken for land was a rock of an extraordinary height, to which, as we advanced nearer, the ship increased its motion; and all our strength could not make her answer her rudder any other way. This put us under the apprehension of being dashed to pieces immediately; and, in less than half an hour, I verily thought my fears had not been groundless. Poor Adams told me he would try when the ship struck, if he could leap upon the rock, and ran to the head for that purpose: but I was so fearful of seeing my danger, that I ran under hatches, resolving to sink in the ship. We had no sooner parted but I felt so violent a shock, that I verily thought the ship had brought down the whole rock upon her, and been thereby dashed to pieces; so that I never more expected to see the light.

I lay under this terror for at least half an hour, waiting the ship's either filling with water, or bulging every moment. But finding neither motion in her, nor any water rise, nor the least noise whatsoever, I ventured, with an aching heart, from my retreat, and stole up the hatch-way as if an enemy had been on deck, peeping first one way, then another. Here nothing presented but confusion; the rock hung over the hatchway, at about twenty feet above my head, our foremast lay by the board, the mainmast yard-arm was down, and great part of the mainmast snapped off with it, and almost every thing upon deck was displaced. This sight shocked me extremely; and calling for Adams, in whom I hoped to find some comfort, I was too soon convinced I had lost him.

## CHAP. IX.

*Wilkins thinks of destroying himself—His Soliloquy—Strange Accident in the Hold—His Surprise—Cannot climb the Rock—His Method to sweeten his Water—Lives many Months on Board—Ventures to Sea in his Boat several Times, and takes many Fish—Almost overcome by an Eel.*

AFTER I had stood a while in the utmost confusion of thought, and my spirits began to be a little composed, I was resolved to see what damage the hull of the ship had received. Accordingly I looked narrowly, but could find none, only she was immoveably fixed in a cleft of the rock, like a large archway, and there stuck so fast, that though upon fathoming, I could find no bottom, she never moved in the least by the working of the water.

I now began to look upon Adams as a happy man, being delivered by an immediate death from such an inextricable scene of distress, and wished myself with him a thousand times. I had a great mind to have followed him into the other world; yet, I know not how it is, there is something so abhorrent to human nature in self-murder, be one's condition what it will, that I was soon determined on the contrary side. Now again I perceived that the Almighty had given me a large field to expatiate in upon the trial of his creatures, by bringing them into imminent dangers, ready to overwhelm them, and at the same time, as it were, hanging out the flag of truce and mercy to them. These thoughts brought me to my knees, and I poured out my soul to God, in a strain of humiliation, resignation to his will, and earnest petitions for deliverance or support in this distress. Having finished, I found myself in a more composed frame; so having eaten a biscuit, and drank a cann of water, and not seeing any thing to be done whereby I could better my condition, I sat me down upon the deck, and fell into the following soliloquy.

Peter, says I, what have you to do here?—Alas! replied I to myself, I am fixed against my will in this dismal mansion, destined, as rats might be, to devour the provisions only, and having eat all up, to perish with hunger for want of a supply.—Then, says I, of what use are you in the world, Peter?—Truly, answered I, of no other use, that I can see, but to be an object of misery for Divine vengeance to work upon, and to show what a deplorable state human nature can be reduced to; for I cannot think any one else can be so wretched.—And again, Peter, says I, what have you been doing ever since you came into the world?—I am afraid, says I, I can answer no better to this question than to either of the former; for if only reasonable actions are to be reckoned among my doings, I am sure I have done little worth recording; for, let me see what it all amounts to. I spent my first sixteen years in making a fool of my mother; my three next in letting her make a fool of me, and in being fool enough myself to get me a wife and two children before I was twenty. The next year was spent in finding out the misery of slavery from experience. Two years more I repined at the happiness of my benefactor, and at finding it was not my lot to enjoy the same. This year is not yet spent, and how many more are to come, and where they may be passed, and what they may produce, requires a better head than mine even to guess at; but certainly my present situation seems to promise nothing beside woe and misery.—But hold a little, says I, and let me clearly state my own wretchedness. I am here, it is true; but for any good I have ever done, or any advantage I have reaped in other places, I am as well here as any where. I have no present want of food, or unjust or cruel enemy to annoy me; so, as long as the ship continues entire, and provisions last, I shall do tolerably. Then, why should I grieve or terrify myself about what may come? What my frighted imagination suggests may perhaps never happen. Deliverance, though not to be looked for, is yet possible: and my future fate may be as different from my present condition, as this is from the hopes, with which I lately flattered myself. And why, after all, may I not die a natural death here as well as any where? all mankind die, and then there is an end of all——An end of all! did I say? No, there is something within that gives me the lie when I say so. Let me see; Death, my master used to say, is not an end, but a beginning of real life: and may it not be so? May I not as well undergo a change from this to a different state of life, when I leave this world, as be born into it I know not from whence? Who sent me into this world? Who framed me of two natures so unlike, that death cannot destroy but one of them? It must be the Almighty God. But all God's works tend to some end; and if he has given me an immortal nature, it must be his intention that I should live somewhere and somehow for ever. May not this stage of being, then, be only an introduction to a preparative for another? There is nothing in this supposition repugnant to reason. Upon the whole, if God is the Author of my being, he only has a right to dispose of it, and I may not put an end thereto without his leave. It is no less true, that my continuing therein during his pleasure, and because it is so, may turn

vastly to my advantage in his good time; it may be the means of my becoming happy for ever, when it is his will that I go hence. It is no less probable, that, dismal as my present circumstances appear, I may be even now the object of a kind Providence: God may be leading me by affliction to repentance of former crimes; destroying those sensual affections that have all my days kept me from loving and serving him. I will therefore submit myself to his will, and hope for his mercy.

These thoughts, and many others I then had, composed me very much, and by degrees reconciled me to my destined solitude. I walked my ship, of which I was now both master and owner, and employed myself in searching how it was fastened to the rock, and where it rested; but all to no purpose as to that particular. I then struck a light, and went into the hold, to see what I could find useful, for we had never searched the ship since we took her.

In the hold I found abundance of long iron bars, which I suppose were brought out to be trafficked with the blacks. I observed they lay all with one end close to the head of the ship, which I presumed was occasioned by the violent shock they received when she struck against the rock; but seeing one short bar lying out beyond the rest, though touching at the end one of the long bars, I thought to take it up, and lay it on the heap with the others; but the moment I had raised the end next the other bars, it flew out of my hand, with such violence, against the head of the ship, and with such a noise, as greatly surprised me, and put me in fear it had broke through the plank.

I just stayed to see no harm was done, and ran upon deck, with my hair stiff on my head; nor could I conceive, less than that some subtle spirit had done this prank merely to terrify me.

It ran in my pate several days, and I durst upon no account have gone into the hold again, though my whole support had lain there; nay, it even spoiled my rest, for fear something tragical should befal me, of which this amazing incident was an omen.

About a week after, as I was shifting myself, (for I had not taken my clothes off since I came there) and putting on a new pair of shoes which I found on board, my own being very bad, taking out my iron buckles, I laid one of them upon a broken piece of the boat that I sat upon; when, to my astonishment, it was no sooner out of my hand but up it flew to the rock, and stuck there. I could not tell what to make of it; but was sorry the devil had got above deck. I then laid several other things, one after another, in my hand, and laid them down where I laid the buckle, but nothing stirred, till I took out the fellow of that from the shoes; when, letting it go, away it jumped also to the rock.

I mused on these phenomena for some time, and could not forbear calling upon God to protect me from the devil; who must, as I imagined, have a hand in such unaccountable things as they then seemed to me. But at length reason got the better of these foolish apprehensions, and I began to think there might be some natural cause of them, and next to be very desirous of finding it out. In order to this, I set about making experiments, to try what would run to the rock, and what would not. I went into the captain's cabin, and opening a cupboard, of which the key was in the door, I took out a pipe, a bottle, a pocket-book, a silver spoon, a tea-cup, &c., and laid them successively near the rock; when none of them answered: but the key which I had brought out of the cupboard on my finger, dropping off while I was thus employed, no sooner it was disengaged, but away it went to it. After that I tried several other pieces of iron-ware, with the like success. Upon this, and the needle of my compass standing stiff to the rock, I concluded that this same rock contained great quantity of load-stone, or was itself one vast magnet, and that our lading of iron was the cause of the ship's violent course thereto, which I mentioned before.

This quite satisfied me, as to my notion of spirits, and gave me a more undisturbed night's rest than I had had before; so that now, having nothing to affright me, I passed the time tolerably well in my solitude, as it grew by degrees familiar to me.

I had often wished it had been possible for me to climb the rock; but it was so smooth in many places, and craggy in others, and over-hanging, continuing just the same to the right and left of me as far as ever I could see, that from the impossibility of it, I discharged all thoughts of such an attempt.

I had now lived on board three months, and perceived the days grow shorter and shorter, till, having lost the sun for a little time, they were quite dark: that is, there was no absolute day-light, or indeed visible distinction between day and night; though it was never so dark but I could see well enough upon deck to go about.

What now concerned me the most was, my water, which began to grow very bad (though I had plenty of it) and unsavoury, so that I could scarce drink it; but had no prospect of better. Now and then, indeed, it snowed a little, which I made some use of; but this was far from contenting me. Hereupon I

began to contrive; and, having nothing else to do, I set two open vessels upon deck, and drawing water from the hold, I filled one of my vessels, and letting it stand a day and a night, I poured it into the other, and so shifted it every twenty-four hours: this, I found, though it did not bring it to the primitive taste, and render it altogether palatable, was nevertheless a great help to it, by incorporating the fresh air with it; so that it became very potable: and this method I constantly used with my drinking-water, so long as I stayed on board the ship.

It had now been sharp weather for some time; and the cold still increasing, this put me upon rummaging the ship farther than ever I thought to do before; when, opening a little cabin under deck, I found a large cargo of fine French brandy, a great many bottles, and some small casks of Madeira wine, with divers cordial waters. Having tasted these, and taken out a bottle or two of brandy, and some Madeira, I locked up my door, and looked no farther that time.

The next day I inquired into my provisions; and some of my flesh having soaked out the pickle, I made fresh pickle, and closed it up again. I that day also found several cheeses, cased up in lead, one of which I then opened and dined upon: but what time of day or night it was when I eat this meal, I could not tell. I found a great many chests well filled, and one or two of tools, which some years after stood me in a very good stead; though I did not expect they would ever be of that service when I first met with them.

In this manner I spent my time, till I began to see broad day-light again, which cheered me greatly. I had been often put in hopes, during the dark season, that ships were coming towards me, and that I should once more have the conversation of mankind; for I had, by the small glimmering, seen many large bodies (to my thinking) move at a little distance from me, and particularly toward the re-appearing of the light; but though I hallooed as loud as I could, and often fired my gun, I never received an answer.

When the light returned, my days increased in proportion as they had before decreased; and gathering comfort from that, I determined to launch my small boat, and to coast along the island, as I judged it, to see if it was inhabited, and by whom; I determined also to make me some lines for fishing, and carry my gun to try for other game, if I found a place for landing: for though I had never, since my arrival, seen a single living creature but my cat, except insects, of which there were many in the water and in the air before the dark weather, and then began to appear again, yet I could not but think there were both birds and beasts to be met with.

Upon launching my boat, I perceived she was very leaky; so I let her fill, and continued thus a week or more, to stop her cracks; then getting down the side of my ship, I scooped her quite dry, and found her very fit for use; so putting on board my gun, lines, brandy bottles, and clothes chest for a seat, with some little water, and provisions for a week, I once more committed myself to the sea; having taken all the observation I could to gain my ship again, if any accident should happen: though I resolved, upon no account, to quit sight of the rock willingly.

I had not rowed very long, before I thought I saw an island to my right, about a league distant, to which I inclined to steer my course, the sea being very calm; but, upon surveying it nearer, I found it only a great cake of ice, about forty yards high above the water, and a mile or two in length. I then concluded, that what I had before taken for ships, were only these lumps of ice. Being thus disappointed as to my island, I made what haste I could back to the rock again, and coasted part of its circumference; but though I had gone two or three leagues of its circuit, the prospect it afforded was just the same.

I then tried my lines, by fastening several very long ones, made of the log-line, to the side of the boat, baiting them with several different baits, but took only one fish of about four pounds weight, very much resembling a haddock; part of which I dressed for my supper, after my return to the ship, and it proved very good. Towards evening I returned to my home, as I may call it.

The next day I made a voyage on the other side of the rock, though but to a small distance from the ship, with intent only to fish, but took nothing. I had then a mind to victual my boat or little cruizer, and prepare myself for a voyage of two or three days, which I thought I might safely undertake, as I had never seen a troubled sea since I came to the island; for, though I heard the wind often roaring over my head, yet it constantly always from the land-side. it never disturbed the water near the shore. I set out the same way I went at first, designing to sail two or three days out, and as many home again, and resolved, if possible, to fathom the depth as I went. With this view I prepared a very long line, with a large shot tied in a rag at the end of it, by way of plummet; but I found no ground till the second night. The next morning I came into thirty fathom water, then twenty, then sixteen. In both these I could perceive no abatement in the height or steepness of the rock.

In about fourteen fathom water I dropt

my lines, and lay by for an hour or two. Feeling several jars, as I sat on my chest in the boat, I was sure I had caught somewhat; so pulling up my lines successively, I brought first a large eel, near six feet long, and almost as thick as my thigh, whose mouth, throat, and fins, were of a fine scarlet, and the belly as white as snow: he was so strong, while in the water, and weighty, I had much ado to get him into the boat, and then had a harder job to kill him; for though having a hatchet with me, to cut wood in case I met with any landing-place, I chopped off his head the moment I had him on board, yet he had several times after that have like to have broken my legs, and beat me overboard, before I had quite taken his life from him; and, had I not whipped off his tail, and also divided his body into two or three pieces, I could not have mastered him. The next I pulled up was a thick fish like a tench, but of another colour, and much bigger. I drew up several others, flat and long fish, till I was tired with the sport; and then I set out for the ship again, which I reached the third day.

During this whole time, I had but one shot, and that was as I came homewards, at a creature I saw upon a high crag of the rock, which I fired at with ball, fearing that my small shot would not reach it. The animal, being mortally wounded, bounded up, and came tumbling down the rock, very near me. I picked it up, and found it to be a creature not much unlike our rabbits, but with shorter ears, a longer tail, and hoofed like a kid, though it had the perfect fluck of a rabbit. I put it into my boat, to contemplate on when I arrived at the ship; and, plying my oars, got safe, as I said, on the third day.

I made me a fire to cook with as soon as I had got my cargo out of the boat into my ship, but was under debate which of my dainties to begin upon. I had sometimes a mind to have broiled my rabbit, as I called it, and boiled some of my fish; but, being tired, I hung up my flesh till the next day, and boiled two or three sorts of my fish, to try which was best. I knew not the nature of most of them, so I boiled a piece of my eel, to be sure, judging that, however I might like the others, I should certainly be able to make a good meal of that. This variety being ready, I took a little of my oil out of the hold for sauce, and sat down to my meal, as satisfied as an emperor. But upon tasting my several messes, though the eel was rather richer than the smaller fishes, yet the others were all so good, I gave them the preference for that time, and laid by the rest of the eel, and of the other fish, till the next day, when I salted them for future use.

I kept now a whole week or more at home, to look farther into the contents of the ship, bottle off a cask of Madeira, which I found leaking, and to consume my new stores of fish and flesh; which being somewhat stale, when first salted, I thought would not keep so well as the old ones that were on board; I added also some fresh bread to my provision, and sweetened more water by the aforementioned method; and when my necessary domestic affairs were brought under, I then projected a new voyage.

## CHAP. X.

*Lays in great Store of Provisions—Resolves to traverse the Rock—Sails for three Weeks, still seeing it only—Is sucked under the Rock, and hurried down a Cataract—Continues there five Weeks—His Description of the Cavern—His Thoughts and Difficulties—His Arrival at a Great Lake—And his Landing in the beautiful Country of Graundevolet.*

I HAD for a long time wanted to see the other side of the rock, and at last resolved to try if I could not coast it quite round; for, as I reasoned with myself, I might possibly find some landing places, and perhaps a convenient habitation on shore. But as I was very uncertain what time that might take up, I determined on having provisions, instruments of divers kinds, and necessary utensils in plenty, to guard against accidents as well as I could. I therefore took another sea-chest out of the hold of the ship, and letting it into my boat, replenished it with a stock of wine, brandy, oil, bread, and the like, sufficient for a considerable voyage. I also filled a large cask with water, and took a good quantity of salt to cure what fish I should take by the way. I carried two guns, two brace of pistols, and other arms, with ammunition proportionable; also an axe or two, a saw to cut wood if I should see any, and a few other tools, which might be highly serviceable if I could land. To all these I added an old sail, to make a covering for my goods and artillery against the weather. Thus furnished and equipped, having secured my hatches on board, and every thing that might spoil by wet, I set out, with a God's speed, on my expedition, committing myself once more to Providence and the main ocean, and proceeding the same way I went the first time.

I did not sail extraordinary fast, but frequently fished in proper places, and caught a great deal, salting and drying the best of what I took. For three weeks time and more, I saw no entrance into the island, as I call it, nor any thing but the same unscaleable

rock. This uniform prospect gave me so little hopes of landing that I was almost of a mind to have returned again. But, on mature deliberation, resolving to go forward a day or two more, I had not proceeded twenty [illegible] hours, when, just as it was becoming dark, I heard a great noise, as of a fall of water, whereupon I proposed to lie by and wait for day, to see what it was; but the stream insensibly drawing me on, I soon found myself in an eddy; and the boat drawing forward, beyond all my power to resist it, I was quickly sucked under a low arch, where, if I had not fallen flat in my boat, having barely light enough to see my danger, I had undoubtedly been crushed to pieces, or driven overboard. I could perceive the boat to fall with incredible violence, as I thought, down a precipice, and suddenly whirled round and round with me, the water roaring on all sides, and dashing against the rock with a most amazing noise.

I expected every moment my poor little vessel would be staved against the rock, and I overwhelmed with waters; and for that reason never once attempted to rise up, or look upon my peril, till after the commotion had in some measure ceased. At length, finding the perturbation of the water abate, and as if by degrees I came into a smoother stream, I took courage just to lift up my affrighted head; but guess, if you can, the horror which seized me, on finding myself in the blackest of darkness, unable to perceive the smallest glimmer of light.

However, as my boat seemed to glide easily, I roused myself, and struck a light; but if I had my terrors before, what must I have now! I was quite stupified at the tremendous view of an immense arch over my head, to which I could see no bounds; the stream itself, as I judged, was about thirty yards broad, but in some places wider, in some narrower. It was well for me I happened to have a tinder-box, or, though I had escaped hitherto, I must have at last perished; for in the narrower parts of the stream, where it ran swiftest, there were frequently such crags stood out from the rock, by reason of the turnings and windings, and such sets of the current against them, as, could I not have seen to manage my boat, which I took great care to keep in the middle of the stream, must have thrown me on them, to my inevitable destruction.

Happy it was for me, also, I was so well victualled, and that I had taken with me two bottles of oil, (as I supposed, for I did not imagine I had any more) or I had certainly been lost, not only through hunger, for I was, to my guess, five weeks in the vault or cavern, but for want of light, which the oil furnished, and without which all other conveniences could have been of no avail to me. I was forced to keep my lamp always burning; as, not knowing how long my residence was to be in that place, or when I should get my discharge from it, if ever, I was obliged to husband my oil with the utmost frugality; and notwithstanding all my caution, it grew low, and was just spent, in little above half the time I stayed there.

I had now cut a piece of my shirt, for a wick to my last drop of oil, which I twisted and lighted. I burnt the oil in my brass tobacco-box, which I had fitted pretty well to answer the purpose. Sitting down, I had many black thoughts of what must follow the loss of my light, which I considered as near expiring, and that, I feared, for ever. I am here, thought I, like a poor condemned criminal, who knows his execution is fixed for such a day, nay, such an hour, and dies one and over in imagination, and by the torture of his mind, till that hour comes: that hour, which he so much dreads! and yet that very hour which releases him from all further dread! Thus do I—my last wick is kindled—my last drop of fuel is consuming!—and I am every moment apprehending the shock of the rock, the suffocation of the water; and, in short, thinking over my dying thoughts, till the snuff of my lamp throws up its last curling, expiring flame, and then my quietus will be presently signed, and I released from my tormenting anxiety! Happy minute! Come, then; I only wait for thee!

My spirits grew so low and feeble upon this, that I had recourse to my brandy bottle to raise them; but, as I was just going to take a sip, I reflected that would only increase thirst, and, therefore, it were better to take a little of my white Madeira; so, putting my dram-bottle again into the chest, I held up one of Madeira, as I fancied, to the lamp, and seeing it was white, (for I had not too) I clapped it eagerly to my mouth, when the first gulp gave me a greater refreshment, and more cheered my heart, than all the other liquors I had put together could have done; insomuch, as I had almost leaped over the boat's side for joy. It is oil! cried I, aloud, it is oil! I set it down carefully, with inexpressible pleasure; and examining the rest of the bottles I had taken for white Madeira, I found two more of those to be filled with oil. Now, says I, here is the counterpart of my condemned prisoner! For let but a pardon come, though at the gallows, how soon does he forget he has been an unhappy villain! And I, too, have scarce a notion now, how a man, in my case, could feel such sorrow as I have for want of a little oil.

After my first transport, I found myself grow serious, reflecting upon the vigilance of

Providence over us poor creatures, and the various instances wherein it interposes to save or relieve us, in cases of the deepest distress, where our own foresight, wisdom, and power, have utterly failed, and when, looking all around, we could discover no means of deliverance. And I saw a train of circumstances leading to the incident I have just mentioned, which obliged me to acknowledge the superintendence of Heaven over even my affairs; and as the goodness of God had cared for me thus far, and manifested itself to me now, in rescuing me, as it were, from being swallowed up in darkness, I had ground to hope he intended a complete deliverance of me out of that dismal abyss, and would cause me yet to praise him in the full brightness of day.

A series of these meditations brought me (at the end of five weeks, as nearly as I could compute it by my lamp) to a prodigious lake of water, bordered with a grassy down, about half a mile wide, of the finest verdure I had ever seen: this again was flanked with a wood or grove, rising like an amphitheatre, of about the same breadth; and behind, and above all, appeared the naked rock to an immense height.

## CHAP. XI.

*His Joy on his Arrival at Land—A Description of the Place—No Inhabitants—Wants fresh Water—Resides in a Grotto—Finds Water—Views the Country—Carries his Things to the Grotto.*

It is impossible to express my joy at the sight of day once more. I got on the land as soon as possible, after my dismission from the cavern, and, kneeling on the ground, returned hearty thanks to God for my deliverance, begging, at the same time, grace to improve his mercies, and that I might continue under his protection, whatever should hereafter befal me, and at last die on my native soil.

I unlanded my vessel as well as I could, and hauled her up on the shore; and, turning her upside down, made her a covering for my arms and baggage: I then sat down to contemplate the place, and eat a most delightful meal on the grass, being quite a new thing to me.

I walked over the green-sward to the wood, with my gun in my hand, a brace of pistols in my girdle, and my cutlass hanging before me; but, when I was just entering the wood, looking behind me, and all around the plain, Is it possible, says I, that so much art (for I did not then believe it was natural) could have been bestowed upon this place, and no inhabitant in it? Here are neither buildings, huts, castle, nor any living creature to be seen!—It cannot be, says I, that this place was made for nothing!

I then went a considerable way into the wood, and inclined to have gone much farther, it being very beautiful, but, on second thoughts, judged it best to content myself at present with only looking out a safe retreat for that night; for, however agreeable the place then seemed, darkness was at hand, when every thing about me would have more or less of horror in it.

The wood, at its first entrance, was composed of the most charming flowering shrubs that can be imagined; each growing upon its own stem, at so convenient a distance from the other, that you might fairly pass between them any way without the least incommodity. Behind them grew numberless trees, somewhat taller, of the greatest variety of shapes, forms, and verdures, the eye ever beheld; each, also, so far asunder as was necessary for the spreading of their several branches, and the growth of their delicious fruits, without a bush, briar, or shrub amongst them. Behind these, and still on the higher ground, grew an infinite number of very large, tall trees, much loftier than the former, but intermixed with some underwood, which grew thicker and closer the nearer you approached the rock. I made a shift to force my way through these as far as the rock, which rose as perpendicular as a regular building, having only here and there some crags and unevennesses. There was, I observed, a space all the way between the underwood and the rock, wide enough to drive a cart in; and, indeed, I thought it had been left for that purpose.

I walked along this passage a good way, having tied a rag of the lining of my jacket at the place of my entrance, to know it again at my coming back, which I intended to be ere it grew dark; but I found so much pleasure in the walk, and surveying a small natural grotto which was in the rock, that the daylight forsook me unawares: whereupon I resolved to put off my return unto the boat till next morning, and to take up my lodging for that night in the cave.

I cut down a large bundle of underwood with my cutlass, sufficient to stop up the mouth of the grotto, and laying me down to rest, slept as sound as if I had been on board my ship; for I never had one hour's rest together since I shot the gulph till this. Nature, indeed, could not have supported itself thus long under much labour; but as I had nothing to do but only keep the middle stream, I began to be as used to guide myself in it

with my eyes almost closed, and my senses retired, as a higgler is to drive his cart to market in his sleep.

The next morning I awaked sweetly refreshed; and, by the sign of my rag, found the way again through the underwood to my boat. I raised that up a little, took out some bread and cheese, and, having eat pretty heartily, laid me down to drink at the lake, which looked as clear as crystal, expecting a most delicious draught; but I had forgot it brought me from the sea, and my first gulp almost poisoned me. This was a sore disappointment, for I knew my water cask was nigh emptied; and, indeed, turning up my boat again, I drew out all that remained, and drank it, for I was much athirst.

However, I did not despair; I was now so used to God's providence, and had a sense of its operations so rivetted in my mind, that though the vast lake of salt water was surrounded by an impenetrable rock or barrier of stone, I rested satisfied that I should rather find even that yield me a fresh and living stream, than that I should perish for want of it.

With this easy mind did I travel five or six miles on the side of the lake, and sometimes stepped into the wood, and walked a little there, till I had gone almost half the diameter of the lake, which lay in a circular or rather an oval figure. I had then thoughts of walking back, to be near my boat and lodging, for fear I should be again benighted if I went much farther; but, considering I had come past no water, and possibly I might yet find some if I went quite round the lake, I rather chose to take up with a new lodging that night, than to return; and I did not want for a supper, having brought out with me more bread and cheese than had served for dinner, the remainder of which was in the lining of my jacket. When it grew darkish, I had some thoughts of eating; but I considered, as I was then neither very hungry nor dry, if I should eat it would but occasion drought, and I had nothing to allay that with; so I contented myself for that night to lay me down supperless.

In the morning I set forward again upon my water search, and hoped to compass the whole lake that day. I had gone about seven miles more, when, at a little distance before me, I perceived a small hollow or cut in the grass from the wood to the lake; thither I hasted with all speed, and blessed God for the supply of a fine fresh rill, which, distilling from several small clefts in the rock, had collected itself into one stream, and cut its way through the green sod to the lake.

I lay down with infinite pleasure, and swallowed a most cheering draught of the precious liquid; and, sitting on the brink, made a good meal of what I had with me, and then drank again. I had now got five-sixths of the lake's circumference to go back again to my boat, for I did not suspect any passage over the cavern's mouth where I came into the lake; and I could not, without much trouble, consider, that, if I would have this water for a constant supply, I must either come a long way for it, or fix my habitation near it. I was just going back again, revolving these uneasy thoughts in my breast, when this rose suddenly in my mind, that, if I could possibly get over the mouth of the cavern, I should not have above three miles from my grotto to the water. Now, as I could not get home that night, otherwise than by crossing it, and as, if I lost my labour, I should be but where I was, whereas if I should get over it, it would very much shorten my journey, I resolved to try whether the thing was practicable, first, however, looking out for a resting-place somewhere near my water, if I should meet with a disappointment.

I then walked into the wood, where, meeting with no place of retreat to my liking, I went to my rill, and taking another sup, determined not to leave that side of the lake till morning; but having some time to spare, I walked about two miles to view the inlet of the lake, and was agreeably surprised, just over the mouth of the cavern, to see a large stone arch like a bridge, as if it had been cut out of the rock, quite across the opening: this cheered me vastly, and, pushing over it, I found a path that brought me to my boat before night.

I then went up to my grotto, for the third night in this most delightful place; and the next morning early I launched my boat, and taking my water cask and a small dipping bucket with me, I rowed away for the rill, and returned highly pleased with a sufficiency of water, whereof I carried a bucket and a copper kettle full up with me to the grotto. Indeed, it was not the least part of my satisfaction that I had this kettle with me; for though I was in hopes, in my last voyage, I should have come to some shore, where I could have landed and enjoyed myself over some of my fish, and for that reason had taken it, notwithstanding things did not turn out just as I had schemed, yet my kettle proved the most useful piece of furniture I had.

Having now acquainted myself with the circumference of the lake, and settled a communication with my rill, I began to think of commencing housekeeper. In order thereunto, I set about removing my goods up to the grotto. By constant application, in a few days I had gotten all thither but my two great chests and my water-cask; and how to drag

or drive any of those to it, I was entirely at a loss. My water-cask was of the utmost importance to me, and I had thoughts, sometimes, of stopping it close, and rolling it to the place; but the ascent through the wood to the grotto was so steep, that, besides the fear of staving it, which would have been an irreparable loss, I judged it impossible to accomplish it by my strength; so with a good deal of discontent, I determined to remit both that and the chests to future consideration.

## CHAP. XII.

*An Account of the Grotto—A Room added to it—A View of that Building—The Author makes a little Cart—Also a Wet Dock for his Boat—Goes in quest of Provision—A Description of divers Fruits and Plants—He brings Home a Cart-load of different Sorts—Makes Experiments on them—Loads his Cart with others—A great Disappointment—Makes good Bread—Never sees the Sun—The Nature of the Light.*

HAVING come to a full resolution of fixing my residence at the grotto, and making that my capital seat, it is proper to give you some description of it.

This grotto, then, was a full mile from the lake, in the rock which encompassed the wood. The entrance was scarcely two feet wide, and about nine feet high, rising, from the height of seven feet upward, to a point in the middle. The cavity was about fifteen feet long within, and about five wide. Being obliged to lie lengthwise in it, full six feet of it were taken up at the farther end for my lodging only, as nothing could stand on the side of my bed that would leave me room to come at it. The remaining nine feet of the cave's length were taken up, first, by my fire-place, which was the deepest side of the door-way, ranging with my bed, (which I had set close to the rock on one side) and took up near three feet in length; and my furniture and provisions, of one sort or other, so filled up the rest, that I had much ado to creep between them into my bed.

In the chest which I had taken for a seat in the boat, as aforesaid, upon breaking it open by the water side, I found a mattrass, some shirts, shoes, stockings, and several other useful things; a small case of bottles with cordials in them, some instruments of surgery, plasters and salves; all which, together with a large quantity of fish that I had salted, I carried to the grotto.

My habitation being thus already overcharged, and as I could not, however, bear the thoughts of quitting it, or of having any of my goods exposed to the weather on the outside, I was naturally bent on contriving how I should increase my accommodations. As I had no prospect of enlarging the grotto itself, I could conceive no other way of effecting my desire, but by the addition of an outer room. This thought pleased me very much, so that the next day I set myself to plan out the building, and trace the foundation of it.

I told you before there was about the space of a cart-way between the wood and the rock clear: but this breadth, as I was building for life, (so I imagined) not appearing to me spacious enough for my new apartment, I considered how I should extend its bounds into the wood. Hereupon I set myself to observe what trees stood at a proper distance from my grotto, that might serve as they stood, with a little management of hewing and the like, to compose a noble door-way, posts, and supporters; and I found, that upon cutting down three of the nearest trees, I should answer my purpose in this respect; and that there were several others, about twenty feet from the grotto, and running parallel with the rock, the situation of which was so happily adapted to my intention, that I could make them become, as I fancied, an out-fence or wall: so I took my axe, to cut down my nearest trees; but as I was going to strike, a somewhat different scheme presented to my imagination that altered my resolution.

In conformity with this new plan, I fixed the height of my intended ceiling, and sawed off my nearest trees to that, sloping from the sides to the middle, to support cross beams for the roof to rest on, and left the trunks standing, by way of pillars, both for the use and ornament of the structure. In short, I worked hard every day upon my building for a month, in which time I had cut all my timber into proper lengths for my out-works and covering; but was at a great stand how to fix my side-posts, having no spade or mattock, and the ground almost as hard as flint, for to be sure it had never been stirred since the creation. I then thought I had the worst part of my job to get over; however, I went on, and having contrived, in most of my upright side-quarters, to take the tops of trees, and leave on the lower parts of their cleft, where they began to branch out and divide from the main stem, I set one of them upright against the rock, then laid one end of my long ceiling-pieces upon the cleft of it, and laid the other end upon a tree on the same side, whose top I had also sawed off with a proper cleft. I then went and did the same on the other side; after this, I laid on a proper number of cross-beams, and tied all very firmly together with the bark of young trees stripped off in long thongs, which answered that purpose very

well. Thus I proceeded, crossing, joining, and fastening all together, till the whole roof was so strong and firm that there was no stirring any part of it: I then spread it over with small lop wood, on which I raised a ridge of dried grass and weeds, very thick, and thatched over the whole with the leaves of a tree very much resembling those of a palm, but much thicker, and not quite so broad; the entire surface, I might say, was as smooth as a dye, and so ordered, by a gentle declivity every way, as to carry off the wet.

Having covered in my building, I was next to finish and close the walls of it; the skeleton of these was composed of sticks, crossing one another checker-wise, and tied together: to fill up the voids, I wove upon them the longest and most pliable twigs of the underwood I could find, leaving only a door-way on one side, between two stems of a tree, which dividing in the trunk, at about two feet from the ground, grew from thence, for the rest of its height, as if the branches were a couple of trees a little distance from one another, which made a sort of stileway to my room. When this was all done, I tempered up some earth by the lake side, and mixing it to a due consistence with mud, which I took from the lake, applied it as a plastering in this manner: I divided it into pieces, which I rolled up of the size of a foot-ball; these lumps I stuck close by one another on the lattice, pressing them very hard with my hands, which forced part of them quite through the small twigs, and then I smoothed both sides with the back of my saw, to about the thickness of five or six inches; so that by this means I had a wall round my new apartment a foot thick. This plaster-work cost me some time, and a great deal of labour, as I had a full mile to go to the lake for every load of stuff, and could carry but little at once, it was so heavy: but there was neither water for tempering, nor proper earth to make it with, any nearer. At last, however, I completed my building in every respect but a door, and for this I was forced to use the lid of my sea chest; which, indeed, I would have chosen not to apply that way, but I had nothing else that would do; and there was, however, this conveniency, that it had hinges ready fixed thereon.

I now began to enjoy myself in my new habitation, like the absolute and sole lord of the country, for I had neither seen man nor beast since my arrival, save a few animals in the trees like our squirrels, and some water rats about the lake; but there were several strange kinds of birds I had never before seen, both on the lake and in the woods.

That which now troubled me most was, how to get my water nearer to me than the lake, for I had no lesser vessel than the cask, which held above twenty gallons, and to bring that up was a fatigue intolerable. My next contrivance, therefore, was this: I told you I had taken my chest-lid to make a door for an anti-chamber, as I now began to call it; so I resolved to apply the body of the chest also to a purpose different from that it originally answered. In order to this, I went to the lake where the body of the chest lay, and sawed it through within about three inches of the bottom. Of the two ends, having rounded them as well as I could, I made two wheels; and with one of the sides I made two more. I burnt a hole through the middle of each; then preparing two axle-trees, I fastened them, after setting on the wheels, to the bottom of the chest, with the nails I had drawn out of it. Having finished this machine, on which I bestowed no small labour, I was hugely pleased with it, and only wished I had a beast, if it were but an ass, to draw it; however, that task I was satisfied to perform myself, since there was no help for it; so I made a good strong cord out of my fishing-lines, and fixed that to drag it by. When all was thus in readiness, filling my water-cask, I bound it thereon, and so brought it to the grotto, with such ease, comparatively, as quite charmed me. Having succeeded so well in the first essay, I no sooner unloaded, but down went I again with my cart, or truckle rather, to the lake, and brought from thence on it my other chest, which I had left entire.

I had now nothing remaining near the lake but my boat, and had half a mind to try to bring that up too; but having so frequent occasion for her to get my water in, which I used in greater abundance now than I had done at first, a great part going to supply my domestic uses, as well as for drinking, I resolved against that, and sought out for a convenient dock to stow it in, as a preservative against wind and weather, which I soon after effected; for having pitched upon a swampy place, overgrown with a sort of long flags or reeds, I soon cut a trench from the lake, with a sort of spade or board that I had chopped and sharpened for that use.

Thus having stowed my boat, and looked over all my goods, and sorted them, and taken a survey of my provisions, I found I must soon be in want of the last if I did not forthwith procure a supply; for though I had victualled so well at setting out, and had been very sparing ever since, yet, had it not been for a great quantity of fish I took and salted in my passage to the gulph, I had been to seek for food much sooner. Hereupon, I thought it highly prudent to look out before I really wanted.

With this resolution I accoutred myself, as in my first walk, with my instruments and arms; but instead of travelling the lake side,

I went along the wood, and therein found great plenty of divers kinds of fruits; though I could scarce persuade myself to taste, or try the effects of them, being so much unlike our own, or any I had seen elsewhere. I observed amongst the shrubs abundance of a fruit, or whatever else you may call it, which grew like a ram's horn; sharp at the point next the twig it was fastened to, and circling round and round, one fold upon another, which gradually increased to the size of my wrist in the middle, and then as gradually decreased till it terminated in a point again at the contrary extreme; all which spiral, if it were fairly extended in length, might be a yard or an ell long. I surveyed this strange vegetable very attentively; it had a rind, or crust, which I could not break with my hand, but taking my knife, and making an opening therewith in the shell, there issued out a sort of milky liquor in great quantity, to at least a pint and half, which having tasted, I found as sweet as honey, and very pleasant: however, I could not persuade myself any more than just to taste it. I then found on the large trees several kinds of fruits, like pears or quinces, but most of them exceeding hard and rough, and quite disagreeable; so I quitted my hopes of them.

About three miles from my grotto I met with a large space of ground full of a low plant, growing only with a single woody stalk half a foot high, and from thence issued a round head, about a foot or ten inches diameter, but quite flat, about three quarters of an inch thick, and just like a cream-cheese, standing upon its edge: these grew so close together, that, upon the least wind stirring, their heads rattled against each other very musically; for though the stalks were so very strong that they would not easily either bend or break, yet the fanning of the wind upon the broad heads twisting the stalks, so as to let the heads strike each other, they made a most agreeable sound.

I stood some time admiring this shrub, and then cutting up one of them, I found it weighed about two pounds: they had a tough, green rind, or covering, very smooth, and the inside full of a stringy pulp, quite white. In short, I made divers other trials of berries, roots, herbs, and what else I could find, but received little satisfaction from any of them, for fear of bad qualities. I returned back ruminating on what things I had seen, resolving to take my cart the next walk, and bring it home loaded with different kinds of them, in order to make my trials thereof at leisure: but my cart being too flat, and wanting sides, I considered it would carry very little, and that what it would otherwise bear, on that account, must tumble and roll off; so I made a fire, and turned smith; for with a great deal to do, breaking off the wards of a large key I had, and making it red-hot, I by degrees fashioned it into a kind of spindle, and therewith making holes quite round the bottom of my cart, in them I stuck up sticks, about two feet high, that I had tapered at the end to fit them.

Having thus qualified my cart for a load, I proceeded with it to the wood, and cutting a small quantity of each species of green, berry, fruit, and flower, that I could find, and packing them severally in parcels, I returned at night heavy laden, and held a council with myself what use they could most properly be applied to.

I had amongst my goods, as I said, a copper-kettle, which held about a gallon; this I set over my fire, and boiled something, by turns, of every sort in it, watching all the while, and with a stick stirring and raising up one thing and then another, and to feel when they were boiled tender: but of upwards of twenty greens which I thus dressed, only one proved eatable, all the rest becoming more stringy, tough, and insipid, for the cooking. The one I have excepted, was a round, thick, woolly-leafed plant, which boiled tender, and tasted as well as spinnage; I therefore preserved some leaves of this, to know it again by; and, for distinction, called it by the name of that herb.

I then began upon my fruits of the pear and quince kind, at least eight different sorts; but I found I could make nothing of them, for they were most of them as rough and crabbed after stewing as before, so I laid them all aside. Lastly, I boiled my ram's-horn and cream-cheese, as I called them, together. Upon tasting the latter of these, it was become so watery and insipid, I laid it aside as useless. I then cut the other, and tasted the juice, which proved so exceeding pleasant, that I took a large gulp or two of it, and tossed it into the kettle again.

Having now gone through the several kinds of my exotics, I had a mind to re-examine them after cooling; but could make nothing of any of my greens but the spinnage. I tried several berries and nuts too; but, save a few sorts of nuts, they were all very tasteless. Then I began to review the fruits, and could find but two sorts that I had any the least hopes from. I then laid the best by, and threw the others away. After this process, which took me up near a whole day, and clearing my house of good-for-nothings, I returned to re-examine my cheese, that was grown cold, and was now so dry and hard I could not get my teeth into it; upon which I was going to skim it away out of my grotto, saying, Go, thou worthless! (for I always spoke aloud my

thoughts to myself) I say, I was just dispatching it, when I checked my hands, and, as I could make no impression with my teeth, had a mind to try what my knife could do. Accordingly I began at the edge of the quarter, for I had boiled but a quarter of it; but the rind was grown so hard and brittle that my knife slipping, and raking along the cut-edge of it, scratched off some powder as white as possible; I then scraped it backward and forward some time, till I found it would all scrape away in this powder, except the rind; upon which I laid it aside again for farther experiment.

During this review, my kettle and ram's-horn had been boiling, till hearing it blubber very loud, and seeing there was but little liquor in it, I whipped it off the fire, for fear of burning its bottom, but took no farther notice of it till about two hours after; when, returning to the grotto, I went to wash out my kettle, but could scarce get my ram's-horn from the bottom; and when I did, it brought up with it a sort of pitchy substance, though not so black, and several gummy threads hanging to it, drawn out to a great length. I wondered at this, and thought the shell of the ram's-horn had melted, or some such thing; till venturing to put a little of the stuff on my tongue, it proved to my thinking as good treacle as I had ever tasted.

This new discovery pleased me very much. I scraped all the sweet thing up, and laid it near my grotto, in a large leaf of one of the trees, (about two feet long, and broad in proportion) to prevent its running about. In getting this curiosity out of my kettle, I found in it a small piece of my cheese, which I suppose had been broke off in stirring; and biting it (for it was soft enough) I think it was the most luscious and delicate morsel I ever put into my lips. This unexpected good fortune put me on trying the best of my pears again; so, setting on my kettle, with very little water, and putting some of my treacle into it, and two of the best pears quartered, I found, upon a little boiling, they also became an excellent dainty.

Having succeeded so well, I was quite ripe for another journey with my cart; which I accordingly undertook, taking my rout over the stone-bridge, to see what the other side of the lake produced. In travelling through the trees, I met, amongst other things, with abundance of large gourds, which, climbing the trees, displayed their fruit to the height of twenty or thirty feet above the ground. I cut a great many of these, and some very large ones of different hues and forms; which of themselves making a great load, with some few new sorts of berries and greens, were the gathering of that day. But I must tell you, I was almost foiled in getting them home; for coming to my stone bridge, it rose so steep, and was so much ruggeder than the grass or wood-ground, that I was at a set upon the first entrance, and terribly afraid I should either break my wheels, or pull off my axle-trees. Hereupon I was forced to unload, and carry my cargo over in my arms to the other side of the bridge; whither having then, with less fear but much caution, drawn my cart, I loaded again, and got safe home.

I was mightily pleased with the acquisitions of this journey; For now, thought I, I shall have several convenient family-utensils; so spent the next day or two in scooping my gourds and cleaning away the pulp. When I had done this, finding the rinds to be very weak and yielding, I made a good fire, and setting them round it at a moderate distance to dry, I went about something else without doors: but, alas! my hopes were ill-founded; for coming home to turn my gourds, and see how dry they were, I found them all warped, and turned into a variety of uncouth shapes. This put me to a stand; but, however, I recovered some pieces of them for use, as the bottom parts of most of them, after paring away the sides, would hold something, though they by no means answered my first purpose.

Well, thought I, what if I have lost my gourds, I have gained experience. I will dry them next time with the guts in, and having stiffened their rinds in their proper dimensions, then try to cleanse them. So, next morning, (for I was very eager at it) I set out with my cart for another load; and having handed them over the bridge, got safe with them to the grotto. These by proper management proved exceedingly valuable to me; answering, in one way or other, the several uses of plates, bottles, pans, and divers other vessels.

I now got a large quantity of the vegetable ram's-horn, and filled a great many of my gourds with the treacle it yielded; I also boiled and dried a large parcel of my cheese, and hung them up for use, for I had now for some time made all my bread of the latter, scraping and bruising the flour, and mixing it with my treacle and water; and this, indeed, made such a sweet and nourishing bread, that I could even have lived wholly upon it: but I afterwards very much improved it, by putting the milky juice of the ram's-horn, unboiled, to my flour, in a small quantity, and then baking it on the hearth, covered over with embers. This detracted nothing from the sweetness and mellowness of my bread, but made it much lighter than the treacle alone would have done.

Finding there was no fear of starving, but so far from it, that from day to day I found

but something new to add to my repast, either in substantials or by way of desert, I set me down very well contented with my condition. I had nothing to do but to lay up store against sickness and the dark weather; which last I expected would soon be upon me, as the days were now exceeding short. Indeed, though I had now been here six months, I had never seen the sun since I first entered the gulph; and though there was very little rain, and but few clouds, yet the brightest day-light never exceeded that of half an hour after sun-set in the summer-time in England, and little more than just reddened the sky. For the first part of my time here, there was but little, if any difference between day and night; but afterwards, what I might call the night, or lesser degree of light, took up more hours than the greater, and went on gradually increasing as to time, so that I perceived total darkness approached, such as I had on board my ship the year before.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Author lays in a Store against the dark Weather—Hears Voices—His Thoughts thereon—Persuades himself it was a Dream—Hears them again—Determines to see if any one lodged in the Rock—Is satisfied there is Nobody—Observations on what he saw—Finds a strong Weed like Whipcord—Makes a Drag-net—Lengthens it—Catches a Monster—Its Description—Makes Oil of it.*

I HAD now well stored my grotto with all sorts of winter provisions; and feeling the weather grow very cold, I expected, and waited patiently for, the total darkness. I went little abroad, and employed myself within doors, endeavouring to fence against the approaching extremity of the cold. For this purpose, I prepared a quantity of rushes; which being very dry, I spread them smoothly on the floor of my bed-chamber a good thickness, and over them I laid my mattrass. Then I made a double sheet of the boat's awning, or sail, that I had brought to cover my goods; and having skewered together several of the jackets and clothes I found in the chest, of them I made a coverlid; so that I lay very commodiously, and made very long nights of it now the dark season was set in.

As I lay awake one night, or day, I know not which, I very plainly heard the sound of several human voices, and sometimes very loud; but though I could easily distinguish the articulations, I could not understand the least word that was said; nor did the voices seem at all to me like such as I had any where heard before, but much softer and more musical. This startled me, and I rose immediately, slipping on my clothes, and taking my gun in my hand, (which I always kept charged, being my constant travelling companion) and my cutlass. Thus equipped, I walked into my anti-chamber, where I heard the voices much plainer, till, after some little time, they by degrees died quite away. After watching here, and hearkening a good while, hearing nothing, I walked back into the grotto, and laid me down again on my bed. I was inclined to open the door of my anti-chamber, but I own I was afraid; besides, I considered that if I did, I could discover nothing at any distance, by reason of the thick and gloomy wood that enclosed me.

I had a thousand different surmises about the meaning of this odd incident; and could not conceive how any human creatures should be in my kingdom (as I called it) but myself, and I never yet see them, or any trace of their habitation. But then again I reflected, that though I had surrounded the whole lake, yet I had not traced the out-bounds of the wood next the rock, where there might be innumerable grottos like mine; nay, perhaps, some as spacious as that I had sailed through to the lake; and that though I had not perceived it, yet this beautiful spot might be very well peopled. But, says I again, if there be any such beings as I am fancying here, surely they don't skulk in their dens, like savage beasts, by day light, and only patrole for prey by night! if so, I shall probably become a delicious morsel for them ere long, if they meet with me. This kept me still more within doors than before, and I hardly ever stirred out but for water or firing. At length, hearing no more voices, nor seeing any one, I began to be more composed in my mind, and at last grew persuaded it was all a mere delusion, and only a fancy of mine, without any real foundation; and sometimes, though I was sure I was fully awake when I heard them, I persuaded myself I had rose in my sleep, upon a dream of voices, and recollected with myself the various stories I had heard, when a boy, of walking in one's sleep, and the surprising effects of it; so the whole notion was now blown over.

I had not enjoyed my tranquillity above a week, before my fears were rouzed afresh, hearing the same sound of voices twice the same night, but not many minutes at a time. What gave me most pain was, that they were at such a distance, as I judged by the languor of the sound, that if I had opened my door, I could not have seen the utterers through the trees, and I was resolved not to venture out; but then I determined, if they should come again any thing near my grotto, to open

the door, see who they were, and stand upon my defence, whatever came of it: For, says I, my entrance is so narrow and high, that more than one cannot come at a time; and I can with ease dispatch twenty of them before they can secure me, if they should be savages; but if they prove sensible human creatures, it will be a great benefit to me to join myself to their society. Thus had I formed my scheme, but I heard no more of them for a great while; so that at length, beginning to grow ashamed of my fears, I became tranquil again.

The day now returning, and with it my labours, I applied to my usual callings; but my mind ran strangely upon viewing the rock quite round, that is, the whole circuit of my dominions; For, thinks I, there may possibly be an outlet through the rock into some other country, from whence the persons I heard may come. As soon therefore as the days grew towards the longest, I prepared for my progress. Having lived so well at home since my settlement, I did not care to trust only to what I could pick up in the woods for my subsistence during this journey, which would not only take up time in procuring, but perhaps not agree with me; so I resolved to carry a supply with me, proportionate to the length of my perambulation. Hereupon considering, that though my walk round the lake was finished in two days, yet as I now intended to go round by the rock, the way would be much longer, and perhaps more troublesome than that was; remembering also my journey with Glanlipze in Africa, and how much I complained of the fruits we carried for our subsistence; these circumstances, I say, laying together, I resolved to load the cart with a variety of food, bread and fruits especially, and draw that with me.

Thus provided, I sallied forth with great cheerfulness, and proceeded in the main easily; though in some places I was forced to make way with my hatchet, the ground was so over-run with underwood. I very narrowly viewed the rock as I went, bottom and sides, all the way, but could see nothing like a passage through it, or indeed any more than one opening, or inlet, which I entered for about thirty yards, but it was not above three feet wide, and terminated in the solid rock.

After some days travel, (making all the observations I could on the several plants, shrubs, and trees, which I met with, particularly where any of these occurred to me entirely new) finding myself a little famish, I had a mind for a sup of ram's-horn juice; so I cut me one, but upon opening it found therein [illegible] a pithy pulp, and no ways fit to taste. I supposed by this I was too early for the milk, it being three months later the last year when I cut them. Hereon, seeing one upon another shrub, which by its rusty colour I judged might have hung all the winter, I opened that, and found it full of milk; but putting some of it into my mouth, it was as sour as any vinegar I ever tasted in my life. So, thinks I, (and said so too; for, as I told you before, I always spoke out) here's sauce for something when I want it; and this gave me a hint to store myself with these gourds, to hang by for vinegar the next winter.

By this time I had come almost to my rill, when I entered upon a large plat of ground miserably over-run with weeds, matted together very thick. These choaked up my wheels in such a manner that I could neither free them with my hands, nor get either backwards or forwards, they binding my cart down like so many cords; so that I was obliged to cut my way back again with my hatchet, and take a sweep round in the wood, on the outside of these weeds.

In all my life I never saw any thing of its size, for it was no thicker than a whipcord, so strong as this weed; and what raised my wonder was the length of it, for I drew out pieces of it near fifty feet long, and even they were broken at the end, so that it might be as long again for aught I know, for it was so matted and twisted together, that it was a great trial of patience to untangle it; but that which was driest, and to me looked the rottenest and weakest, I found to be much the strongest. Upon examination of its parts, I discovered it to be composed of an infinite number of small threads, spirally overlaying and infolding one another.

As I saw but few things that I could not find a use for, so this I perceived would serve all the common purposes of packthread; a thing I was often in want of. This inclined me to take a load of it home with me. Indeed, the difficulty of getting a quantity in the condition I desired it, puzzled me a little; For, says I, if I cut up a good deal of it with my hatchet, as I first designed, I shall only have small lengths good for little, and to get it in pieces of any considerable length, so as to be of service, will require much time and labour. But reflecting how much I needed it, and of what benefit it would be, I resolved to make a trial of what I could do: so, without more hesitation, I went to work, and cutting a fibre close to its root, I extricated that thread from all its windings, just as one does an entangled whipcord. When I had thus disengaged a sufficient length, I cut that off; and repeating the like operation, in about three hours time, but with no little toil, I made up my load of different lengths just to my liking. Having finished this task, I filled the gourd, brought for that purpose,

with water; and having first viewed the whole remaining part of the rock, I returned over the stone-bridge home again.

This journey, though it took me up several days, and was attended with some fatigue, had yet given me great satisfaction; for now I was persuaded I could not have one rival, or enemy, to fear in my whole dominions. And from the impossibility, as I supposed, of there being any, or of the ingress of any, unless by the same passage I entered at, and by which I was well assured they could never return, I grew contented, and blamed myself for the folly of my imaginary voices, as I called them then, and took it for a distemper of the fancy only.

The next day I looked over my load of matweed, having given it that name, and separated the different lengths from each other. I then found I had several pieces between forty and fifty feet long, of which I resolved to get a good number more, to make me a drag-net, that I might try for some fish in the lake. A day or two after, therefore, I brought home another load of it. Then I picked out a smooth level spot upon the green-sward, and having prepared a great number of short wooden pegs, I strained a line of the matweed about ten feet long, tying it at each end to a peg, and stuck a row of pegs along by that line, about two inches asunder; I next strained another line of the same length, parallel to that, at the distance of forty feet from it, and stuck pegs thereby, corresponding to the former row; and from each peg on one side, to the opposite peg on the other, I tied a like length of my mat-line, quite through the whole number of pegs; when the work looked like the inside of an harpsichord. I afterwards drove pegs in like manner along the whole length of the two outermost longer lines, and tied shorter lines to them, so that the whole affair then represented the squares of a racket; the corners of each of which squares I tied very tight with smaller pieces of the line, till I had formed a complete net of forty feet long and ten wide.

When I had finished my net, as I thought, I wrapped several stones in rags, and fastened them to the bottom to sink it, and some of the smallest unscooped dry gourds to the top, to keep that part buoyant. I now longed to begin my new trade, and carried the net to my boat with that intention; but after two or three hauls I found it would not answer for want of length; (though by chance I caught a blackish fish without scales, a little bigger than whiting, but much longer, which stuck by the gills in it;) so I left the net in the boat, resolving to make an addition to it with all speed; and returning to my grotto, I supped on the fish I had taken, and considered how to pursue my enterprize with better effect.

I provided me with another large parcel of line; and having brought two more lengths to perfection, I joined all together, and fixing one end on shore, by a pole I had cut for that purpose, I launched my boat, with the other end in it, taking a sweep the length of my net round to my stick again, and getting on shore, hauled up my net by both ends together. I found now I had mended my instrument, and taken a proper way of applying it: for by this means, in five hauls, I caught about sixteen fish of three or four different sorts, and one shell-fish, almost like a lobster, but without great claws, and with a very small short tail; which made me think, as the body was thrice as long as a lobster's in proportion, that it did not swim backwards, like that creature, but only crawled forwards, (it having lobster-like legs, but much shorter and stronger) and that the legs all standing so forward, its tail was, by its motion, to keep the hinder part of the body from dragging upon the ground, as I observed it did when the creature walked on land, it then frequently flacking its short tail.

These fish made me rich in provisions. Some of them I eat fresh, and the remainder I salted down. But of all the kinds, my lobster was the most delicious food, and made me almost three meals.

Thus finding there were fish to be had, though my present tackle seemed suitable enough to my family, yet could I not rest, till I had improved my fishery by enlarging my net; for as it was, even with my late addition, I must either sweep little or no compass of ground, or it would have no bag behind me. Upon this I set to work, and shortly doubled the dimensions of it. I had then a mind to try it at the mouth of my rill; so taking it with me the next time I crossed the lake for water, and fastening it to my pole, close by the right-side of the rill, I swept a long compass round to the left, and closing the ends, attempted to draw it up in the hollow cut of the rill. But by the time I had gathered up two thirds of the net, I felt a resistance that quite amazed me. In short, I was not able to stand against the force I felt. Whereupon, sitting down in the rill, and clapping my feet to the two sides of it, I exerted all my strength, till finally I became conqueror, and brought up so shocking a monster, that I was just rising to run for my life on the sight of it. But recollecting that the creature was hampered, and could not make so much resistance on the land as in the water, I ventured to drag the net up as far from the rill as my strength and breath would permit me; and then running to the boat for my

gun, I returned to the net, to examine my prize. Indeed, I had not instantly resolution enough to survey it; and when at length I assumed courage enough to do so, I could not perfectly distinguish the parts, they were so discomposed; but taking hold of one end of the net, I endeavoured to disentangle the thing, and then drawing the net away, a most surprising sight presented itself: the creature reared upright, about three feet high, covered all over with long black shaggy hair, like a bear, which hung down from his head and neck quite along his back and sides. He had two fins, very broad and large, which, as he stood erect, looked like arms, and those he waved and whirled about with incredible velocity; and though I wondered at first at it, I found afterwards it was the motion of these fins that kept him upright; for I perceived when they ceased their motion he fell flat on his belly. He had two very large feet, which he stood upon, but could not run, and but barely walk on them, which made me in the less haste to dispatch him; and after he had stood upon his feet about four minutes, clapping his fins to his sides, he fell upon his belly.

When I found he could not attack me, I was moving closer to him; but, upon sight of my stirring, up he rose again, and whirled his fins about as before, so long as he stood. And now I viewed him round, and found he had no tail at all, and that his hinder fins, or feet, very much resembled a large frog's, but were at least ten inches broad, and eighteen long, from heel to toe; and his legs were so short that when he stood upright his breech bore upon the ground. His belly, which he kept towards me, was of an ash-colour, and very broad, as was also his breast. His eyes were small and blue, with a large black sight in the middle, and rather of an oval than round make. He had a long snout like a boar, and vast teeth. Thus having surveyed him near half an hour living, I made him rise up once more and shot him in the breast. He fell, and giving a loud howl, or groan, expired.

I had then time to see what else I had caught; and turning over the net, found a few of the same fish I had taken before, and some others of a flattish make, and one little lump of flesh unformed; which last, by all I could make of it, seemed to be either a spawn or young one of that I had shot.

The great creature was so heavy, I was afraid I must have cut him in pieces to get him to the boat; but with much ado, having stowed the rest, I tumbled him on board. I then filled my water-cask, and rowed homewards. Being got to land, I was obliged to bring down my cart, to carry my great beast-fish, as I termed him, up to the grotto. When I had got him thither, I had a notion of first tasting, and then, if I liked his flesh, of salting him down, and drying him; so, having flayed him, and taken out the guts and entrails, I broiled a piece of him; but it made such a blaze, that most of the fat ran into the fire, and the flesh proved so dry and rank, that I could no ways endure it.

I then began to be sorry I had taken so much pains for no profit, and had endangered my net into the bargain, (for that had got a crack or two in the scuffle) and was thinking to throw away my large but worthless acquisition.

However, as I was now prone to weighing all things, before I threw it away, I resolved to consider a little; whereupon I changed my mind. Says I, Here is a good warm skin, which, when dry, will make me a rare cushion. Again, I have for a long while had no light beside that of the day; but now, as this beast's fat makes such a blaze in the fire, and issues in so great a quantity from such a small piece as I broiled, why may not I boil a good tallow or oil out of it? and if I can, I have not made so bad a hand of my time as I thought for.

In short, I went immediately to work upon this subject, (for I never let a project cool after I had once started it) and boiled as much of the flesh as the kettle would hold, and letting it stand to cool, I found it turned out a very good oil for burning; though, I confess, I thought it would rather have made tallow. This success quickened my industry; and I repeated the operation till I got about ten quarts of this stuff, which very well rewarded my labour. After I had extracted as much oil as I could from the beast-fish, the creature having strongly impressed my imagination, I conceived a new fancy in relation to it; and that was, having heard him make a deep howling groan at his death, I endeavoured to persuade myself, and at last verily believed, that the voices I had so often heard, in the dark weather, proceeded from numbers of these creatures, diverting themselves in the lake, or sporting together on the shore; and this thought, in its turn, contributed to ease my apprehensions in that respect.

## CHAP. XIV.

*The Author passes the Summer pleasantly—Hears the Voices in the Winter—Ventures out—Sees a strange Sight on the Lake—His Uneasiness at it—His Dream—Soliloquy—Hears the Voices again, and perceives a great Shock on his Building—Takes up a beautiful Woman—He thinks her dead,*

*But recovers her—A Description of her—She stays with him.*

I PASSED the summer (though I had never yet seen the sun's body) very much to my satisfaction; partly in the work I have been describing, (for I had taken two more of the beast fish, and had a great quantity of oil from them;) partly, in building me a chimney in my anti chamber of mud and earth burnt on my own hearth into a sort of brick; in making a window at one end of the abovesaid chamber, to let in what little light would come through the trees, when I did not chuse to open my door; in moulding an earthen lamp for my oil; and, finally, in providing and laying in stores, fresh and salt, (for I had now cured and dried many more fish) against winter. These, I say, were my summer employments at home, intermixed with many agreeable excursions. But now the winter coming on, and the days growing very short, or indeed there being no day, properly speaking, but a kind of twilight, I kept mostly in my habitation, though not so much as I had done the winter before, when I had no light within doors, and slept, or at least lay still, great part of my time; for now my lamp was never out. I also turned two of my beast-fish skins into a rug to cover my bed, and the third into a cushion, which I always sat upon, and a very soft and warm cushion it made. All this together rendered my life very easy, yea, even comfortable.

An indifferent person would now be apt to ask, What would this man desire more than he had? To this I answer, that I was contented while my condition was such as I have been describing: but a little while after the darkness or twilight came on, I frequently heard the voices again; sometimes a few only at a time, as it seemed, and then again in great numbers. This threw me into new fears, and I became as uneasy as ever, even to the degree of growing quite melancholy; though, otherwise, I never received the least injury from any thing. I foolishly attempted several times, by looking out of my window, to discover what these odd sounds proceeded from, though I knew it was too dark to see any thing there.

I was now fully convinced, by a more deliberate attention to them, that they could not be uttered by the beast-fish, as I had afore conjectured, but only by beings capable of articulate speech; but then, what or where they were, it galled me to be ignorant of.

At length, one night or day, I cannot say which, hearing the voices very distinctly, and praying very earnestly to be either delivered from the uncertainty they had put me under, or to have them removed from me, I took courage, and arming myself with gun, pistols, and cutlass, I went out of my grotto, and crept down the wood. I then heard them plainer than before, and was able to judge from what point of the compass they proceeded. Hereupon I went forward towards the sound, till I came to the verge of the wood, where I could see the lake very well by the dazzle of the water. Thereon, as I thought, I beheld a fleet of boats, covering a large compass, and not far from the bridge. I was shocked hereat beyond expression. I could not conceive where they came from, or whither they would go; but supposed there must be some other passage to the lake than I had found in my voyage through the cavern, and that for certain they came that way, and from some place, of which as yet I had no manner of knowledge.

Whilst I was entertaining myself with this speculation, I heard the people in the boats laughing and talking very merrily, though I was too distant to distinguish the words. I discerned soon after all the boats (as I still supposed them) draw up, and push for the bridge; presently after, though I was sure no boat entered the arch, I saw a multitude of people on the opposite shore all marching towards the bridge; and what was the strangest of all, there was not the least sign of a boat now left upon the whole lake. I then was in a greater consternation than before; but was still much more so, when I saw the whole posse of people, that as I have just said were marching towards the bridge, coming over it to my side of the lake. At this my heart failed, and I was just going to run to my grotto for shelter; but taking one look more, I plainly discovered that the people, leaping one after another from the top of the bridge, as if into the water, and then rising again, flew in a long train over the lake, the lengthways of it, quite out of my sight, laughing, hallooing, and sporting together; so that looking back again to the bridge, and on the lake, I could neither see person or boat, nor any thing else; nor hear the least noise or stir afterwards for that time.

I returned to my grotto brim-full of this amazing adventure, bemoaning my misfortune in being at a place where I was like to remain ignorant of what was doing about me. For, says I, if I am in a land of spirits, as now I have little room to doubt, there is no guarding against them. I am never safe, even in my grotto; for that can be no security against such beings as can sail on the water in no boats, and fly in the air on no wings, as the case now appears to me, who can be here and there, and wherever they please. What a miserable state, I say, am I fallen to? I should have been glad to have had human converse, and to have found inhabitants in this place;

but there being none, as I supposed hitherto, I contented myself with thinking I was at least safe from all those evils mankind in society are obnoxious to: But now, what may be the consequence of the next hour I know not; nay, I am not able to say, but whilst I speak, and show my discontent, they may at a distance conceive my thoughts, and be hatching revenge against me for my dislike of them.

The pressure of my spirits inclining me to repose, I laid me down, but could get no rest; nor could all my most serious thoughts, even of the Almighty Providence, give me relief under my present anxiety: and all this was only from my state of uncertainty concerning the reality of what I had heard and seen; and from the earnestness with which I coveted a satisfactory knowledge of those beings who had just taken their flight from me.

I really believe, the fiercest wild beast, or the most savage of mankind that had met me, and put me upon my defence, would not have given me half the trouble that then lay upon me; and the more, for that I had no seeming possibility of ever being rid of my apprehensions: so, finding I could not sleep, I got up again; but as I could not fly from myself, all the art I could use with myself, was but in vain to obtain me any quiet.

In the height of my distress I had recourse to prayer, with no small benefit; begging, that if it pleased not the Almighty Power to remove the object of my fears, at least to resolve my doubts about them, and to render them rather helpful than hurtful to me. I hereupon, as I always did on such occasions, found myself much more placid and easy, and began to hope the best, till I had almost persuaded myself that I was out of danger; and then laying myself down, I rested very sweetly, till I was awakened by the impulse of the following dream.

Methought I was in Cornwall, at my wife's aunt's; and inquiring after her and my children, the old gentlewoman informed me, both my wife and children had been dead some time, and that my wife, before her departure, desired her (that is, her aunt) immediately upon my arrival to tell me, she was only gone to the lake, where I should be sure to see her, and be happy with her ever after. I then, as I fancied, ran to the lake to find her. In my passage she stopped me, crying, Whither so fast, Peter? I am your wife, your Patty. Methought I did not know her, she was so altered; but observing her voice and looking more wistfully at her, she appeared to me as the most beautiful creature I ever beheld. I then went to seize her in my arms; but the hurry of my spirits awakened me.

When I got up, I kept at home, not caring even to look out at my door. My dream run strangely in my head, and I had now nothing but Patty in my mind. Oh! cries I, how happy could I be with her, though I had only her in this solitude. Oh! that this was but a reality, and not a dream. And, indeed, though it was but a dream, I could scarce refrain from running to the lake to meet my Patty. But then I checked my folly, and reasoned myself into some degree of temper again. However, I could not forbear crying out, What, nobody to converse with! Nobody to assist, comfort, or counsel me! This is a melancholy situation indeed. Thus I ran on lamenting till I was almost weary; when, on a sudden, I again heard the voices. Hark! says I, here they come again. Well, I am now resolved to face them, come life, come death! It is not to be alone I thus dread; but to have company about me, and not know who or what, is death to me worse than I can suffer from them, be they who or what they will.

During my soliloquy the voices increased, and then by degrees diminished as usual; but I had scarce got my gun in my hand, to pursue my resolution of showing myself to those who uttered them, when I felt such a thump upon the roof of my anti-chamber, as shook the whole fabric, and set me all over into a tremour; I then heard a sort of shriek, and a rustle near the door of my apartment; all which together seemed very terrible. But I, having before determined to see what and who it was, resolutely opened my door and leaped out. I saw nobody; all was quite silent, and nothing that I could perceive but my own fears a moving. I went then softly to the corner of the building, and there looking down by the glimmer of my lamp, which stood in the window, I saw something in human shape lying at my feet. I gave the word, Who is there? Still no one answered. My heart was ready to force a way through my side. I was for a while fixed to the earth like a statue. At length, recovering, I stepped in, fetched my lamp, and returning, saw the very beautiful face my Patty appeared under in my dream; and not considering that it was only a dream, I verily thought I had my Patty before me, but she seemed to be stone dead. Upon viewing her other parts, (for I had never yet removed my eyes from her face) I found she had a sort of brown chaplet, like lace, round her head, under and about which her hair was tucked up and twined; and she seemed to me to be clothed in a thin hair-coloured silk garment, which, upon trying to raise her, I found to be quite warm, and therefore hoped there was life in the body it contained. I then took her into my arms, and treading a step backwards with her, I put out my lamp; however, having her

in my arms, I conveyed her through the doorway in the dark into my grotto; here I laid her upon my bed, and then ran out for my lamp.

This, thinks I, is an amazing adventure. How could Patty come here, and dressed in silk and whalebone too? sure that is not the reigning fashion in England now? But my dream said she was dead. Why, truly, says I, so she seems to be. But be it so, she is warm. Whether this is the place for persons to inhabit after death or not, I can't tell, (for I see there are people here, though I don't know them:) but be it as it will, she feels as flesh and blood; and if I can but bring her to stir and act again as my wife, what matters it to me what she is? it will be a great blessing and comfort to me; for she never would have come to this very spot, but for my good.

Top-full of these thoughts, I re-entered my grotto, shut my door, and lighted my lamp; when going to my Patty, (as I delighted to fancy her) I thought I saw her eyes stir a little. I then set the lamp farther off, for fear of offending them if she should look up; and warming the last glass I had reserved of my Madeira, I carried it to her, but she never stirred. I now supposed the fall had absolutely killed her, and was prodigiously grieved; when, laying my hand on her breast, I perceived the fountain of life had some motion. This gave me infinite pleasure; so, not despairing, I dipped my finger in the wine, and moistened her lips with it two or three times, and I imagined they opened a little. Upon this I bethought me, and taking a teaspoon, I gently poured a few drops of the wine by that means into her mouth. Finding she swallowed it, I poured in another spoonful, and another, till I brought her to herself so well as to be able to sit up. All this I did by a glimmering light, which the lamp afforded from a distant part of the room, where I had placed it, as I have said, out of her sight.

I then spoke to her, and asked divers questions, as if she had really been Patty, and understood me; in return of which, she uttered a language I had no idea of, though in the most musical tone, and with the sweetest accent I ever heard. It grieved me I could not understand her. However, thinking she might like to be on her feet, I went to lift her off the bed, when she felt to my touch in the oddest manner imaginable; for, while in one respect, it was as though she had been cased up in whalebone, it was at the same time as soft and warm as if she had been naked.

I then took her in my arms and carried her into my anti-chamber again, where I would fain have entered into conversation, but found she and I could make nothing of it together, unless we could understand one another's speech. It is very strange my dream should have prepossessed me so of Patty, and of the alteration of her countenance, that I could by no means persuade myself the person I had with me was not she; though, upon a deliberate comparison, Patty, as pleasing as she always was to my taste, would no more come up to this fair creature, than a coarse ale-wife would to Venus herself.

You may imagine we stared heartily at each other, and I doubted not but she wondered as much as I by what means we came so near each other. I offered her every thing in my grotto, which I thought might please her; some of which she gratefully received, as appeared by her looks and behaviour. But she avoided my lamp, and always placed her back toward it. I observing that, and ascribing it to her modesty in my company, let her have her will, and took care to set it in such a position myself as seemed agreeable to her, though it deprived me of a prospect I very much admired.

After we had sat a good while, now and then, I may say, chattering to one another, she got up, and took a turn or two about the room. When I saw her in that attitude, her grace and motion perfectly charmed me, and her shape was incomparable; but the strangeness of her dress put me to my trumps, to conceive either what it was, or how it was put on.

Well, we supped together, and I set the best of every thing I had before her, nor could either of us forbear speaking in our own tongue, though we were sensible neither of us understood the other. After supper I gave her some of my cordials, for which she showed great tokens of thankfulness, and often, in her way, by signs and gestures, which were very far from being insignificant, expressed her gratitude for my kindness. When supper had been some time over, I showed her my bed, and made signs for her to go to it; but she seemed very shy of that, till I showed her where I meant to lie myself, by pointing to myself, then to that, and again pointing to her and to my bed. When at length, I had made this matter intelligible to her, she lay down very composedly; and after I had taken care of my fire, and set the things I had been using for supper in their places, I laid myself down too; for I could have no suspicious thoughts, or fear of danger, from a form so excellent.

I treated her for some time with all the respect imaginable, and never suffered her to do the least part of my work. It was very inconvenient to both of us only to know each other's meaning by signs; but I could not be

otherwise than pleased to see, that she endeavoured all in her power to learn to talk like me. Indeed, I was not behind-hand with her in that respect, striving all I could to imitate her. What I all the while wondered at was, she never showed the least disquiet at her confinement; for I kept my door shut at first, through fear of losing her, thinking she would have taken an opportunity to run away from me; for little did I then think she could fly.

## CHAP. XV.

*Wilkins afraid of losing his new Mistress—They live together all Winter—A Remark on that—They begin to know each other's Language—A long Discourse between them at cross purposes—She flies—They engage to be Man and Wife.*

AFTER my new love had been with me a fortnight, finding my water run low, I was greatly troubled at the thought of quitting her any time, to go for more; and having hinted it to her, with seeming uneasiness, she could not for a while fathom my meaning; but when she saw me much confused, she came at length, by the many signs I made, to imagine it was my concern for her which made me so; whereupon she expressively enough signified I might be easy, for she did not fear any thing happening to her in my absence. On this, as well as I could declare my meaning, I entreated her not to go away before my return. As soon as she understood what I signified to her, by actions, she sat down, with her arms across, leaning her head against the wall, to assure me she would not stir. However, as I had before nailed a cord to the outside of the door, I tied that for caution's sake to the tree, for fear of the worst: but I believe she had not the least design of removing.

I took my boat, net, and water-cask, as usual, desirous of bringing her home a fresh fish dinner, and succeeded so well as to catch enough for several good meals, and to spare. What remained I salted, and found she liked that better than the fresh, after a few days salting; though she did not so well approve of that I had formerly pickled and dried. As my salt grew very low, though I had been as sparing of it as possible, I now resolved to try making some; and the next summer I effected it.

Thus we spent the remainder of the winter together, till the days began to be light enough for me to walk abroad a little in the middle of them; for I was now under no apprehensions of her leaving me, as she had before this time had so many opportunities of doing so, but never once attempted it.

I must here make one reflection upon our conduct, which you will almost think incredible, viz. that we two, of different sexes, not wanting our peculiar desires, fully inflamed with love to each other, and no outward obstacle to prevent our wishes, should have been together, under the same roof, alone for five months, conversing together from morning to night, (for by this time she pretty well understood English, and I her language) and yet I should never have clasped her in my arms, or have shown any farther amorous desires to her, than what the deference I all along paid her could give her room to surmise. Nay, I can affirm, that I did not even then know that the covering she wore was not the work of art, but the work of nature, for I really took it for silk; though it must be premised that I had never seen it by any other light than of my lamp. Indeed, the modesty of her carriage, and sweetness of her behaviour to me, had struck into me such a dread of offending her, that though nothing upon earth could be more capable of exciting passion than her charms, I could have died rather than have attempted only to salute her without actual invitation.

When the weather cleared up a little, by the lengthening of day-light, I took courage one afternoon to invite her to walk with me to the lake; but she sweetly excused herself from it, whilst there was such a frightful glare of light, as she said; but, looking out at the door, told me, if I would not go out of the wood, she would accompany me: so we agreed to take a turn only there. I first went myself over the stile of the door, and thinking it rather too high for her, I took her in my arms and lifted her over. But even when I had her in this manner, I knew not what to make of her clothing, it sat so true and close; but seeing her by a steadier and truer light in the grove, though a heavy, gloomy one, than my lamp had afforded, I begged she would let me know of what silk or other composition her garment was made. She smiled, and asked me if mine was not the same under my jacket.—No, lady, says I, I have nothing but my skin under my clothes.—Why, what do you mean? replies she, somewhat tartly; but, indeed, I was afraid something was the matter, by that nasty covering you wear, that you might not be seen. Are not you a glumm?—Yes, says I, fair creature. (Here, though you may conceive she spoke part English, part her own tongue, and I the same, as we best understood each other, yet I shall give you our discourse, word for word, in plain English.) Then, says she, I am afraid you must have been a very

had man, and have been crashee, which I should be very sorry to hear.—I told her I believed we were none of us so good as we might be, but I hoped my faults had not at most exceeded other men's; but I had suffered abundance of hardships in my time; and that at last Providence having settled me in this spot, from whence I had no prospect of ever departing, it was none of the least of its mercies to bring to my knowledge and company the most exquisite piece of all his works, in her, which I should acknowledge as long as I lived.—She was surprised at this discourse, and asked me, (if I did not mean to impose upon her, and was indeed an ingcrashee glumm) why I should tell her I had no prospect of departing from hence. Have not you, says she, the same prospect that I or any other person has of departing? Sir, added she, you don't do well, and really I fear you are slit, or you would not wear this nasty cumbersome coat, (taking hold of my jacket-sleeve,) if you were not afraid of showing the signs of a bad life upon your natural clothing.

I could not for my heart imagine what way there was to get out of my dominions. But certainly, thought I, there must be some or other, or she would not be so peremptory. And as to my jacket, and showing myself in my natural clothing, I profess she made me blush; and, but for shame, I would have stripped to my skin to have satisfied her. But, madam, says I, pray pardon me, for you are really mistaken; I have examined every nook and corner of this new world, in which we now are, and can find no possible outlet; nay, even by the same way I came in, I am sure it is impossible to get out again.—Why, says she, what outlets have you searched for, or what way can you expect out, but the way you came in? And why is that impossible to return by again? If you are not slit, is not the air open to you? Will not the sky admit you to patrole in it, as well as other people? I tell you, sir, I fear you have been slit for your crimes; and though you have been so good to me, that I can't help loving of you heartily for it, yet if I thought you had been slit, I would not, nay could not, stay a moment longer with you; no, though it should break my heart to leave you.

I found myself now in a strange quandary, longing to know what she meant by being slit; and had a hundred strange notions in my head whether I was slit or not; for though I knew what the word naturally signified well enough, yet in what manner, or by what figure of speech she applied it to me, I had no idea of. But seeing her look a little angrily upon me, Pray, madam, says I, don't be offended, if I take the liberty to ask you what you mean by the word crashee, so often repeated by you; for I am an utter stranger to what you mean by it.—Sir, says she, pray answer me first, how you came here?—Madam, replied I, if you will please to take a walk to the verge of the wood, I will show you the very passage.—Sir, says she, I perfectly know the range of the rocks all round, and by the least description, without going to see them, can tell from which you descended.—In truth, said I, most charming lady, I descended from no rock at all; nor would I for a thousand worlds attempt what could not be accomplished but by my destruction.—Sir, says she, in some anger, it is false, and you impose upon me.—I declare to you, says madam, what I tell you is strictly true; I never was near the summit of any of the surrounding rocks, or any thing like it; but as you are not far from the verge of the wood, be so good as to step a little farther, and I will show you my entrance in hither.—Well, says she, now this odious dazzle of light is lessened, I don't care if I do go with you.

When we came far enough to see the bridge, There, madam, says I, there is my entrance, where the sea pours into this lake from yonder cavern.—It is not possible, says she; this is another untruth: and as I see you would deceive me, and are not to be believed, farewell; I must be gone.—But, hold, says she, let me ask you one thing more; that is, by what means did you come through that cavern? You could not have used to have come over the rock?—Bless me, madam! says I, do you think I and my boat could fly! Come over the rock? did you say. No, madam; I sailed from the great sea, the main ocean, in my boat, through that cavern into this very lake here.—What do you mean by your boat? says she. You seem to make two things of your boat you say you sailed with and yourself.—I do so, replied I; for, madam, I take myself to be good flesh and blood, but my boat is made of wood and other materials.—Is it so? says she. And, pray, where is this boat that is made of wood and other materials? under your jacket?—Lord, madam! says I, you put me in fear that you was angry; but now I hope you only joke with me. What, put a boat under my jacket! No, madam; my boat is in the lake.—What, more untruths! says she.—No, madam, I replied; if you would be satisfied of what I say, (every word of which is as true as that my boat now is in the lake) pray walk with me thither, and make your own eyes judges what sincerity I speak with.—To this she agreed, it growing dusky; but assured me, if I did not give her good satisfaction, I should see her no more.

We arrived at the lake; and going to my wet-dock, Now, madam, says I, pray satisfy yourself whether I spake true or no. She

looked at my boat, but could not yet frame a proper notion of it. Says I, Madam, in this very boat I sailed from the main ocean through that cavern into this lake; and shall at last think myself the happiest of all men, if you continue with me, love me, and credit me; and I promise you I'll never deceive you, but think my life happily spent in your service.—I found she was hardly content yet to believe what I told her of my boat to be true; till I stepped into it, and pushing from the shore, took my oars in my hand, and sailed along the lake by her, as he walked on the shore. At last, she seemed so well reconciled to me and my boat, that she desired I would take her in. I immediately did so, and we sailed a good way; and as we returned to my dock, I described to her how I procured the water we drank, and brought it to shore in that vessel.

Well, says she, I have sailed, as you call it, many a mile in my lifetime, but never in such a thing as this. I own it will serve very well where one has a great many things to carry from place to place; but to be labouring thus at an oar, when one intends pleasure in sailing, is, in my mind, a most ridiculous piece of slavery.—Why, pray, madam, how would you have me sail? for getting into the boat only, will not carry us this way or that without using some force.—But, says she, pray where did you get this boat, as you call it?—O, madam! says I, that is too long and fatal a story to begin upon now: this boat was made many thousand miles from hence, among a people coal-black, a quite different sort from us; and, when I first had it, I little thought of seeing this country: but I will make a faithful relation of all to you when we come home.—Indeed, I began to wish heartily we were there, for it grew into the night; and having strolled so far without my gun, I was afraid of what I had before seen and heard, and hinted our return; but I found my motion was disagreeable to her, and so I dropped it.

I now perceived, and wondered at it, that the later it grew, the more agreeable it seemed to her; and as I had now brought her into good-humour again, by seeing and sailing in my boat, I was not willing to prevent its increase. I told her, if she pleased, we would land, and when I had docked my boat, I would accompany her where and as long as she liked. As we talked and walked by the lake, she made a little run before me, and sprung into it. Perceiving this, I cried out; whereupon she merrily called on me to follow her. The light was then so dim, as prevented my having more than a confused sight of her when she jumped in; and looking earnestly after her, I could discern nothing more than a small boat in the water, which skimmed along at so great a rate that I almost lost sight of it presently; but running along the shore for fear of losing her, I met her gravely walking to meet me, and then had entirely lost sight of the boat upon the lake.—This, says she, accosting me with a smile, is my way of sailing, which, I perceive, by the fright you were in, you are altogether unacquainted with; and, as you tell me you came from so many thousand miles off, it is possible you may be made differently from me: but, surely, we are the part of the creation which has had most care bestowed upon it; and I suspect, from all your discourse, to which I have been very attentive, it is possible you may no more be able to fly than to sail as I do.—No, charming creature, says I, that I cannot, I'll assure you.—She then stepping to the edge of the lake, for the advantage of a descent before her, sprung up into the air, and away she went, farther than my eyes could follow her.

I was quite astonished. So, says I, then all is over! all a delusion which I have so long been in! a mere phantom! Better had it been for me never to have seen her, than thus to lose her again! But what could I expect had she staid? For it is plain she is no human composition.—But, says I, she felt like flesh, too, when I lifted her out at the door!—I had but very little time for reflection; for, in about ten minutes after she had left me in this mixture of grief and amazement, she alighted just by me on her feet.

Her return, as she plainly saw, filled me with a transport not to be concealed; and which, as she afterwards told me, was very agreeable to her. Indeed, I was some moments in such an agitation of mind from these unparalleled incidents, that I was like one thunder-struck; but coming presently to myself, and clasping her in my arms with as much love and passion as I was capable of expressing, and for the first time with any desire, Are you returned again, kind angel, said I, to bless a wretch who can only be happy in adoring you! Can it be, that you, who have so many advantages over me, should quit all the pleasures that nature has formed you for, and all your friends and relations, to take an asylum in my arms? But I here make you a tender of all I am able to bestow—my love and constancy.—Come, come, says she, no more raptures; I find you are a worthier man than I thought I had reason to take you for, and I beg your pardon for my distrust, whilst I was ignorant of your imperfections; but now I verily believe all you have said is true; and I promise you, as you have seemed so much to delight in me, I will never quit you till death, or other as fatal accident

shall part us. But we will now, if you chuse, go home; for I know you have been some time uneasy in this gloom, though agreeable to me: for, giving my eyes the pleasure of looking eagerly on you, it conceals my blushes from your sight.

In this manner, exchanging mutual endearments and soft speeches, hand in hand, we arrived at the grotto; where we that night consummated our nuptials, without farther ceremony than mutual solemn engagements to each other; which are, in truth, the essence of marriage, and all that was there and then in our power.

## CHAP. XVI.

*The Author's Disappointment at first going to Bed with his new Wife—Some strange Circumstances relating thereto—She resolves several Questions he asks her, and clears up his Fears as to the Voices—A Description of Swangeans.*

EVERY calm is succeeded by a storm, as is every storm by its calm; for, after supper, in order to give my bride the opportunity of undressing alone, which I thought might be most agreeable the first night, I withdrew into the anti-chamber till I thought she was laid; and then, having first disposed of my lamp, I moved softly towards her, and stepped into bed too; when, on my nearer approach to her, I imagined she had her clothes on. This struck a thorough damp over me; and asking her the reason of it, not being able to touch the least bit of her flesh but her face and hands, she burst out a laughing; and, running her hand along my naked side, soon perceived the difference she before had made such doubt of between herself and me. Upon which she fairly told me, that neither she, nor any person she had ever seen before, had any other covering than what they were born with, and which they would not willingly part with but with their lives. This shocked me terribly; not from the horror of the thing itself, or any distaste I had to this covering, (for it was quite smooth, warm, and softer than velvet or the finest skin imaginable) but from an apprehension of her being so wholly incased in it, that, though I had so fine a companion, and now a wife, yet I should have no conjugal benefit from her, either to my own gratification, or the increase of our species.

In the height of my impatience, I made divers essays for unfolding this covering, but unsuccessfully. Surely, says I, there must be some way of coming at my wishes! or why should she seem so shy of me at first, and now we are under engagements to each other, meet me half way with such a yielding compliance? I could, if I had had time to spare, have gone on, starting objections and answering them, in my own breast, a great while longer, (for I now knew not what to make of it;) but being prompted to act as well as think, and feeling, as tenderly as possible, upon her bosom, for the folds or plaits of her garment, she lying perfectly still, and perceiving divers flat broad ledges, like whale-bone, seemingly under her covering, which closely infolded her body, I thought it might be all laced on together somewhat like stays, and felt behind for the lacing. At length, perceiving me so puzzled, and beyond conception vexed at my disappointment, of a sudden, lest I should grow outrageous, (which I was almost come to) she threw down all those seeming ribs flat to her side so imperceptibly to me, that I knew nothing of the matter, though I lay close to her; till putting forth my hand again to her bosom, the softest skin, and most delightful body, free from all impediment, presented itself to my wishes, and gave itself up to my embraces.

I slept very soundly till morning, and so did she; but at waking I was very solicitous to find out what sort of being I had had in my arms, and with what qualities her garment was endued, or how contrived, that, notwithstanding all my fruitless attempts to uncover her, she herself could so instantaneously dispose of it, undiscerned by me. Well, thought I, she is my wife, I will be satisfied in every thing; for, surely, she will not now refuse to gratify my curiosity.

We rose with the light; but, surely, no two were ever more amorous, or more delighted with each other. I being up first, lighted the fire, and prepared breakfast of some fish-soup, thickened with my cream-cheese; and then calling her, I kept my eye towards the bed to see how she dressed herself; but throwing aside the clothes, she stepped out ready dressed, and came to me. When I had kissed her, and wished her a good day, we sat down to breakfast; which being soon over, I told her I hoped every minute of our lives would prove as happy as those we so lately passed together; which she seemed to wish with equal ardour. I then told her, now she was my wife, I thought proper to know her name, which I had never before asked, for fear of giving uneasiness; for, as I added, I did not doubt she had observed in my behaviour, ever since I first saw her, a peculiar tenderness for her, and a sedulous concern not to offend, which had obliged me hitherto to stifle several questions I had to ask her whenever they

would be agreeable to her. She then bid me begin; for, as she was now my wife, whilst I was speaking, it became her to be all attention, and to give me the utmost satisfaction she could in all I should require, as she herself should have so great an interest in every thing for the future which would oblige me.

Compliments (if, in compliance with old custom, I may call them so, for they were by us delivered from the heart) being a little over on both sides, I first desired to know what name she went by before I found her: For, says I, having only hitherto called you madam, and my lady, besides the future expression of my love to you in the word dear, I would know your original name, that so I might join it with that tender epithet.—That you shall, says she, and also my family at another opportunity; but as my name will not take up long time to repeat at present, it is Youwarkee. And, pray, says she, now gratify me with the knowledge of yours.—My dear Youwarkee, says I, my name was Peter Wilkins when I heard it last; but that is so long ago, I had almost forgot it. And now, says I, there is another thing you can give me a pleasure in.—You need, then, only mention it, my dear Peter, says she. That is, says I, only to tell me, if you did not, by some accident, fall from the top of the rock over my habitation, upon the roof of it, when I first took you in here; and whether you are of the country upon the rocks?—She, softly smiling, answered, My dear Peter, you run your questions too thick; as to my country, which is not on the rocks, as you suppose, but at a vast distance from hence, I shall leave that, till I may hereafter, at more leisure, speak of my family, as I promised you before; but as to how I came into this grotto, I knew not at first, but soon perceived your humanity had brought me in, to take care of me, after a terrible fall I had; not from the rock, as you suppose, for then I must not now have been living to enjoy you, but from a far less considerable height in the air. I'll tell you how it happened. A parcel of us young people were upon a merry swangean round this arkoe, which we usually divert ourselves with at set times of the year, chasing and pursuing one another, sometimes soaring to an extravagant height, and then shooting down again with surprizing precipitancy, till we even touch the trees; when of a sudden we mount again and away. I say, being of this party, and pursued by one of my comrades, I descended down to the very trees, and she after me; but as I mounted, she over-shooting me brushed so stifly against the upper part of my graundee, that I lost my bearing; and being so near the branches before I cou'd recover it again, I sunk into the tree, and rendered my graundee useless to me; so that down I came, and that with so much force, that I but just felt my fall, and lost my senses. Whether I cried out or no upon my coming to the ground, I cannot say; but if I did, my companion was too far gone by that time to hear or take notice of me; as she, probably, in so swift a flight, saw not my fall. As to the condition I was in, or what happened immediately afterwards, I must be obliged to you for a relation of that: but one thing I was quickly sensible of, and never can forget, viz. that I owe my life to your care and kindness to me.

I told her she should have that part of her story from me another time: But, says I, there is something so amazing in these flights, or swangeans, as you call them that I must, as the questions for this day, beg you would let me know what is the method of them. What is the nature of your covering? (which was at first such an obstacle to my wishes.) How you put it on? And how you use it in your swangean?

Surely, my dearest Peter, says she, but that I can deny you nothing, since you are my barkatt, which you seem so passionately to desire, the latter of your questions would not be answered, for it must put me to the blush. As to our method of flight, you saw somewhat of that last night, though in a light hardly sufficient for you; and for the nature of my covering, you perceive that now: but to show you how it is put on, as you call it, I am afraid it will be necessary, as far as I can, to put it off, before I can make you comprehend that; which having done, the whole will be no farther a mystery. But, not to be tedious, is it your command that I uncover? Lay that upon me, it shall be done.—Here I was at a plunge whether to proceed or drop the question. Thinks I, if my curiosity should be fatal to me, as I may see something I can never bear hereafter, I am undone. She waits the command!—Why so?—I know not the consequence!—What shall I do?—At last somewhat resolutely, I asked her whether her answer either way to my command would cause her to leave me, or me to love her less? She seeing my hesitation, and perceiving the cause, was so pleased, that she cried out, No, my dear Peter, nor that, nor all the force on earth, shall ever part me from you. But I conceive you are afraid you shall discover something in me you may not like: I fear not that; but an immodest appearance before you I cannot suffer myself to be guilty of, but under your own command.—My lovely Youwarkee, says I, delay then my desires no longer; and since you require a warrant from me, I do command you to do it.—Immediately her graundee flew open, (discovering her naked body just to the hip, and round the rim

of her belly) and, expanding itself, was near six feet wide. Here my love and curiosity had a hard conflict; the one to gain my attention to the graundee, and the other to retain my eyes and thoughts on her lovely body, which I had never beheld so much of before. Though I was very unwilling to keep her uncovered too long, I could not easily dismiss so charming a sight. I attentively viewed her lovely flesh, and examined the case that enshrined it: but as I shall give you a full description of the graundee hereafter, in a more proper place, I will mention it no farther here, than to tell you that when I had narrowly surveyed the upper part of it, she in a moment contracted it round her so close that the nicest eye could not perceive the joining of the parts.

Indeed, my dear Youwarkee, says I, you had the best of reasons for saying you was not fearful I should discover any thing in you displeasing; for if my bosom glowed with love before, you have now therein raised an ardent flame, which neither time, nor aught else, will ever be able to extinguish. I now almost conceive how you fly; though yet I am at a loss to know how you extend and make use of the lower part of your graundee, which rises up and meets the upper; but I will rather guess at that by what I have seen, than raise the colour higher in those fair cheeks, which are, however, adorned with blushes. Then running to her, and taking her in my arms, I called her the dearest gift of Heaven; and left off further interrogatories till another opportunity.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Youwarkee cannot bear a strong Light—Wilkins makes her Spectacles which help her—A Description of them.*

YOUWARKEE and I having no other company than one another's, we talked together almost from morn to night, in order to learn each other's dialect. But how compliable soever she was in all other respects, I could not persuade her to go out with me to fetch water, or to the lake, in the day time. It being now the light season, I wanted her to be more abroad; but she excused herself, telling me her people never came into those luminous parts of the country during the false glare, as they called it, but kept altogether at home, where their light was more moderate and tender; and that the place where I resided was not frequented by them for half the year, and at other times only upon parties of pleasure, it not being worth while to settle habitations where they could not abide always. She said, Normnbdsgrsutt was the finest region in the world, where her king's court was, and a vast kingdom. I asked her twice or thrice more to name the country to me, but not all the art we could use, hers in dictating, and mine in endeavouring to pronounce it, would render me conqueror of that her monosyllable, (for as such it sounded from her sweet lips;) so I relinquished the name to her, telling her whenever she had any more occasion to mention the place, I desired it might be under the style of Doorpt Swangeanti, which she promised; but wondered, as she could speak the other so glibly, as she called it, I could not do so too.

I told her, that the light of my native country was far stronger than any I had seen since my arrival at Graundevolet, (for that, I found by her, was the name my dominions went by;) and that we had a sun, or ball of fire, which rolled over our heads every day with such a light and such a heat, that it would sometimes almost scorch one it was so hot, and was of such brightness that the eye could not look at it without danger of blindness.—She was heartily glad, she said, she was not born in so wretched a land; and she did not believe there was any other so good as her own.—I thought no benefit could arise from my combating these innocent prejudices, so I let them alone.

She had often lamented to me the difference of our eye-sight, and the trouble it was to her that she could not at all times go about with me, till it gave me a good deal of uneasiness to see her concern. At last I told her, that though I believed it would be impossible to reduce my sight to the standard of hers, yet I was persuaded I could bring hers to bear the strongest light I had ever seen in this country. She was mightily pleased with the thought of that, and said she wished I might, for she was sensible of no grief like being obliged to stay at home when I went abroad on my business, and was resolved to try my experiment if I pleased, and in the mean time should heartily pray for the success. I hit on the following invention.

I rummaged over all my old things, and by good luck found an old crape hatband. This I tried myself, single, before my own eyes, in the strongest light we had: but believing I had not yet obscured it enough, I doubled it, and then thought it might do; but for fear it should not, I trebled it, and then it seemed too dark for eyes like mine to discover objects through it, and so I judged it would suit hers; for I was determined to produce something, if possible, that would do at first, without repetition of trial, which I thought would only deject her more, by making her look on the matter as impracticable. I now only wanted a proper method for fixing it on her, and

this I thought would be easily effected, but had much more difficulty in it than I imagined. At first I purposed to tie the crape over her eyes, but trying it myself, I found it very rough and fretting: I then designed fixing it to an old crown of a hat that held my fish-hooks and lines, and so let it hang down before her face; but that also had its inconveniences, as it would slap her eyes in windy weather, and would be not only useless, but very troublesome in flight; so that I was scarce ever more puzzled before. At last I thought of a method that answered exceedingly well, the hint of which I took from somewhat I had seen with my master when I was at school, which he called goggles, and which he used to tie round his head to skreen his eyes in riding. The thing I made upon that plan was composed of old hat, pieces of ramshorn, and the above mentioned crape.

When I had finished the whole apparatus, I tried it first upon myself, and finding great reason to believe it would perfectly answer the intention, I ran directly to Youwarkee. Come, says I, my dear, will you go with me to the water rill; for I must fetch some this morning?—She shook her head, and, with tears in her eyes, wished she could. But, says she, let me see how light it is abroad.—No, says I, my love, you must not look out till you go.—Indeed, says she, if it did not affect my eyes and head you should not ask me twice.—Well, says I, my Youwarkee, I am now come to take you with me; and that you may not suffer by it, turn about, and let me apply the remedy I told you of for your sight. She wanted much to see first what it was, but I begged her to forbear till she tried whether it would be useful or not. She told me she would absolutely submit to my disection, so I adjusted the thing to her head. Now, says I, you have it on, let us go out and try it, and let me know the moment you find the light offensive, and take particular notice how you are affected. Hereupon away we marched, and I heard no complaint in all our walk to the lake.

Now, my dear Youwarkee, says I, when we got there, what do you think of my contrivance? Can you see at all?—Yes, very well, says she. But, my dear Peter, you have taken the advantage of the twilight, I know, to deceive me; and I had rather have stayed at home than have subjected you to return in the night for the sake of my company. I then assured her it was mid-day, and no later, which pleased her mightily; and, to satisfy her, I untied the string behind, and just let her be convinced it was so. When I had fixed the shade on her head again, she put up her hands and felt the several materials of which it consisted; and after expressing her admiration of it, So, my dear Peter, says she, you have now encumbered yourself with a wife indeed. For since I can come abroad in a glaring light with so much ease, you will never henceforward be without my company.

Youwarkee being thus in spirits, we launched the boat, watered, took a draught of fish, and returned; passing the night at home, in talking of the spectacles, (for that was the name I told her they must go by) and of the fishing, for that exercise delighted her to a great degree; but, above all, the spectacles were her chief theme; she handled them and looked at them again and again, and asked several rational questions about them; as, how they could have that effect on her eyes, enabling her to see, and the like. She ventured out with them next day by herself; and, as she threatened, was as good as her word, for she scarcely afterwards let me go abroad by myself, but accompanied me every where freely, and with delight.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Youwarkee with Child.—Their Stock of Provisions.—No Beast or Fish in Youwarkee's Country.—The Voices again.—Her Reason for not seeing those who uttered them.—She bears a Son.—A hard Speech in her Lying-in.—Divers Birds appear.—Their Eggs gathered.—How Wilkins kept account of Time.*

About three months after we were married, as we called it, Youwarkee told me she believed she was breeding, and I was mightily pleased with it, for though I had had two children before by Patty, yet I had never seen either of them, so that I longed to be a father. I sometimes amused myself with whimsical conjectures, as, whether the child would have a graundee or not; which of us it would be most like; how we should do without a midwife; and what must become of the infant, as we had not milk, in case Youwarkee could not suckle it. Indeed, I had leisure enough for indulging such reveries; for, having laid in our winter stores, my wife and I had nothing to do but enjoy ourselves over a good fire, prattling and toying together, making as good cheer as we could; and truly that was none of the worst, for we had fine bread as need to be eaten; we had pease preserved; all sorts of dried fish: and once a fortnight, for two or three days together, had fresh fish; we had vinegar, an a little herb which I had found, for pepper; and several sorts of nuts; so there was no want.

It was at this time, after my return fr

watering one day, where Youwarkee had been with me, that, having taken several fish, and amongst them some I had not before seen, I asked her, as we were preparing and salting some of them, how they managed fish in her country, and what variety they had of them there. She told me, she neither ever saw nor heard of a fish in her life till she came to me. How! says I, no fish amongst you? why you want one of the greatest dainties that can be set upon a table. Do you wholly eat flesh, says I, at Doorpt Swangeanti?—Flesh, says she, laughingly, of what?—Nay, says I, you know best what the beasts of your own country are. We have in England, where I was born and bred, oxen, very large hogs, sheep, lambs, and calves; these make our ordinary dishes: then we have deer, hares, rabbits, and these are reckoned dainties; besides numberless kinds of poultry, and fish without stint.—I never heard of any of these things in my life, says Youwarkee, nor did I ever eat any thing but fruits and herbs, and what I made from them, at Normnbdsgrautt.—You will speak that crabbed word, says I, again.—I beg your pardon, my dear, says she; at Doorpt Swangeanti, I say, nor I, nor any one else, to my knowledge, ever eat any such thing: but seeing you eat fish, as you call them, I made no scruple of doing so too, and like them very well, especially the salted ones, for I never tasted what you call salt neither till I came here.—I cannot think, says I, what sort of a country yours is, or how you all live there.—O, says she, there is no want; I wish you and I were there.—I was afraid I had talked too much of her country already, so we called a new cause.

Soon after winter had set in, as we were in bed one night, I heard the voices again: and though my wife had told me of her country-folks' swangeans in that place, I, being frighted a little, waked her; and she hearing them too, cried out, There they are! it is ten to one but my sister or some of our family are there: Hark! I believe I hear her voice.—I myself hearkened very attentively; and by this time understanding a great deal of their language, I not only could distinguish different speakers, but knew the meaning of several of the words they pronounced.

I would have had Youwarkee have gotten up and called to them. Not for the world, says she; have you a mind to part with me? Though I have no intent to leave you, as I am with child, if they should try to force me away without my consent, I may receive some injury, to the danger of my own life, or at least of the child's. This reason perfectly satisfying me, endeared the loving creature to me ten times more, if possible, than ever.

The next summer brought me a yacom as fair as alabaster. My wife was delivered without the usual assistance, and had as favourable a labour as could be. The first thing I did, after giving her some fish-soup, made as skilfully as I was able, and a little cordial, was to see if my yacom had the graundee or not: finding it had, So, says I to Youwarkee, you have brought me a legitimate heir to my dominions, whose title sure cannot be disputed, being one of you.—Though I spoke this with as much pleasure, and in as endearing a way as ever I spoke in my life, and quite innocently, the poor Youwarkee burst into tears to such excess there was no pacifying her. I asked her the reason of her grief, begged and entreated her to let me know what disturbed her, but all in vain; till, seeing me in a violent passion, such as I had never before appeared to be in, she told me she was very sorry I should question her fidelity to me. She surprised me in saying this, as I never had any such apprehension. No, my dearest wife, says I, I never had any such suspicion as you charge me with, I can safely affirm; nor can I comprehend your meaning by imputing such a thing to me.—Oh! says she, I am sure you have no cause for it; but you said the poor child was one of us; as much as to intimate, that had it been your own it would have been born as you were, without the graundee, which thought I cannot bear, and if you continue to think so it must end me; therefore take away my life now, rather than let me live to see my farther misery.

I was heartily sorry for what I had said, when I saw the effects of it, though I did not imagine it could have been perverted to such a contrary meaning. But considering her to be the faithfullest and most loving creature upon earth, and that true love cannot bear any thing that touches upon or can be applied (though with ever so forced a construction) to an opprobrious or contemptuous meaning, I attributed her groundless resentment to her excess of fondness only for me; and falling upon the bed by her, and bathing her face in my tears, I assured her the interpretation she had put on my words was altogether foreign from the view they were spoken with; professing to her, that I never had, nor ever could have, the least cause of jealousy. On my confirming this absolute confidence in her virtue by the strongest asseverations, she grew fully convinced of her error, and acknowledged she had been too rash in censuring me; and growing pleased at my fresh professions of love to her, we presently were reconciled, and became again very good friends.

When Youwarkee had gathered strength again, she proved an excellent nurse to my Pedro, (for that was the name I gave him) so that he soon grew a charming child, able to

go in his twelvemonth, and spoke in his twentieth. This and two other lovely boys I had by her in three years; every one of which she brought up with the breast, and they thrived delicately.

I do not mention the little intervening occurrences which happened during this period; they consisted chiefly of the old rota of fishing, watering, providing in the summer for the winter, and in managing my salt-work; which all together kept me at full employment, comfortably to maintain an increasing family.

In this time I had found out several new sorts of eatables. I had observed, as I said before, abundance of birds about the wood and lake in the summer months. These, by firing at them two or three times on my first coming, I had almost caused to desert my dominions. But as I had for the last two or three years given no disturbance at all to them, they were now in as great plenty as ever; and I made great profit of them by the peace they enjoyed; and yet my table never wanted a supply, fresh in the summer, or salted and pickled in winter.

I took notice it was about October these birds used to come; and most of the month of November they were busy in laying their eggs, which I used at that time to find in great plenty along the banks of the lake in the reeds, and made great collections of them; I used also to find a great many in the woods amongst the shrubs and underwood. These furnished our table various ways; for with my cream-cheese flour, and a little mixture of rams-horn juice, I had taught my wife to make excellent puddings of them; abundance of them also we eat boiled or fried alone, and often as sauce to our fish. As for the birds themselves, having long omitted to fire at them, I had an effectual means of taking them otherwise by nets, which I set between the trees, and also very large pitfal nets, with which I used to catch all sorts, even from the size of a thrush to that of a turkey. But as I shall say more of these when I come to speak of my ward bye and bye, and of my poultry, I shall omit any farther mention of them here.

You may perhaps wonder how I could keep an account of my time so precisely, as to talk of the particular months. I will tell you. At my coming from America, I was then exact; for we set sail the fourteenth of November, and struck the first or second day of February. So far I kept perfect reckoning; but after that I was not so exact, though I kept it as well as my perplexity would admit even then, till the days shortening upon me, prevented it.

Hereupon I set about making a year for myself. I found the duration of the comparative darkness, or what might with me be termed night, in the course of the twenty-four hours, or day, gradually increased for six months; after which it decreased reciprocally for an equal time, and the lighter part of the day took its turn, as in our parts of the world, only inversely: so that as the light's decrease became sensible about the middle of March, it was at the greatest pitch the latter end of August, or beginning of September; and from thence, on the contrary, went on decreasing to the close of February, when I had the longest portion of light. Hereupon, dividing my year into two seasons only, I began the winter half in March, and the summer half in September. Thus my winter was the spring and summer quarters in Europe, and my summer those of our autumn and winter.

From my settling this matter I kept little account of days or weeks, but only reckoned my time by summer and winter, so that I am pretty right as to the revolutions of these; though the years, as to their notation, I kept no account of, nor do I know what year of the Lord it now is.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Wilkins's concern about Clothing for Pedro, his eldest Son—His Discourse with his Wife about the Ship—Her Flight to it—His melancholy Reflections till her return—An account of what she had done, and of what she brought—She clothes her Children, and takes a second Flight.*

As my boy Pedro grew up, though, as I said before, he had the graundee, yet it was of less dimensions than it ought to have been to be useful to him, so that it was visible he could never fly; for it would scarce meet before, whereas it ought to have reached from side to side both ways. This pleased my wife to the heart; for now she was sure, whatever I had done before, I could not suspect her. Be that as it will, the boy's graundee not being a sufficient vestment for him, it became necessary he should be clothed.

I turned over my hoard, but could find nothing that would do; or, at least, that we knew how to fit him with. I had described my own country vest for lads to Youwarkee, and she formed a tolerable idea of it, but we had no tackle to alter any thing with. O, my dear, says I, had I but been born with the graundee, I need not be now racking my brains to get my child clothes.—What do you mean by that? says she.—Why, says I, I would have flown to my ship, (for I had long before related to her all my sea adventures, till the vessel's coming to the magnetical rock) and

have brought some such things from thence, as you, not wanting them in this country, can have no notion of.—She seemed mighty inquisitive to understand how a ship was made, what it was most like to, how a person who never saw one might know it only by the description, and how one might get into it; with abundance of the like questions. She then inquired what sort of things those needles and several other utensils were, which I had at times been speaking of; and in what part of a ship they usually kept such articles. And I, to gratify her curiosity, as I perceived she took a pleasure in hearing me, answered all her questions to a scruple; not then conceiving the secret purpose of all this inquisitiveness.

About two days after this, having been out two or three hours in the morning, to cut wood, at coming home I found Pedro crying, ready to break his heart, and his little brother Tommy hanging to him, and crawling about the floor after him: the youngest pretty baby was fast asleep upon one of the beast-fish skins, in a corner of the room. I asked Pedro for his mother; but the poor infant had nothing farther to say to the matter, than Mammy run away, I cry! mammy run away, I cry! I admired where she was gone, never before missing her from our habitation. However, I waited patiently till bed-time, but no wife. I grew very uneasy then; yet, as my children were tired and sleepy, I thought I had best go to bed with them, and make quiet; so, giving all three their suppers, we lay down together. They slept; but my mind was too full to permit the closure of my eyes. A thousand different chimeras swam in my imagination relating to my wife. One while I fancied her carried away by her kinsfolks; then, that she was gone of her own accord to make peace with her father. But that thought would not fit, being put aside by her constant tenderness to her children, and regard to me; whom I was sure she would not have left without notice. But alas! says I, she may even now be near me, but taken so ill she cannot get home, or she may have died suddenly in the wood. I lay tumbling and tossing in great anxiety, not able to find out any excusable occasion she could have of so long absence. And then, thinks I, if she should either be dead, or have quite left me, which will be of equally bad consequence to me, what can I do with three poor helpless infants? If they were a little more grown up, they might be helpful to me, and to each other; but at their age, how shall I ever rear them without the tenderness of a mother? And to see them pine away before my face, and not know how to help them, will distract me.

Finding I could neither sleep nor lie still, I rose, intending to search all the woods about, and call to her, that if any accident had prevented sight of her, she might at least hear me. But upon opening the door, and just stepping out, how agreeably was I surprised to meet her coming in, with something on her arm. My dear Youwarkee, says I, where have you been? What has befallen you to keep you out so long? The poor children have been at their wits end to find you; and I, my dear, have been inconsolable, and was now, almost distracted, coming in search of you.—Youwarkee looked very blank, to think what concern she had given me and the children. My dearest Peter, says she, kissing me, pray forgive me the only thing I have ever done to offend you, and the last cause you shall ever have, by my good will, to complain of me; but walk within doors, and I will give you a farther account of my absence. Don't you remember what delight I took the other day to hear you talk of your ship?—Yes, says I, you did so; but what of that?—Nay, pray, says she, forgive me, for I have been to see it.—That's impossible, says I: and truly this was the first time I ever thought she went about to deceive me. I do assure you, says she, I have; and a wonderful thing it is! But if you distrust me, and what I say, I have brought proof of it; step out with me to the verge of the wood, and satisfy yourself.—But pray, says I, who presented you with this upon your arm?—I vow, says she, I had forgot this; yes, this will, I believe, confirm to you what I have said.—I turned it over and over; and looking wistfully upon her, says I, This waistcoat, indeed, is the very fellow to one that lay in the captain's locker in the cabin.—Say not the very fellow, says she, but rather say the very same, for I'll assure you it is so; and had you been with me, we might have got so many things for ourselves and the children, we should never have wanted more, though we had lived these hundred years; but as it is, I have left something without the wood for you to bring up. When we had our talk out, she, hearing the children stir, took them up, and was going, as she always did, to get their breakfasts. Hold, says I, this journey must have fatigued you too much already, lay yourself to rest, and leave every thing else to me.—My dear, says she, you seem to think this flight tiresome, but you are mistaken; I am more weary with walking to the lake and back again, than with all the rest. Oh, says she, if you had but the graundee, flying would rest you, after the greatest labour; for the parts which are moved with exercise on the earth, are all at rest in flight; as, on the contrary, the parts used in flight are when on earthly travel. The whole trouble of flight is in mounting from the plain ground; but when

once you are upon the graundee, at a proper height, all the rest is play, a mere trifle; you need only think of your way, and incline to it, your graundee directs you as readily as your feet obey you on the ground, without thinking of every step you take; it does not require labour, as your boat does, to keep you a-going.

After we had composed ourselves, we walked to the verge of the wood, to see what cargo my wife had brought from the ship. I was astonished at the bulk of it; and seeing, by the outside, it consisted of clothes, I took it with much ado upon my shoulders, and carried it home. But upon opening it, I found far more treasure than I could have imagined; for there was a hammer, a great many spikes and nails, three spoons, about five plates of pewter, four knives and a fork, a small china punch-bowl, two chocolate cups, a paper of needles, and several of pins, a parcel of coarse thread, a pair of shoes, and abundance of such other things as she had heard me wish for and describe; besides as much linen and woollen, of one sort or another, as made a good package for all the other things; with a great tin porridge-pot, of about two gallons, tied to the outside; and all these as nicely stowed as if she had been bred a packer.

When I had viewed the bundle, and poised the weight, How was it possible, my dear Youwarkee, said I, for you to bring all this? You could never carry them in your hands.—No, no, replied she, I carried them on my back.—Is it possible, says I, for your graundee to bear yourself and all this weight too in the air, and to such an height as the top of these rocks?—You will always, replies she, make the height a part of your difficulty in flying; but you are deceived, for as the first stroke (I have heard you say often) in fighting is half the battle, so it is in flying; get but once fairly on the wind, nothing can hurt you afterwards. My method, let me tell you, was this; I climbed to the highest part of the ship, where I could stand clear, having first put up my burden, which you have there; and then getting that on my back near my shoulders, I took the two cords you see hang loose to it in my two hands, and, extending my graundee, leaped off flatwise with my face towards the water; when instantly playing two or three good strokes with my graundee, I was out of danger; now, if I had found the bundle too heavy to make my first strokes with, I should directly have turned on my back, dropped my bundle, and floated in my graundee to the ship again, as you once saw me float on the lake.—Says I, you must have flown a prodigious distance to the lake, for I was several days sailing, I believe three weeks, from my ship, before I reached the gulph; and after that could be little less than five weeks (as I accounted for it,) and at a great rate of sailing too under the rock, before I reached the lake; so that the ship must be a monstrous way off.—No, no, says she, your ship lies but over yon cliff, that rises as it were with two points; and as to the rock itself, it is not broader than our lake is long: but what made you so tedious in your passage was, many of the windings and turnings in the cavern returning in to themselves again; so that you might have gone round and round till this time, if the tide had not luckily struck you into the direct passage: this, says she, I have heard from some of my countrymen, who have flown up it, but could never get quite through.

I wish with all my heart, says I, fortune had brought me first to light in this country; or (but for your sake I could almost say) had never brought me into it at all; for to be a creature of the least significancy, of the whole race but one, is a melancholy circumstance.—Fear not, says she, my love, for you have a wife will hazard all for you, though you are restrained; and as my inclinations and affections are so much yours, that I need but know your desires to execute them as far as my power extends, surely you, who can act by another, may be content to forego the trouble of your own performance. I perceive, indeed, continued she, you want mightily to go to your ship, and are more uneasy now you know it is safe, than you was before; but that being past my skill to assist you in, if you will command your deputy to go backwards and forwards in your stead, I am ready to obey you.

Thus ended our conversation about the ship for that time. But it left not my mind so soon; for a stronger hankering after it pursued me now than ever since my wife's flight, but to no purpose.

We sat us down, and sorted out our cargo, piece by piece; and having found several things proper for the children, my wife longed to enter upon some piece of work towards clothing Pedro in the manner she had heard me talk of, and laid hard at me to show her the use of the needles, thread, and other things she had brought. Indeed, I must say she proved very tractable; and from the little instruction I was able to give her, soon outwrought my knowledge; for I could only show her that the thread went through the needle, and both through the cloth to hold it together; but for any thing else I was as ignorant as she. In much less time than I could have imagined, she had clothed my son Pedro, and had made a sort of mantle for the youngest. But now seeing us so smart, (for I took upon me sometimes to wear the green waistcoat she had brought under my duffle jacket) she began to be ashamed of herself, a

she said, in our fine company; and afterwards (as I shall soon acquaint you) got into our fashion.

Seeing the advantages of her flight to the ship, and that so many conveniences arose from it, she was frequently at me to let her go again. I should as much have wished for another return of goods as she, but I could by no means think of parting with my factor; for I knew her eagerness to please me, and that she would stick at nothing to perform it. And, thinks I, should any accident happen to her, by over-loading, or otherwise, and I should lose her, all the other commodities of the whole world put together would not compensate her loss. But as she so earnestly desired it, and assured me she would run no hazards, I was prevailed on at length, by her incessant importunities, to let her go; though under certain restrictions, which she promised me to comply with. As first, I insisted upon it that she should take a tour quite round the rock, setting out the same way I had last gone with my boat; and, if possible, find out the gulph, which I told her she could not mistake, by reason of the noise the fall of the water made; and desired her to remark the place, so as I might know withinside where it was without. And then I told her she might review and search every hole in the ship as she pleased; and if there were any small things she had a mind to bring from it, she was welcome, provided the bundle she should make up was not above a fourth part either of the bulk or weight of the last. All which she having engaged punctually to observe, she bid me not expect her till I saw her, and she would return as soon as possible. I then went with her to the confines of the wood, (for I told her I desired to see her mount) and she, after we had embraced, bidding me to stand behind her, took her flight.

## CHAP. XX.

*The Author observes her Flight—A Description of a Glumm in the Graundee—She finds out the Gulph, not far from the Ship—Brings home more Goods—Makes her a Gown by her Husband's Instruction.*

I HAD ever since our marriage been desirous of seeing Youwarkee fly, but this was the first opportunity I had of it; and indeed the sight was worthy of all the attention I paid it; for I desired her slowly to put herself in proper order for it, that I might make my observation the more accurately; and shall now give you an account of the whole apparatus, though several parts of the description were taken from subsequent views; for it would have been impossible to have made just remarks of every thing at that once, especially as I only viewed her back parts then.

I told you before, I had seen her graundee open, and quite extended, as low as her middle; but that being in the grotto by lamplight, I could not take so just a survey as now, when the sort of light we ever had was at the brightest.

She first threw up two long branches or ribs of the whalebone, as I called it before, (and indeed for several of its properties, as toughness, elasticity, and pliableness, nothing I have ever seen can so justly be compared to it) which were jointed behind to the upper bone of the spine, and which, when not extended, lie bent over the shoulders on each side of the neck forwards, from whence, by nearer and nearer approaches, they just meet at the lower rim of the belly in a sort of point; but when extended, they stand their whole length above the shoulders, not perpendicularly, but spreading outwards, with a web of the softest and most pliable and springy membrane that can be imagined, in the interstice between them, reaching from their root or joint on the back up above the hinder part of the head, and near half-way their own length; but when closed, the membrane falls down in the middle upon the neck, like an handkerchief. There are also two other ribs rising as it were from the same root, which, when open, run horizontally, but not so long as the others. These are filled up in the interstice between them and the upper ones with the same membrane; and on the lower side of this is also a deep flap of the membrane, so that the arms can be either above or below it in flight, and are always above it when closed. This last rib, when shut, flaps under the upper one, and also falls down with it before to the waist, but is not joined to the ribs below. Along the whole spine-bone runs a strong, flat, broad, grisly cartilage, to which are joined several other of these ribs; all which open horizontally, and are filled in the interstices with the above membrane, and are jointed to the ribs of the person just where the plane of the back begins to turn towards the breast and belly; and, when shut, wrap the body round to the joints on the contrary side, folding neatly one side over the other. At the lower spine are two more ribs, extended horizontally when open, jointed again to the hips, and long enough to meet the joint on the contrary side cross the belly; and from the hip-joint, which is on the outermost edge of the hip-bone, runs a pliable cartilage quite down the outside of the thigh and leg to the ancle; from which there branch out divers other ribs horizontally also when open, but when closed, they encompass the whole thigh and leg, rolling inwards cross the back of the leg and thigh, till they reach and just cover

the cartilage. The interstices of these are also filled up with the same membrane. From the two ribs which join to the lower spine-bone, there hangs down a sort of short apron, very full of plaits, from hip joint to hip-joint, and reaches below the buttocks, half way or more to the hams. This has also several small limber ribs in it. Just upon the lower spine-joint, and above the apron, as I call it, there are two other long branches, which, when close, extend upon the back from the point they join at below to the shoulders, where each rib has a clasper, which reaching over the shoulders, just under the fold of the uppermost branch or ribs, hold up the two ribs flat to the back like a V, the interstices of which are also filled up with the aforesaid membrane. This last piece, in flight, falls down almost to the ancles, where the two claspers lapping under each leg within-side, hold it very fast; and then also the short apron is drawn up, by the strength of the ribs in it, between the thighs forward, and covers as far as the rim of the belly. The whole arms are covered also from the shoulders to the wrist with the same delicate membrane, fastened to ribs of proportionable dimensions, and jointed to a cartilage on the outside in the same manner as on the legs.

It is very surprising to feel the difference of these ribs when open and when closed; for, closed, they are as pliable as the finest whale-bone, or more so, but, when extended, are as strong and stiff as a bone. They are tapering from the roots, and are broader or narrower, as best suits the places they occupy, and the stress they are put to, up to their points, which are almost as small as a hair. The membrane between them is the most elastic thing I ever met with, occupying no more space, when the ribs are closed, than just from rib to rib, as flat and smooth as possible; but when extended in some postures, will dilate itself surprisingly. This will be better comprehended by the plates, where you will see several glumms and gawreys in different attitudes, than expressed by words.*

As soon as my wife had expanded the whole graundee, being upon plain ground, she stooped forward, moving with a heavy wriggling motion at first, which put me into some pain for her; but after a few strokes, beginning to rise a little, she cut through the air like lightning, and was soon over the edge of the rock, and out of my sight.

It is the most amazing thing in the world to observe the large expansion of this graundee, when open; and, when closed, (as it all is in a moment upon the party's descent) to see it sit so close and compact to the body, as no tailor can come up to it; and then the several ribs lie so justly disposed in the several parts, that instead of being, as one would imagine, a disadvantage to the shape, they make the body and limbs look extremely elegant; and by the different adjustment of their lines on the body and limbs, the whole, to my fancy, somewhat resembles the dress of the old Roman warriors in their buskins; and, to appearance, seems much more noble than any fictitious garb I ever saw, or can frame a notion of to myself.

Though these people, in height, shape, and limb, very much resemble the Europeans, there is yet this difference, that their bodies are rather broader and flatter, and their limbs, though as long and well shaped, are seldom so thick as ours: And this I observed generally in all I saw of them during a long time among them afterwards; but their skin, for beauty and fairness, exceeds ours very much.

My wife having now taken her second flight, I went home, and never left my children till her return: this was three days after our parting. I was in bed with my little ones when she knocked at the door. I soon let her in, and we received each other with a glowing welcome. The news she brought me was very agreeable. She told me she first went and pried into every nook in the ship, where she had seen such things, could we get at them, as would make us very happy. Then she set out the way I told her to go, in order to find the gulph. She was much afraid she should not have discovered it, though she flew very slow, that she might be sure to hear the waterfall, and not over-shoot it. It was long ere she came at it; but when she did, she perceived she might have spared most of her trouble, had she set out the other way; for, after she had flown almost round the island, and not before, she began to hear the fall, and upon coming up to it, found it to be not above six minutes flight from the ship. She said the entrance was very narrow, and, she thought, lower than I represented it; for she could scarce discern any space between the surface of the water and the arch-way of the rock. I told her that might happen from the rise or fall of the sea itself. But I was glad to hear the ship was no farther from the gulph; for my head was never free from the thoughts of my ship and cargo. She then told me she had left a small bundle for me without the wood, and went to look after the children. I brought up the bundle; and though it was not near so large as the other, I found several useful things in it, wrapp

* We have thought it proper to retain the words of the original edition, although the plan of the present work excludes plates.

up in four or five yards of dark blue woollen cloth, which I knew no name for, but which was thin and light, and about a yard wide. I asked her where she met with this stuff: she answered, where there was more of it, under a thing like our bed, in a cloth like our sheet, which she cut open, and took it out of.—Well, says I, and what will you do with this?—Why, I will make me a coat, like yours, says she, for I don't like to look different from my dear husband and children.—No, Youwarkee, replied I, you must not do so: if you make such a jacket as mine, there will be no distinction between glumm and gawrey; the gowren praave, in my country, would not on any account go dressed like a glumm; for they wear a fine flowing garment, called a gown, that sits tight about the waist, and hangs down from thence in folds, like your barras, almost to the ground, so that you can hardly discern their feet, and no other part of their body but their hands and face, and about as much of their necks and breasts as you see in your graundee.

Youwarkee seemed highly delighted with this new-fancied dress, and worked day and night at it against the cold weather. Whilst she employed herself thus, I was busied in providing my winter stores, which I was forced to do alone now, herself and children taking up all my wife's time. About a fortnight after she had begun mantua-making, she presented herself to me one day as I came from work in her new gown: and, truly, considering the scanty description I had given her of such a garment, it appeared a good comely dress. Though it had not one plait about the body, it sat very tight thereto, and yet hung down full enough for a countess; for she would have put it all in (all the stuff she had) had there been as much more of it. I could see no opening before, so asked her how she got it on. She told me she laid along on the ground, and crept through the plaits at the bottom, and sewed the body round her after she had got her hands and arms through the sleeves. I wondered at her contrivance; and, smiling, showed her how she should put it on, and also how to pin it before: and after she had done that, and I had turned up about half a yard of sleeve, which then hung down to her fingers ends, I kissed her, and called her my country-woman; of which, and her new gown, she was very proud for a long time.

## CHAP. XXI.

*The Author gets a Breed of Poultry, and by what Means—Builds them an House—How he managed to keep them in Winter.*

One day, as I was traversing the woods to view my bird-traps, looking into the underwood among the great trees on my right-hand, I saw a wood-hen (a bird I used to call so, from its resemblance in make to our English poultry) come out of a little thicket. I know not whether my rustling or what had disturbed it: but I let her pass, and she ran away before me. When she was fairly out of sight, I stepped up, and found she had a nest and sixteen eggs there. I exactly marked the place, and taking away one of the eggs, I broke it, at some distance from the nest, to see how forward they were; and I had no sooner broke the shell but out came a young chicken. I then looked into the nest again, and taking up more of the eggs, I found them all just splintered in the shell, and ready for hatching. I had immediately a desire to save them, and bring them up tame; but I was afraid if I took them away before they were hatched, and a little strengthened under he hen, they would all die; so I let them remain till next day. In the mean while I prepared some small netting of such a proper size as I conceived would do, and with this I contrived, by fastening it to stakes which I fixed in the ground, to surround the nest, and me on the outside of it. All the while I was doing this, the hen did not stir, so that I thought she had either been absent when I came, or had hatched and gone off with the young ones. As to her being gone I was under no concern; for I had no design to catch her, but only to confine the chickens within my net if they were hatched. But, however, I went nearer, and peeping in, found she sat still, squeezing herself as flat to the ground as she could. I was in twenty minds whether to take her first, and then catch the chickens, or to let her go off, and then clap upon them; but as I proposed to let her go, I thought if she would sit still till I had got the chickens, that would be the best way; so I softly kneeled down before her, and sliding my hand under her, I gently drew out two, and put them in a bag I had in my left hand. I then dipped again and again, taking two every turn; but going a fourth time, as I was bringing out my prize, the hen jumped up, flew out, and made such a noise, that, though I the minute before saw six or seven more chicks in a lump where she had sat, and kept my eye upon them, yet, before I could put the last two I had got into my bag, these were all gone, and in three hours search I could not find one of them, though I was sure they could not pass my net, and must be within the compass of a small room, my toils enclosing no more. After tiring myself with looking for them, I marched home with those eight I had got.

I told Youwarkee what I had done, and how I intended to manage the little brood,

and, if I could, to bring them up tame. We kept them some days very warm by the fire, and fed them often, as I had seen my mother do with her early chickens; and in a fortnight's time they were as stout and familiar as common poultry. We kept them a long while in the house; and when I fed them I always used them to a particular whistle, which I also taught my wife, that they might know both us and their feeding time; and in a very short while they would come running, upon the usual sound, like barn-door fowls to the name of Biddy.

There happened in this brood to be five hens and three cocks; and they were now so tame, that, having cut their wings, I let them out, when the weather favoured, at my door, where they would pick about in the wood, and get best part of their subsistence; and having used them to roost in a corner of my anti-chamber, they all came in very regularly at night, and took their places. My hens, at the usual season, laid me abundance of eggs, and hatched me a brood or two each of chickens; so that now I was at a loss to know what to do with them, they were become so numerous. The anti-chamber was no longer a proper receptacle of such a flock, and therefore I built a little house, at a small distance from my own, on purpose for their reception and entertainment. I had by this time cleared a spot of ground on one side of my grotto, by burning up the timber and underwood which had covered it: this I enclosed, and within that enclosure I raised my aviary, and my poultry thrived very well there, seemed to like their habitation, and grew very fat.

My wife and I took much delight in visiting and feeding them, and it was a fine diversion also to my boys; but at the end of summer, when all the other birds took their annual flight, away went every one of my new-raised brood with them, and one of my old cocks, the rest of the old set remaining very quiet with me all the winter. The next summer, when my chicks of that year grew up a little, I cut their wings, and by that means preserved all but one, which I suppose was either not cut so close as the rest, or his wings had grown again. From this time I found, by long experience, that not two out of a hundred that had once wintered with me would ever go away, though I did not cut their wings; but all of the same season would certainly go off with the wild ones, if they could any ways make a shift to fly. I afterwards got a breed of blacknecks, which was a name I gave them from the peculiar blackness of their necks, let the rest of their bodies be of what colour they would, as they are indeed of all colours. These birds were as big or bigger than a turkey, of a delicious flavour, and were bred from turkey eggs hatched under my own wood hens in great plenty. I was forced to clip these as I did the other young fowl, to keep them, and at length they grew very tame, and would return every night during the dark season. The greatest difficulty now was to get meat for all these animals in the winter, when they would sit on the roost two days together, if I did not call and feed them, which I was sometimes forced to do by lamp-light, or they would have starved in cloudy weather. But I overcame that want of food by an accidental discovery; for I observed my blacknecks in the woods jump many times together at a sort of little round heads or pods, very dry, which hung plentifully upon a shrub that grew in great abundance there. I cut several of these heads, and carrying them home with me, broke them, and took out a spoonful or more from each head of small yellow seeds, which giving to my poultry, and finding they greedily devoured them, I soon laid in a stock for twice my number of mouths, so that they never after wanted. I tried several times to raise a breed of water-fowl by hatching their eggs under my hens; but not one in ten of the sorts, when hatched, were fit to eat; and those that were would never live and thrive with me, but got away to the lake, I having no sort of water nearer me; so I dropped my design of water-fowl as impracticable. But by breeding and feeding my land-fowl so constantly in my farm-yard, I never wanted of that sort at my table, where we eat abundance of them; for my whole side of the lake in a few years was like a farm-yard, so full of poultry that I never knew my stock; and upon the usual whistle they would flock round me from all quarters. I had every thing now but cattle, not only for the support, but convenience and pleasure of life; and so happily should I have fared here, if I had had but a cow and bull, a ram and sheep, that I would not have changed my dominions for the crown of England.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Reflections on Mankind—The Author wants to be with his Ship—Projects going, but perceives it impracticable—Youwarkee offers her Service, and goes—An Account of her Transactions on Board—Remarks on her Sagacity—She dispatches several Cargoes of Goods through the Gulph to the Lake—An Account of a danger she escaped—The Author has a fit of Sickness.*

STRANGE is the temper of mankind; who the more they enjoy, the more they covet. Before I received any return from my ship, I rested tolerably easy, and but seldom thought upon what I had left behind me in her, think-

myself happy in what I had, and completely so since my union with my dear wife: but after I had got what I could never have expected, I grew more and more perplexed for want of the rest, and thought I should never enjoy true happiness while even a plank of the ship remained. My head, be I where I would, or at what I would, was ever on board. I wished for her in the lake, and could I but have got her thither, I thought, I should be an emperor: and though I wanted for nothing to maintain life, and had so good a wife and five children I was very fond of, yet the one thing I had not, reduced the comfort of all the rest to a scanty pattern, even so low as to destroy my whole peace. I was even mad enough to think of venturing up the cavern again, but was restrained from the attempt by the certain impracticableness of it. Then I thought Youwarkee should make another trip to the ship: But what can she bring from it, says I to myself, in respect of what must be left behind? Her whole life will not suffice to clear it in, at the rate she can fetch the loading hither in parcels. At last a project started, that as there were so many chests on board, Youwarkee should fill some of them, and send them through the gulph to take their chance for the lake. This at first sight seemed feasible; but then I considered how they could be got from the ship to the gulph; and again, that they would never keep out the water, and if they filled with a lading in them they would sink; or, if this did not happen, they might be dashed to pieces against the craggs in the cavern. These apprehensions stopped me again; till, unwilling to quit the thought, True, says I, this may happen to some; but if I get but one in five, it is better than nothing. Thus I turned and wound the affair in my mind; but objections still started too obstinate to be conquered.

In the height of my soliloquy in comes Youwarkee; and seeing my dejected look, would needs know the meaning of it. I told her plainly that I could get no rest from day to day ever since she first went to the ship, to think such a number of good things lay there to be a prey to the sea, as the ship wasted, when they might be of such infinite service here; and that, since her last flight, I had suffered the more, when I thought how near the gulph was to the ship; so that could I but get thither myself with my boat, I would contrive to pack up the goods in the chests that were on board, and, carrying them in the boat, drop them near the draught of the water, which of itself would suck them under the rock down the gulph; and when they were passed through the cavern, I might take them up in the lake.—Well, says she, Peter, and why cannot I do this for you?—No, says I, even this has its objections. Then I told her what I feared of their taking water, or dashing against the rock, and twenty other ways of frustrating my views: But, above all, says I, how can you get such large and weighty things to the gulph without a boat? There is another impossibility! it won't do.

Youwarkee eyed me attentively. Pr'ythee, my dear Peter, says she, set your heart at rest about that. I can only try: if no good is to be done, you shall soon know it, and must rest contented under the disappointment.—I told her if I was there, I could take all the things out of the chests, and then melt some pitch and pour into every crack, to keep out the water when they were set afloat.—Pitch! says she, what's that?—Why, says I, that is a nasty, hard, black sticking thing, that stands in tubs in the ship, and which being put over the fire in any thing to melt, will grow liquid, and when it is cold be hard again, and will resist the water and keep it out.—Says she, How can I put this pitch within-side of the chest-lid when I have tied it up?—It is to no manner of purpose, says I, to talk of it; so there's an end of it.—But, says she, suppose yourself there, what things would you bring first?—I then entered into a long detail of particulars; saying, I would have this and that, and so on, till I had scarce left out a thing I either knew of or could suppose to be in the ship; and, for fear I had not mentioned all, says I, at last, if I was there, I believe I should leave but little portable behind me.

So, so, my dear, says Youwarkee, you would roll in riches, I find; but you have mentioned never a new gown for me.—Why, aye! says I, I would have that too.—But how would you melt the pitch? says she.—O, says I, there is a tinder-box and matches in a room below, upon the side of the fire-hearth. And then I let her see one I had brought with me, and showed her the use of the flint and steel.—Well, my dear, says she, will you once more trust me?—I told her, her going would be of little more use than to get a second gown, or some such thing; but if she was desirous, I would let her make another flight, on her promise to be back as soon as possible.

In the evening she set out, and staid two days, and till the night of the third. I would here observe, that though it was much lighter and brighter on the outside of the rock where the ship lay, than with us at Graundevolet, yet having always her spectacles with her, I heard no more complaint of the glare of light she used to be so much afraid of: indeed, she always avoided the fire and lamp at home

as much as she could, because she generally took off her spectacles within doors: but when at any time she had them on, she could bear both well enough.

Upon her return again, she told me she had shipped some goods to sea for me, which she hoped would arrive safe, (for by this time she had had my seafaring terms so often over, she could apply them very properly) and that they were in six chests, which she had pitched after my directions.—Aye! says I, you have pitched them into the sea, perhaps; but, after my directions, I am satisfied, was beyond your ability.—You glumms, says she, think us gawreys very ignorant; but I'll satisfy you we are not so dull of apprehension as you would make us. Did not you show me one day how your boat was tarred and caulked, as you call it?—I did, says I; what then?—I'll tell you, says she. When I had emptied the first chest, and set it properly, I looked about for your pitch, which at last I found by its sticking to my fingers; I then put a good piece into a sort of a little kettle, with a long handle, that lay upon the pitch.—O, the pitch-ladle! says I.—I know not what you call it, says she; but then I made a fire, as you told me, and melted that stuff; afterwards turning up the chest side-ways, and then end-ways, I poured it into it, and let it settle in the cracks, and with an old stocking, such as yours, dipped into the pitch, I rubbed every place where the boards joined. I then set the chest on the side of the ship, and when the pitch was cold and hardened in it, filled it top-full of things: but when I had done thus, and shut the lid, I found that would not come so close but I could get the blade of a knife through any where between it and the chest; whereupon I cut some long slips of the cloth I was packing up, and fitting them all round the edge of the chest, I dipped them into the pitch, and laid them on hot; and where one slip would not do, I put two: and shutting the lid down close upon them, I nailed it, as I had seen you do some things, quite round; then tying a rope to the handle, I tipped the chest into the sea, holding the rope. I watched it some time, and seeing it swim well, I took flight with the rope in my hand, and drew the chest after me to the gulph, when, letting go the rope, away it went. I served five more in the same manner: and now, my dearest, I am here to tell you I hope you will be able to see at least some of them, one time or other, in the lake.

I admired in all this at the sagacity of the gawreys. Alas! thinks I, what narrow-hearted creatures are mankind? Did I not heretofore look upon the poor blacks in Africa as little better than beasts, till my friend Glanlipze convinced me, by disabling the crocodile, the passage of the river, and several other achievements, that my own excellencies might have perished in a desart without his genius; and now what could I, or almost any of us master-pieces of the creation, (as we think ourselves) and Heaven's peculiar favourites, have done in this present case, that has been omitted by this woman, (for I may justly style her so in an eminent degree) and that in a way to which she was bred an utter stranger?

After what I had heard from Youwarkee, I grew much more cheerful; which she, poor creature, was remarkably pleased with. She went with me constantly once, and sometimes twice a day, for several days together, to see what success at the lake; till at length she grew very impatient, for fear, as she afterwards told me, I should either think she had not done what she said, or had done it in an ineffectual manner. But one day, walking by the lake, I thought I saw something floating in the water at a very great distance. Youwarkee, says I, I spy a sail! Then running to my boat, and taking her in, away we went, plying my oars with all my might; for I longed to see what it was. At nearer view I perceived it to be one of my wife's fleet. But what added to my satisfaction, was to see Youwarkee so pleased, for she could scarcely contain herself.

When we came close to it, up she started: Now, my dear Peter, says she, torment yourself no more about your goods on board; for if this will do, all shall be your own.—She then lent me a hand to take it in; but we had both work enough to compass it, the wood had soaked in so much water. We then made the best of our way homewards to my wet dock; when, just as we had landed our treasure, we saw two more boxes coming down the stream both together, whereupon we launched again, and brought them in one by one; for I did not care to trust them both on one bottom, my boat being in years, and growing somewhat crazy.

We had now made a good day's work of it; so, mooring the boat, we went home, intending to be out next morning early with the cart, to convey our imports to the grotto.

After supper, Youwarkee looking very earnestly at me, with tears just glittering in her eyes, broke out in these words—What should you have thought, Peter, to have seen me come sailing, drowned, through the cavern, tied to one of your chests?—Heaven forbid such a thought, my charmer! says I. But, as you know I must have been rendered the most miserable of all living creatures by such a sight, or any thing else that would

deprive me of you, pray tell me how you could possibly have such a thought in your head?—She saw she had raised my concern, and was very sorry for what she had said. Nothing, nothing, says she, my dear! it was only a fancy just come into my head.—My dear Youwee, says I, you must let me know what you mean: I am in great pain till you explain yourself; for I am sure there is something more in what you say than fancy; therefore, pray, if you love me, keep me on the rack no longer.—Ah, Peter! says she, there was but a span between me and death not many days ago; and when I saw the line of the last chest we took up just now, it gave me so much horror I could scarce keep upon my feet.—My dear Youwee, proceed, says I; for I cannot bear my torment till I have heard the worst.—Why, Peter, says she, now the danger is over, I shall tell you my escape with as much pleasure as I guess you will take in hearing of it. You must know, my life, says she, that having cast that chest into the sea, as I was tugging it along by that very line, it being one of the heaviest, and moving but slowly, I twisted the string several times round my hand, one fold upon another, the easier to tow it; when, drawing it rather too quick into the eddy, it pulled so hard against me, towards the gulph, and so quick, that I could no way loosen or disengage the cord from my fingers, but was dragged thereby to the very rock, against which the chest struck violently. My last thought, as I supposed it, was of you, my dear, (on which she clasped me round the neck, in sense of her past agony;) when taking myself for lost, I forbore farther resistance; at which instant the line, slackening by the rebound of the chest, fell from my hand of itself, and the chest returning to the rock, went down the current. I took a turn or two round on my graundee to recollect my past danger, and went back to the ship, fully resolved to avoid the like snare for the future. Indeed I did not easily recover my spirits, and was so terrified with the thought, that I had half a mind to have left the two remaining chests behind me; but as danger overcome gives fresh resolution, I again set to work, and discharged them also down the gulph, as I hope you will see in good time.

My heart bled within me all the while she spoke, and I even felt ten times more than she could have suffered by the gulph. My dearest Youwee, says I, why did not you tell me this adventure sooner?—It is too soon I fear now! says she; for she then saw the colour forsake my lips, my eyes grow languid, and myself dropping into her arms. She screamed out, and ran to the chest, where all was empty; but turning every bottle up, and from the remaining drops in each collecting a small quantity of liquor, and putting it by little and little to my lips, and rubbing my wrists and temples, she brought me to myself again; but I continued so extremely sick for some days after, that it was above a week before I could get down with my cart to fetch up my chests.

When I was able to go down, Youwarkee would not venture me alone, but went herself with me. We then found two more of the chests, which we landed; and I had work sufficient for two or three days in getting them all up to the grotto, they were so heavy, and all the way through the wood being up hill.

We had five in hand, and watched several days for the sixth, when seeing nothing of it we gave it over for lost: but one day, as I was going for water, Youwarkee would go with me, and urged our carrying the net, that we might drag for some fish. Accordingly we did so; and now having taken what we wanted, we went to the rill, and pushing in the head of the boat, (as I usually did, for by that means I could fill the vessel as I stood on board) the first thing that appeared was my sixth chest. Youwarkee spied it first, and cried, pointing thereto, O, Peter, what we have long wished for, and almost despaired of, is come at last! let us meet and welcome it. I was pleased with the gaiety of her fancy. I did as she desired; we got it into the boat, after merrily saluting it, and so returned home. It took us up several days time in searching, sorting, and disposing our cargo, and drying the chests; for the goods themselves were so far from being wetted or spoiled, that even those in the last chest, which had lain so long in the water, had not taken the least moisture.

Youwarkee was quite alert at the success of her packing, but left me to ring her praises, which I did not fail of doing more than once at unpacking each chest, and could see her eyes glow with delight to see she had so pleased me.

She had been so curious as to examine almost every thing in the ship; and as well of things I had described, and she did know, as of what she did not, brought me something for a sample; but, above all, had not forgot the blue stuff, for the moment she had seen that she destined it to the use of herself and children.

## CHAP. XXIII.

### *The Religion of the Author's Family.*

YOUWARKEE and I having fixed ourselves, by degrees, into a settled rota of action, began to live like Christians, having so great a quantity of most sorts of necessaries about us. But I say we lived like Christians on another ac-

count, for you must not think, after what I have said before, that I and my family lived like heathens; no, I will assure you, they by degrees knew all I knew, and that, with a little artificial improvement, and a well-regulated disposition, I hoped, and did not doubt, would carry them all to heaven. I would many a time have given all my interest in the ship's cargo for a Bible; and a hundred times grieved that I was not master of a pocket one, which I might have carried every where about me. I never imagined there was one aboard, and if there were, and Youwarkee should find it, I supposed it would be in Portuguese, which I knew little of, so it would be of small service to me if I had it.

Since I am upon the topic of religion, it may not be amiss, once for all, to give you a small sketch of my religious proceedings after coming into my new dominions. I have already told you that from my first stop at the rock I had prayed constantly morning and evening, but I cannot say I did it always with the same efficacy. However, my imperfect devotions were not without good effect; and I am confident, wherever this course is pursued with a right view, sooner or later the issue will prove the same to others as I found it to myself; I mean, that mercies will be remembered with more gratitude, and evils be more disregarded, and become less burdensome; and surely the person whose case this is, must necessarily enjoy the truest relish of life. As daily prayer was my practice, in answer to it I obtained the greatest blessing and comfort my solitude was capable of receiving; I mean my wife, whose character I need not farther attempt to blazon in any faint colours of my own after what has been already said, her acts having spoken her virtues beyond all verbal description.

After we were married, as I call it, that is, after we had agreed to become man and wife, I frequently prayed before her, and with her, (for by this time she understood a good deal of my language;) at which, though contrary to my expectation, she did not seem surprised, but readily kneeled by and joined with me. This I liked very well; and upon my asking her one day after prayer if she understood what I had been doing, (for I had a notion she did not) Yes, verily, says she, you have been making petitions to the image of the great Collwar.—Pray, says I, (willing gently to lead her into a just sense of a Supreme Being) who is this Collwar? and where does he dwell?—He it is, says she, that does all good and evil to us.—Right, says I, it is in some measure so; but he cannot of himself do evil, absolutely and properly as his own act.—Yes, says she, he can; for he can do all that can be done, and as evil can be done, he can do it.—So quick a reply startled me. Thinks I, she will run me aground presently; and from being a doctor, as I fancied myself, I shall become but a pupil to my own scholar. I then asked her where the great Collwar dwelt? She told me, In heaven, in a charming place. —And can he know what we do? says I.—Yes, replied she, his image tells him every thing; and I have prayed to his image, which I have often seen, and it is filled with so much virtue, that it is his second self: for there is only one of them in the world who is so good, he gives several virtues to other images of himself, which are brought to him, and put into his arms to breathe upon; and the only thing I have ever regretted since I knew you is, that I have not one of them here to comfort and bless us and our children.

Though I was sorry for the oddity of her conceptions, I was almost glad to find her so ignorant, and pleased myself with thinking that as she had already a confused notion of a Supreme Power, I should soon have the satisfaction of bringing her to a more rational knowledge of him.

Pray, Youwee, says I, what is your God made of?—Why of clay, says she, finely painted, and looks so terrible he would make you tremble to behold him.—Do you think, says I, that is the true Collwar's real shape, if you could see himself?—She told me, Yes: for that some of his best servants had seen him, and took the representation from himself. And pray, do you think he loves his best servants, as you call them, and is kind to them? —You need not doubt it, says she.—Why, then, replied I, how came he to look so terrible upon them when they saw him, as you say they did? for I can see no reason, how terrible soever he looks to others, why he should show himself so to those he loves. I should rather think, as you say he is kind to them, that he should have two images, a placid one for his good, and a terrible one for his bad servants; or else, who by seeing him can tell whether he is pleased or angry? for even you yourself, Youwee, when any thing pleases you, have a different look from that you have when you are angry, and little Pedro can tell whether he does well or ill by your countenance; whereas, if you made no distinction, but looked with the same face on all his actions, he would as readily think he did well as ill in committing a bad action. Youwarkee could not tell what to say to this, the fact seeming against her.

I then asked her, if she thought the image itself could hear her petitions. She replied, Yes.—And can he, says I, return you an answer? She told me, he only did that to his best servants.—Did you ever hear him do it? says I. For unless he can speak too, I should

much suspect his hearing; and you being one of his best servants, seeing you love him, and pray heartily to him, why should you not hear him as soon as others?—No, says she, there are a great number of glumms on purpose to serve him, pray for us to him, and receive his answers.—But to what purpose then, says I, is your praying to him, if their prayers will serve your turn?—O, says she, the image hears them sooner than us, and sends the petitions up to the great Collwar, and lets him know who makes them, and desires him to let them have what they want.—But suppose, says I, for argument sake, that you could see the great Collwar, or know where he was, and should pray to himself, without going about to his image first, do you think he could not hear you?—I cannot tell that, says she.—But how then, says I, can he tell what (if it could speak) his image says, which is as far from him as you are? And, pray, do you think he can hear an image which he did not make, which could not make itself, and which can neither hear, nor see, nor speak, better than he can hear a glumm, whom he did make, and who made that image, and who himself can hear, and see, and speak to him?—She paused here a good while. At last, says she, Why, truly, I cannot think but he might as well, or better, hear me than the image.—Why, then, said I, don't you make your petitions to himself, and not to the image? It is for the reason I have given you, my dear Youwarkee, that I pray to him, and not to his image, or any representation of him upon earth; and, consequently, am sure of being heard and answered.—Indeed, says she, I never thought of that before, for our ragans always charged me to pray to the image, or to let them know what I wanted, and they would pray to him for me; and they have had many a roppin of me for so doing, and sometimes two or three, when they told me I should have what I wanted: but you have convinced me it is better to pray to himself, and I shall always do it hereafter.

Having conducted my scholar thus far, I left off, thinking I had now laid a solid basis, that I need be in no fear for my superstructure; and as the slower you build, the firmer it settles, I thought fit to let this first work settle into a firm principle before I raised any farther doctrine upon it, which, as occasion offered, I determined to pursue. I propagated no theological notions in my children till they were capable of conceiving the truth of them from principles of reason; but only inculcated on them justice, truth, and love to myself, their mother, and each other. Having brought my wife firmly to believe in a Supreme Being, (let her call him what she would) who could hear our prayers, see our actions, and answer our petitions as he sees fit, and to an assurance that his love to us is so great that he will do what is most beneficial for us, though it should not always prove what we think so; the great truths concerning his dispensations in our creation and redemption, and our duty towards him, followed of course, as direct consequences of such his love and knowledge of us, and she easily came into them. Accordingly, I opened the doctrine of the creation to her as well as I could. I am sorry to say my explication of this great point was not so just, so particular, and clear, as it might have been if I had had a Bible, any more than was the succeeding history of our redemption; however, in general, I explained both so effectually, that though it required time to ground her in the full practical faith of it, yet the opinion she had of me, and my fidelity to her, with the reasons I was able to urge for what I taught her, persuaded her I was in the right, and disposed her to hearken to what I delivered; and then her own zealous application, with God's grace, soon brought her to a firm belief in it, and a suitable temper and conduct with respect to God and man.

After I had began with my children, I frequently referred their farther instruction to their mother; for I have always experienced that a superficial knowledge, with a desire of becoming a teacher, is, in some measure, equivalent to better knowledge; for it not only excites every principle one has to the utmost, but makes matters more clear and conspicuous even to one's self.

By these means, and the Divine blessing thereon, in a few years, I may fairly say, I had a little Christian church in my own house, and in a flourishing way too, without a schismatic or heretic amongst us.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*The Author's Account of his Children—Their Names—They are exercised in Flying—His Boat crazy—Youwarkee intends a Visit to her Father, but first takes another Flight to the Ship—Sends a Boat and Chests through the Gulph—Clothes her Children—Is with Child again, so her Visit is put off—An Inventory of the last Freight of Goods—The Author's Method of treating his Children—Youwarkee, her Son Tommy, with her Daughters Patty and Hallycarnie, set out to her Father's.*

I HAD now lived here almost fourteen years, and besides the three sons before mentioned, had three girls and one boy. Pedro, my eldest, had the graundee, but too small to be

useful; my second son Tommy had it complete, so had my three daughters, but Jemmy and David, the youngest sons, none at all. My eldest daughter I named Patty, because I always called my first wife so. I say my first wife, though I had no other knowledge of her death than my dream; but am from that as verily persuaded, if ever I reach England, I shall find it so, as if I had heard it from her aunt's own mouth. My second daughter my wife desired might be called by her sister's name Hallycarnie; and my youngest I named Sarah, after my mother. I put you to the trouble of writing down the names, for as I shall hereafter have frequent occasion to mention the children severally, it will be pleasanter for myself and you to call them by their several names of distinction, than to call them my second son, or my eldest daughter, and so forth.

My wife now took great delight in exercising Tommy and Patty (who were big enough to be trusted) in flight, and would often skim round the whole island with them before I could walk half through the wood. And she would teach them also to swim or sail, I know not which to call it, for sometimes you should see them dart out of the air as if they would fall on their faces into the lake, when coming near the surface they would stretch their legs in an horizontal posture, and in an instant turn on their backs, and then you could see nothing from the bank, to all appearance, but a boat sailing along, the graundee rising at their head, feet, and sides, so like the sides and ends of a boat, that you could not discern the face or any part of the body. I own I often envied them this exercise, which they seemed to perform with more ease than I could only shake my leg, or stir an arm.

Though we had perpetually swangeans about us, and the voices, as I used to call them, I could never once prevail on my wife to show herself, or to claim any acquaintance with her country folks. And what is very remarkable in my children is, that my three daughters and Tommy, who had the full graundee, had exactly their mother's sight, Jemmy and David had just my sight, and Pedro's sight was between both, though he was never much affected with any light; but I was obliged to make spectacles for Tommy and all my daughters when they came to go abroad.

I had in this time twice enlarged my dwelling, which the increase of my family had rendered necessary. The last alteration I was enabled to do in a much better manner, and with more ease, than the first, for by the return of my flota I had gotten a large collection of useful tools, several of iron, where the handles or wood work preponderated the iron; but such as was all, or greatest part of that metal, had got either to the rock, or were so fast fixed to the head of the ship, that it was difficult to remove them, so that my wife could get comparatively few of this latter sort, though some she did. It was well, truly, I had these instruments, which greatly facilitated my labours, for I was forced to work harder now than ever, in making provision for us all; and my sons Pedro and Tommy commonly assisted. I had also had another importation of goods through the gulph, which still added to my convenience. But my boat made me shudder every time I went into her; she had leaked again and again, and I had patched her till I could scarce see a bit of the old wood. She was of unspeakable use to me, and yet I could not venture myself in her, but with the utmost apprehension and trembling. I had been intending a good while, now I had such helps, to build a new one, but had been diverted by one avocation or other.

About this time Youwarkee, who was now upwards of thirty-two years of age, the fondest mother living, and very proud of her children, had formed a project of taking a flight to Arndrumnstake, a town in the kingdom of Doorpt Swangeanti, as I called it, where her father, if living, was a colamb under Georgetti, the prince of that country. She imparted her desire to me, asking my leave; and she told me, if I pleased, she would take Patty and Tommy along with her. I did not much dislike the proposal, because of the great inclination I had for a long time to a knowledge of, and familiarity with, her countrymen and relations; and now I had so many of her children with me, I could not think she would ever be prevailed on, but by force, to quit me and her offspring, and be contented to lose six for the sake of having two with her, especially as she had showed no more love for them than the rest, so I made no hesitation, but told her she should go.

I expected continually I should hear of her departure, but she saying no more of it, I thought she had dropped her design, and I did not chuse to mention it. But one day as we were at dinner, looking mighty seriously, she said, My dear, I have considered of the journey you have consented I should take, but in order thereto it is necessary that I prepare several things for the children, especially those who have no graundee, and I am resolved to finish them before I go, that we may appear with decency, both here and at Arndrumnstake; for I am sure my father, whose temper I am perfectly acquainted with, will, upon sight of me and my little ones, be so overjoyed, that he will forgive my absence and marriage, provided he sees reason to believe I have not matched unworthily, unbeco-

ining my birth; and after keeping me and the children with him, it may be two or three months, will accompany me home again himself with a great retinue of servants and relations; or, at least, if he is either dead or unable for flight, my other relations will come or send a convoy to take care of me and the children; and, my dear, as I shall give them all the encomiums I can of you, and of my situation with you, while I am among them, I would have them a little taken with the elegance of our domestic condition when they come hither, that they may think me happy in you and my children; for I would not only put my family into a condition to appear before them, but to surprise the old gentleman and his company, who never in their lives saw any part of mankind with another covering than the graundee.—When she had done, I expressed my approbation of her whole system, as altogether prudent, and she proceeded immediately to put it in execution. To work she went, opened every chest, and examined their contents. But while she was upon the hunt, and selecting such things as she thought fit for her purpose, she recollected several articles she had observed in the ship, which she judged far more for her turn than any she had at home. Hereupon she prayed me to let her take another trip to the vessel, and to carry Tommy with her.

After so many trials, and such happy experience of her wise and fortunate conduct, I consented to her flight, and away went she and her son. Upon their return, which was in a few days, she told me what they had been doing, and said, as she so often heard me complain of the age of my boat, and fear to sail in her, she had fitted me out a little ship, and hoped it would in due time arrive safely. As she passed quickly on to other things, I never once thought of asking her what she meant by the little ship she spoke of; but must own, that, like a foolishly fond parent, I was more intent on her telling me how Tommy had found a hoard of playthings, which he had packed up for his own use.

As to this last particular, I learned by the sequel of the story, when the spark, proud of his acquisition, came to me, that he had been peeping about in the cabin whilst his mother was packing the chests, and seeing a small brass knob in the wainscot, took it for a plaything, and pulling to get it out, opened a little door of a cupboard, where he had found some very pretty toys, that he positively claimed for himself, among which were a small plain gold ring, and a very fine one set with diamonds, which he showed me upon two of his fingers. I wondered how the child, who had never before seen such things, or the use of them, should happen to apply these so properly; but he told me in playing with this, meaning the diamond ring, about his fingers, it slipped over his middle finger joint, and he could not get it off again, so he put the other upon another finger to keep it company.

We watched daily, as usual on such occasions, for the arrival of our fleet. It was surprising that none of the chests which Youwarkee shot down the gulph were ever half so long in their passage as I was myself, but some came in a week, some in a few days more, and even some in less, which I attributed to their following directly the course of the water, shooting from shelf to shelf as the tide sat; and I believe my keeping the boat I sailed in so strictly and constantly in the middle of the stream, was the reason of my being detained there so long. In less than a fortnight every thing came safe but one chest, which, as we never heard of it, I suppose was either sunk or bulged.

Being one day upon shore, watching to see if any thing more was come through the cavern, I spied at a distance somewhat looking very black and very long, and by the colour and shape thereof I took it for a young whale. Having observed it some time making very little way, I took my old boat and followed it, but was afraid to go near it, lest a stroke with its tail (which I then fancied I saw move) might endanger my boat and myself too; but creeping nearer and nearer, and seeing it did not stir, I believed it to be dead; whereupon, taking courage, I drew so close, that at length I plainly perceived it was the ship's second boat turned upside down. It is not easy to express the joy I felt on this discovery. It was the very thing I was now, as I have said, in the greatest want of. I presently laid hold of it and brought it ashore, and it was no small pleasure to find, on examining, that though it had lain so long dry, it was yet quite sound, and all its chinks filled up in its passage; and it proved to me afterwards the most beneficial thing I could have had from the ship.

I got all my goods home from the lake to my grotto, by means of the cart, as usual. My wife and daughters waited with impatience for me to unpack, that they might take possession of such things as would be needful for rigging out the family against the supposed reception of the old glumm, and had set all the chests in the order they desired they might be opened in. But Tommy running to me, with a—Pray, daddy, open my chest first! pray, give me my playthings first! it was, to satisfy him, concluded in favour of his demand. So, he pointing to the chest which he regarded as his property, I opened it whilst his eyes were ready to pierce through it, till

I came to his treasure. There, there they are, daddy! says he, as soon as I had uncovered them. And indeed, when I saw them I could not but much commend the child for his fancy; for the first things that appeared were a silver punch or wine cann and a ladle, then a gold watch, a pair of scissars, a small silver chafing-dish and lamp, a large case of mathematical instruments, a flageolet, a terrella, or globular load-stone, a small globe, a dozen of large silver spoons, and a small case of knives and forks and spoons; in short, there was, I believe, the greatest part of the Portugueze captain's valuable effects.

These Tommy claiming as his own proper chattels, I could not help interposing somewhat of my authority in the affair. Hold, hold, son! says I, these things are all mine; but as I have several of you who will all be equally pleased with them, though, as the first finder, you may be entitled to the best share, you are not to grasp the whole, you must all have something like an equality; and as to some things which may be equally useful to us all, they must be set up to be used upon occasion, and are to be considered as mine and your mother's property. I thereupon gave each of them a large silver spoon, and with a fork I scratched the initials of their names respectively on them, and divided several of the trifles amongst them equally. And now, Tommy, says I, you for your pains shall have this more than the rest, offering him the flageolet. Tommy looked very gloomy, and though he durst not find fault, his dissatisfaction was very visible by coolly taking it, tossing it down, and walking gravely off. I thought, says I, Tommy, I had made a good choice for you; but, as I find you despise it, here, Pedro, do you take that pretty thing since your brother slights it. Tommy replied, (speaking but half out, and a little surly, more than I ever observed before,) Let him take it if he will, I can get bits of sticks enough in the wood.

My method had always been to avoid either beating or scolding at my children, for preferring their own opinion to mine; but I ever let things turn about so, that from their own reason they should perceive they had erred in opposing my sentiments, by which means they grew so habituated to submit to my advice and direction, that for the most part my will was no sooner known to them than it became their own choice; but then I never willed according to fancy only, but with judgment, to the best of my skill.

Tommy, therefore, as I said before, having shown a disapprobation of my doings; to convince him of his mistake, I took the flageolet from Pedro. And now, Pedro, says I, let me teach you how to manage this piece of wood, as Tommy calls it, and then let me see if in all the grove he can cut such another. On this I clapped it to my mouth, and immediately played several country-dances and hornpipes on it; for though my mother had scarce taught me to read, I had learnt music and dancing, being, as she called them, gentleman-like accomplishments. My wife and children, especially Tommy, all stared as if they were wild, first on me, then on one another, whilst I played a country-dance; but I had no sooner struck up an hornpipe, than their feet, arms, and heads, had so many twitching and convulsive motions, that not one quiet limb was to be seen amongst them; till having exercised their members as long as I saw fit, I almost laid them all to sleep with Chevy Chase, and so gave over.

They no sooner found themselves free from this enchantment, than the children all huddled round me in a cluster, all speaking together, and reaching out their little hands to the instrument. I gave it Pedro. There, says I to him, take this slighted favour as no such contemptible present.

Poor Tommy, who had all this while looked very simple, burst into a flood of tears at my last words, as if his heart would have broke; and running to me, fell on his knees, and begged my pardon, hoping I would forgive him. I took him up, and kissing him, told him he had very little offended me; for, as he knew, I had more children to give anything to which either of the rest despised, it was equal to me who had it, so it was thankfully received. I found that did not satisfy; still in tears, he said, might he not have the stick again, as I gave it to him first.—Tommy, says I, you know I gave it to you first; but you disapproving my kindness, I have now given it Pedro, who, should I against his will take it from him, would have that reason to complain which you have not, who parted with it by your own consent; and therefore, Tommy, as I am determined to acquaint you as near as I can with the strict rules of justice, there must no more be said to me of this matter.—Such as this was my constant practice amongst them; and they having always found me inflexible from this rule, we seldom had any long debates.

Though I say the affair ended so with regard to what I had to do in it, yet it ended not so with Tommy: for though he knew he had no hopes of moving me, he set all his engines at work to recover his stick (as he called it) by his mother's and sisters' interest. These solicited Pedro very strongly to gratify him. At length Pedro (he being a boy of a most humane disposition) granted their desire, if I would give leave; and I having signified, that the cause being now out of my

hands, he might do as he pleased, he generously yielded it. And indeed he could not have bestowed it more properly; for Tommy had the best ear for music I ever knew; and in less than a twelvemonth could far outdo me, his instructor, in softness and easiness of finger; and was also master of every tune I knew, which were neither inconsiderable in number, nor of the lowest rate.

Youwarkee, with her daughters, sat close to work, and had but just completed her whole design for the family clothing, when she told me she found herself with child again. As that circumstance ill suited a journey, she deferred her flight for about fifteen months; in which time she was brought to bed, and weaned the infant, which was a boy, whom I named Richard, after my good master at the academy. The little knave thrived amain, and was left to my farther nursing during its mammy's absence; who, still firm to her resolution, after she had equipped herself and companions with whatever was necessary to their travelling, and locked up all the apparel she had made till her return, because she would have it appear new when her father came, set out with her son Tommy and my two daughters Patty and Hallycarnie; the last of which by this time being big enough also to be trusted with her mother.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Youwarkee's Account of the Stages to Arndrumstake—The Author uneasy at her Flight—His Employment in her Absence, and Preparations for receiving her Father—How he spent the Evenings with the Children.*

My wife was now upon her journey to her father's; but where that was, or how far off, it was impossible for me to conceive by her description of the way; for she distinguished it not by miles or leagues, but by swangeans, and names of rocks, seas, and mountains, which I could neither comprehend the distance of from each other, nor from Graundevolet, where I was. I understood by her, indeed, there was a great sea to be passed, which would take her up almost a day and night, having the children with her, before she reached the next arkoe; though she could do it herself she said, and strain hard, in a summer's night; but if the children should flag by the way, as there was no resting place between us and Battringdrigg, the next arkoe, it might be dangerous to them; so she would take the above time for their sakes. After this, I found by what she said there was a narrow sea to pass, and a prodigious mountain, before she reached her own country; and that her father's was but a little beyond that mountain. This was all I could know in general about it. At their departure she and the children had taken each a small provision for their flight, which hung about their necks in a sort of purse.

I cannot say, notwithstanding this journey was taken with my concurrence and consent, that I was perfectly easy when they were gone; for my affection for them all would work up imaginary fears too potent for my reason to dispel, and which at first sat with no easy pressure upon my mind. This my pretty babies at home perceiving, used all the little winning arts they could to divert and keep up my spirits; and from day to day, by taking them abroad with me, and playing with and amusing them at home, I grew more and more persuaded that all would go right with the absent, and that in due time I should see them return again.

But as the winter set in, I went little abroad, and then we employed ourselves within doors in preparing several things which might not only be useful and ornamental, if the old glumm should come to see us, but might also divert us, and make the time pass less tediously. The first thing I went upon was a table, which, as my family consisted of so many, I intended to make big enough for us all. With that view I broke up a couple of chests; and, taking the two sides of one of them, I nailed them edge to edge by strong thick pieces underneath at each end and in the middle; then I took two chest-lids with their hinges, nailing one to each side of my middle piece, which made two good flaps; after this, with my tools, of which I had now a chest-full, I chopped out of new stuff and planed four strong legs quite square, and nailed them strongly to each corner of my middle board; I then nailed pieces from one leg to the other, and nailed the bed likewise to them; then I fastened a border quite round within six inches from the bottom, from foot to foot, which held all fast together. When all this was done, still my table was imperfect, I could not put up the flaps, having no proper support. To remedy this I sawed out a broad slip from a chest-side, and boring a large hole through the centre, I spiked it up to the under-side of the table's bed, with a spindle I contrived just loose enough to play round the head of the spike, filing down that part of the spindle which passed through the bed of the table, and rivetting it close; so that when my flaps were set up I pulled the slip crosswise of the table, and when the flaps were down, the slip turned under the top of the table lengthwise: next, under each flap, I nailed a small slip lengthwise of the flaps,

to raise them on a level, when up, with the top of the table. When I had thus completed the several parts of this needful utensil, I spent some time and pains, by scraping and rubbing, to render it all as elegant as could be, and the success so well answered my wish, that I was not a little proud of the performance: and what rendered my work thereon a still more agreeable task, was my pretty infants' company, who stood by, expressing their wonder and approbation at every stroke.

Now I had gotten a table, I wanted chairs to it; for as yet we had only sat round the room upon chests, which formed a bench of the whole circumference, they stood so thick. There was no moving of them without a monstrous trouble every time I might have occasion to set out my table: besides, if I could have dragged them backwards and forwards, they were too low to be commodious for seats; so I resolved to make some chairs and stools also, that might be manageable. I will not trouble you with the steps I took in the formation of these; only, in general, you must know, that some more chests I broke up to that purpose served me for timber, out of which I framed six sizeable handsome chairs, and a competent number of stools.

But now that I was turned joiner, I had another convenience to provide for. I had nothing wherein to enclose things, and preserve them from dust, except the chests; and they were quite unfit for holding liquors, victuals, and such like matters, in open shells, as most of my vessels were. Wherefore, having several boards now remaining of the boxes I had broken up for chairs and stools, I bethought me of supplying this great deficiency; so of these spare boards, in a workmanlike way, (for by this time I was become a tolerable mechanic) I composed a very tight closet, holding half a dozen broad shelves, shut up by a good pair of doors, with a lock and key to fasten them.

These jobs took me up almost three months, and I thought I had not employed them idly, but for the credit and service of my family. I was now again at leisure for farther projects. I was uncertain as to my wife's return, how soon she might be with me, or how much longer she might stay; but I was sure I could do nothing in the mean while more grateful than increasing, by all means in my power, the accommodations of my house, for the more polite as well as convenient reception of her father, or any else who might accompany her home in the way of a retinue, as she talked of. I saw plainly I had not room for lodging them, and that was a circumstance of main importance to be provided for. Hereupon I thought of adding a long apartment to one of my outer-rooms, to range against the side of the rock; but reflecting that such a thing would be quite useless, unless I could finish it in time, so as to be complete when my guests came, and not knowing how soon that might be, I resolved to quit this design; and I fell upon another which might do as well, and required much less labour and fewer days to perfect.

I remembered, that amongst those things my wife had packed up on board the ship, and which came home through the gulph, there were two of the largest sails, and a couple of a smaller size. These I carried to the wood, and tried them in several places to see where they might be disposed to most advantage in the nature of a tent; and having found a convenient spot to my purpose, I cut divers poles for supporters, and making strain-ing-lines of my matweed, I pitched a noble one, sufficient to cover or entertain a numerous company, and so tight every where as to keep out the weather. The front of this new apartment I hung with blue cloth, which had a very genteel effect. I had almost forgotten to tell you that I contrived (by hanging one of the smaller sails across, just in the middle, which I could let down or raise up at pleasure) to divide the tent occasionally into two distinct rooms.

When I had proceeded thus far, there were still wanting seats for this additional building, as I may call it; and though I could spare some chests to sit on, I found they would not half do. For a supplement, then, I took my axe, and felled a couple of great trees, one from each side of the tent, sawed off the tops, and cut each of the trunks in two about the middle: these huge cylinders I rolled into the tent with a good deal of toil and difficulty; two of them I thrust into the inner division, and left two in the outer. I placed them as benches on both sides; then, with infinite pains, I shaved the upper face of each smooth and flat, and pared off all the little knots and roughnesses of the front; so that they were fitted to sit on, and their own weight fixed them in the p'ace where I intended them to be. At the upper end of the farther chamber I set three chests lengthwise for seats, or any other use I might see fit to put them to.

During these operations we were all hands at it, and no hand idle but Dicky in arms and Sally, whom he kept in full employ; but Pedro, being a sturdy lad, could drive a nail and lift or carry the things I wanted; and Jemmy and David, though so young, could pick up the chips, hold a nail, or the lamp, or be some way or other useful; for I always preached to them the necessity of earning their bread before they eat it, and not think to live on mine and their brother's labour.

The nights being pretty long, after we

was over, and Sarah had fed her brother and laid him in his hammock, we used to sit all down to enjoy ourselves at a good meal; for we were never regular at that till night; and then, after supper, my wife being absent, one or other of the young ones would begin with something they had before heard me speak of, by saying, Daddy, how did you use to do this or that in England? Then all ears were immediately open to catch my answer, which certainly brought on something else done either there or elsewhere; and by their little questions and my answers they would sometimes draw me into a story of three hours long, till, perhaps, two or three of my audience were falling asleep, and then we all went to bed.

I verily believe my children would, almost any of them, from the frequent repetition of these stories, have given a sufficient account of England to have gained a belief from almost any Englishman of their being natives there.

I frequently observed, that when we had begun upon Cornwall, and traversed the mines, the sea-coast, or talked of the fine gentlemen's seats, and such things, one would start up, and, if the discourse flagged ever so little, would cry, Aye, but daddy, what did you do when the crocodile came after you out of the water? And another, before that subject was half ended, (and I was forced to enter on every one they started) would be impatient for the story of the lion; and I always took notice that the part each had made the most reflections on, was always most acceptable to the same person: but poor Sally would never let the conversation drop without some account of the muletto, it was such a pretty, gentle creature, she said.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*The Author's concern at Youwarkee's stay—Reflections on his Condition—Hears a Voice call him—Youwarkee's Brother Quangrolart visits him with a Companion—He treats them at the Grotto—The Brother discovers himself by accident—Wilkins produces his Children to him.*

My head, as well as my hands, had now been employed for five months in adjusting all things in the most suitable manner for the reception of Youwarkee and her friends; but nobody coming, and light days getting forward apace, I began to grow very uneasy, and had formed divers imaginations of what might occasion her stay. Thought I, I am afraid all the pains I have been taking will be to no purpose; for either her father will not let her return, or she has of herself come to such a resolution; for she knows I cannot follow her, and had rather, perhaps, live and enjoy the three children she has with her, amidst a number of her friends and acquaintance, than spend the remainder of her days with me and all our off-spring in this solitude. But then I reflected she chose it herself, or at least declared herself perfectly satisfied, yea, delighted therewith. And here are her children with me, the major part of them; yet, what can I think? since her return is put off till the swangeans are over this arkoe, she will never bring her relations now in this unseasonable time for flight; therefore I must think, if she intended to return at all, it would have been before now; and as the case is not so, my fear of losing her entirely prevails greatly. O! says I, that we had but a post here as we have in England; there we can communicate our thoughts at a distance to each other without any trouble, and for little charge! What a country is this to live in! and what an improper creature am I to live in it! Had I but the graundee, I would have found her out by this time, be she where she would; but, whilst every one about me can pass, repass, and act as they please, I am fixed here like one of my trees, bound to the spot, or, upon removal, to die in the attempt. Alas! why did I beget children here, but to make them as wretched and inconsolable as myself! Some of them are so formed, indeed, as to shift for themselves; but they owe it to their mother, not to me. What! am I a father of children who will be bound one day to curse me! Severe reflection! Yet I never thought of this till now. But am I the only father in such a case? No, surely! for am not I as much bound to curse my father as my children are to curse me? He might have left me happy if he would; I would them if I could. Again, are there not others who, by improper junction with persons diseased in body, or vicious in mind, have entailed greater misery upon their posterity than I have on mine! My children are all healthy, strong, and sound, both in body and mind; and is not that the greatest blessing that can be bestowed on our beings? But they are imprisoned in this arkoe! What then? With industry, here is no want; and as they increase they may settle in communities, and be helpful to each other. I have lived here well nigh sixteen years, and it was God's pleasure I should be here; and can I think I was placed here with an injunction contrary to the great command, "Increase and multiply?" If that were so, can it be possible I should have received the only means of propagating, as it were from Heaven itself? No, it was certainly as much my Maker's will that I should have posterity here, as that I

myself should at first be brought thither. This is a large and plentiful spot, and capable of great improvement, when there shall be hands sufficient. How many petty states are less than these my dominions! I have here a compass of near twenty miles round, and how many thousands grow voluntarily gray in a far less circuit.

I had hardly finished my reflections (for I was sitting by myself in my tent upon one of the trees I had turned into benches) when I heard a musical voice call, Peter! Peter! I started. What's this? says I. It is not Youwarkee's voice! What can this mean! Listening, I heard it again, but at so great a distance I could but just perceive the sound. Be it where it will, says I, I will face it! Thus speaking, I went out of the tent, and hearkened very attentively, but could hear nothing. I then ran for my gun, and walked through the wood as fast as I could to the plain; but still I neither saw nor heard any thing. I was then in hopes of seeing somebody on the lake, but no one appeared; for I was fully determined to make myself known to whomsoever I should meet; and, if possible, to gain some intelligence of my wife. But after so much fruitless pains, my hopes being at an end, I was returning, when I heard, Peter! Peter! again at a great distance, the sound coming from a different quarter than at first. Upon this I stopped, and heard it repeated; and it was as if the speaker approached nearer and nearer. Hereupon I stepped out of the wood, (for I had just re-entered it upon my return home) when I saw two persons upon the swangean just over my head. I cried out, Who's that? And they immediately called again, Peter! Peter!—*Ors clam gee*, says I; that is, Here am I.—On this they directly took a small sweep round, (for they had overshot me before they heard me) and alighted just by me: when I perceived them to be my wife's countrymen, being dressed like her, with only broader chaplets about their heads, as she had told me the glumms all wore. After a short obeisance, they asked me if I was the glumm Peter, barkatt to Youwarkee. I answered, I was. They then told me they came with a message from Pendlehamby, colamb of Arndrumnstake, my goppa, and from Youwarkee his daughter. I was vastly rejoiced to see them, and to hear only the name of my wife. But though I longed to know their message, I trembled to think of their mentioning it, as one of them was just going to do, for fear of hearing something very displeasing; so I begged them to go through the wood with me to the grotto, where we should have more leisure and convenience for talk, and where, at the same time, they might take some refreshment. But though I had thus put off their message, I could not forbear inquiring by the way after the health of my goppa, and my wife and children, how they got to Arndrumnstake, and how they found their relations and friends. They told me all were well; and that Youwarkee, as she first on me, desired I would think on her with affection. I found this was the phrase of the country. As for the rest, I hoped it would turn out well at last, though I dreaded to hear it.

Being arrived at the grotto, I desired my guests to sit down, and take such refreshment as I could prepare them. When they were seated, I went to work in order to provide them a repast. Seeing my fire piled up very high, and burning fierce, and the children about it, they wondered where they were, and who they had come to, and turned their faces from it; but I setting some chairs, so that the light might not strike on their eyes, they liked the warmth well enough; though I remarked, the light did not affect them so much as it had done Youwarkee.

Whilst I was cooking, the poor children got all up in a corner, and stared at the strangers, not being able to conceive where they came from; and by degrees crept all backwards into the bed-chamber, and hid themselves; for they had never before seen anybody but my own family.

I observed that one of my guests paid more than ordinary respect to the other; and though their graundees made no distinction between them, yet there was something I thought much more noble in the address and behaviour of the latter; and taking notice that he was also the chief spokesman, I judged it proper to pay my respects to him in a somewhat more distinguishing manner, though so as not to offend the other if I should happen to be mistaken.

I first presented a cann of my Madeira, which I took care, as if by accident, to give it to the Uppermost, as I thought him, who drank half of it, and would have given the remainder to his companion, but I begged him to drink all up, and his friend should be served with some presently: he did so, and thanked me by lifting his hand to his chin. I then gave the other a cann of the same liquor, which he drank, and returned thanks as his companion had before. I then took a cann myself, telling them I begged leave to use the ceremony of my own country to them, I drank wishing their own health, and that of all relations at Arndrumnstake. He that I took for the superior fell a laughing heartily: Ha, ha, ha! says he, this is the very way my wife does every day at Arndrumnstake.—Your daughter, sir! says I, pray has she ever been in Europe or England?—Well! says he, I have

plainly discovered myself, which I did not intend to do yet; but, truly, brother Peter, I mean none other than your own wife Youwarkee.

The moment I knew who he was, I rose up, and taking him by the right hand, lifted it to my lips and kissed it. He likewise immediately stood up, and we embraced each other with great tenderness. I then begged him, as I had so worthy and near a relation of my wife's with me, that he would not delay the happiness I hoped for, in a narrative from his mouth, how it fared with my father, wife, and children, and all their kinsfolks and friends, whom I had so often heard mentioned by my dearest Youwarkee, and so earnestly desired to see.

My brother Quangrollart (for that he told me was his name) was preparing to gratify my impatience; but seeing I had set the entertainment on the table, which consisted chiefly of bread, several sorts of pickles and preserves, with some cold salted fish, he said that eating would but interrupt the thread of his discourse; and therefore, with my leave, he would defer the relating of what I desired for a little while; which we all thinking most proper, I desired him and his friend (who might be another brother for aught I knew) to refresh themselves with the poor modicum I was able to provide them. Whilst my brother Quangrollart was looking upon and handling his plate, being what he had never before seen, his friend had got the handle of one of the knives in his mouth, biting it with all his force; but finding he could make nothing of that end, he tried the other, and got champing the blade. Perceiving what he was at, though I could not help laughing, I rose, and begging pardon, took the knife from him; telling him I believed he was not acquainted with the use of that instrument, which was one of my country implements; and that the design of it, which was called a knife, and of that other, (pointing to it) called a fork, was the one to reduce the food into pieces proper for chewing, and the other to convey it to the mouth without daubing the fingers, which must happen in handling the food itself; and I then showed him what use I put them to, by helping each of them therewith to somewhat, and by cutting a piece for myself, and putting it to my mouth with the fork.

They both smiled, and looked very well pleased; and then I told them that the plate was the only thing that need be daubed, and when that was taken away, the table remained clean. So, after I had helped each of them for the first time, I desired them to help themselves where they liked best; and, to say the truth, they did so more dexterously than I could have expected.

During our repast we had frequent sketches of the observations they made in their flight, and of the places where they had rested; and I could plainly see that neither of them had ever been at this arkoe before, by hinting that if they had not taken such a course they had missed me.

I took particular notice which part of my entertainment they eat most of, that I might bring a fresh supply of that when wanted; and I found, that though they eat heartily of my bread and preserves, and tasted almost of every thing else, they never once touched the fish; which put me upon desiring I might help them to some. At this they looked upon each other, which I readily knew the meaning of, and excused themselves, expressing great satisfaction in what they had already gotten. I took, however, a piece of fish on my own plate, and eating very heartily thereof, my brother desired me to give him a bit of it; I did so, taking care to cut it as free from bones as I could, and for greater security cautioning him, in case there should be any, to pick them out, and not swallow them. He had no sooner put a piece in his mouth, but, Rosig, says he to his friend, this is padsi.—I thought, indeed, I had puzzled my brother when I gave him the fish, but by what he said of it, he puzzled me; for I knew not what he meant by padsi, my wife having told me they had no fish, or else I should have taken that word for their name of it. However, I cut Rosig a slice; and he agreeing it was padsi, they both eat heartily of it.

While we were at dinner, my brother told me he thought he saw some of my children just now; for his sister had informed him she had five more at home; and he asked me why they did not appear, and eat with us. I excused their coming, as fearing they would only be troublesome; and said, When we had done they should have some victuals. But he would not be put off, and entreated me to admit them. So I called them by their names, and they came, all but Dicky, who was asleep in his hammock. I told them, that the gentleman, pointing to Quangrollart, was their uncle, their mamma's brother, and ordered them to pay their obeisance to him, which they severally did. I then made them salute Rosig. This last would have had them sit down at table; but I positively forbade that; and giving each of them a little of what we had before us, they carried it to the chests, and eat it there.

When we had done, the children helped me to clear the table, and were retiring out of the room; but then I recalled them, and desired their uncle to excuse their stay; for as he had promised me news of their mammy and her family, it would be the height of plea-

sure to them to hear him. He seemed very much pleased with this motion, desiring by all means they might be present while he told his story. Whereupon I ordered them to the chests again, while Quangrollart delivered his narrative.

## CHAP. XXVII.

### *Quangrollart's Account of Youwarkee's Journey, and Reception at her Father's.*

HAVING set on the table some brandy and Madeira, and each of us taken one glass of both, I showed, by the attentiveness of my aspect and posture, how desirous I was he should proceed to what he had promised. Observing this, he went on in the following manner:—Brother Peter, says he, my sister Youwarkee, as I don't doubt you will be glad to hear of her first, arrived very safe at Arndrumnstake, the third day after she left you, and after a very severe flight to the dear little Hallycarnie, who was a full day and a night on her graundee; and at last would not have been able to have reached Battringdrigg but for my sister's assistance, who, taking her sometimes on her back for a short flight, by those little refreshments enabled her to perform it: but from Battrindrigg, after some hours rest, they came with pleasure to the White Mountains, from whence, after a small stay, they arrived at Arndrumnstake.

They alighted at our coovett, but were opposed at their entrance by the guards, to whom they did not chuse to discover themselves, till notice was given to my father; who, upon hearing that some strangers desired admittance to him, sent me to introduce them, if they were proper persons for his presence, or else give orders for such other reception as was suitable to them.

When I came to the guard, I found three gawreys and a glummboss, whose appearance and behaviour, I must own, prejudiced me very much in their favour. I then asked from whence they came, and their business with the colamb. Youwarkee told me they came not about business of public concern, relating to the colamb's office, but out of a dutiful regard, as relations, to kiss his knees.—My father, said I, shall know it immediately; but first, pray inform me of your name?—Your father! replied Youwarkee; are you my brother Quangrollart?—My name is so, says I, but I have only one sister, now with my father, and how I can be your brother, I am not able to guess.—Have you never had another sister? says she.—Yes, says I, but she is long since dead; her name was Youwarkee.—At my mentioning her name, she fell upon my neck in tears, crying, My dear brother, I am that dead sister Youwarkee, and these with me are some of my children, for I have five more; but, pray, how does my father and sister?—I started back at this declaration, to view her and the children, fearing it was some gross imposition, not in the least knowing or remembering any thing of her face, after so long an absence; but I desired them to walk in, till I told my father.

The guard observing the several passages between us, were amazed to think who it could be had so familiarly embraced me; especially as they saw I only played a passive part in it.

When I went in, I did not think proper directly to inform my father what had happened; but calling my sister Hallycarnie, I let her into the circumstances of this odd affair, and desired her advice what to do: For, says I, surely this must be some impostor; and as my father has scarce subdued his sorrow for my sister's loss, if this gawrey should prove a deceiver, it will only revive his affliction, and may prove at this time extremely dangerous to him: therefore let us consider what had best be done in the matter.

Hallycarnie, who had attentively weighed all I said, seemed to think it was some cheat, as well as I did; for we could neither of us conceive that any thing but death, or being slit, could have kept Youwarkee so long from the knowledge of her relations; and that neither of them could be the case was plain, if the person attending was Youwarkee. Besides, brother, says Hallycarnie, she cannot surely be so much altered in fifteen years, but you must have known her; and yet, now I think, it is possible, you being so much younger, may have forgot her; but whilst we have been talking of her, I have so well recollected her, that I think I could hardly be imposed upon by any deceiver.

I then desired her to go with me to the strangers, and see if she could make any discovery. She did so, and had no sooner entered the abb, but Youwarkee called out, My dear sister Hallycarnie! and she as readily recollecting Youwarkee, they in transport embraced each other; and then your wife presenting to us her three children, it proved the tenderest scene, except the following, I ever saw.

My father having kept his chamber some time with a fever, and though he was pretty well recovered, having not yet been out of it, we consulted how we might introduce our sister and children to him, with as little surprise as might be, for fear of a relapse by too great a hurry of his spirits. At length we concluded, I should go tell him that some strangers had arrived, desiring to see him; but, on inquiry, finding their business was too trifling to trouble him upon, I had dispatched them: I was then to say, how like one of

them was to my sister Youwarkee; and whilst I was speaking, Hallycarnie was to enter, and keep up the discourse, till we should find a proper opportunity of discovery. I went in, therefore, as had been agreed; and, upon mentioning the name of Youwarkee, my father fetched a deep sigh, and turned away from me in tears. At that instant Hallycarnie came in as by accident. Sir, says she, what makes you so sad? are you worse to-day?—O! says he, I have heard a name that will never be out of my heart, till I am in hoximo.—What, I suppose my sister?—'Tis true, replied he, the same.—Says she, I fancied so, for I have just seen a stranger as like her as two doors could be, and would have sworn it was she, if that had been possible. I thought my brother had been so imprudent as to mention her to you; and I think he did not do well to rip up an old sore he knew was almost healed, and make it break out afresh.—Ah! no child, says my father, that sore never has, nor can be healed. O Great Image! why can't I by some means or other be ascertained what end she came to!

Sir, says my sister, I think you are much to blame for these exclamations, after so long absence: for, if she be dead, what use are they of? and if she be not, all may be well, and you may still see her again.—O never, never! says my father; but could I be sure she was alive, I would take a swangean, and never close my graundee, till I found her, or dropt dead in the search.—And suppose you could meet with her, sir, says I, the very sight would overcome you, and be dangerous.—No, believe me, boy, says he, I should then be fully easy and composed; and were she to come in this moment, I should suffer no surprise, but pleasure.—No surprise, sir? says I.—Not if she were alive and well, says he.—Then, sir, says Hallycarnie, will you excuse me if I introduce her? and went out directly without staying for an answer.

When she was gone, Quangrollart, says my father, sternly, what is the meaning of yours and your sister's playing thus upon my weakness? It is what I can upon no account forgive. It looks as if you were weary of me, and wanted to break my heart. To what purpose is all this prelude of yours, to introduce to me somebody who, by her likeness to my daughter, may expose me to your scoff and raillery! This is a disobedience I never expected from either of you.

The Great Image attend me! says I, sir, you have much mistaken me; but I will not leave you in doubt, even till Hallycarnie's return. You shall see Youwarkee with her; for all our discourse, I'll assure you, has but been concerted to prepare you for her reception, with three of her children.—And am I then, says he, in a transport, still to be blessed?—You are, sir, says I, assure yourself you are.

By this time we heard them coming, but my poor father had not power to go to meet them: and upon Youwarkee's nearer approach, to fall at his knees, his limbs failing him, he sunk, and without speaking a word, fell backwards on a couch, which stood behind him; and being quite motionless, we concluded him to be stone-dead. On this the women became entirely helpless, screaming only, and wringing their hands in extravagant postures. But I, having a little more presence of mind, called for the callentar; who, by holding his nose, pinching his feet, and other applications, in a little time brought him to his senses again.

You may more easily conceive than I describe, both the confusion we were all in during my father's disorder, and the congratulations upon his recovery; so, as I can give you but a defective account of these, I shall pass them by, and come to our more serious discourse, after my father and your wife had, without speaking a word, wept themselves quite dry on each other's necks.

My father then looking upon the three children, (who were also crying to see their mammy cry) And who are these? says he.—These, sir, says Youwarkee, are three of eight of your grand-children.—And where is your barkatt? says he.—At home with the rest, sir, replied she, who are some of them too small to come so far yet; but sir, says she, pray excuse my answering you any more questions, till you are a little recovered from the commotion I perceive my presence has brought upon your spirits; and as rest, the callentar says, will be exceedingly proper, I will retire with my sister till you are better able to bear company.—My father was with much difficulty prevailed with to part with her out of his sight; but the callentar pressing it, we were all dismissed, and he laid down to rest.

My brother would have gone on, but I told him, as it grew near time to repose, and he and Rosig must needs be fatigued with so long a flight, if they pleased, (as I had already heard the most valuable part of all he could say, in that my father had received my wife and children so kindly, and that he left them all well) we would defer his farther relation till the next day: which they both agreeing to, I laid them in my own bed, myself sleeping in a spare hammock.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*A Discourse on Light—Quangrollart explains the word Crashee—Believes a Fowl is a Fruit—Gives a farther Account of Youwarkee's Reception by her Father, and by the King—Tommy and Hallycarnie provided for at Court—Youwarkee and her Father visit the Colambs, and are visited—Her Return put off till next Winter, when her Father is to come with her.*

THE next day I prepared again of the best of every thing for my new guests. I killed three fowls, and ordered Pedro (who was as good a cook almost as myself) to get them ready for boiling, whilst we took a walk to the lake. Though we went out in the clearest part of the morning, I heard no complaint of the light. I took the liberty to ask my brother, if the light did not offend him; for I told him my wife could not bear so much without spectacles.—What is that spectacle? says he.—Something I made your sister, says I, to prevent the inconvenience of too much light upon her eyes.—He said the light was scarce at all troublesome to him, for he had been in much greater, and was used to it; and that the glumms, who travelled much abroad, could bear more light than the gawreys, who staid much at home: these stirring but little out unless in large companies, and that of one another, and very rarely admitted glumms amongst them before marriage. For his own part, he said, he had an office at Crashdoorpt, which, though he executed chiefly by a deputy, obliged him to reside there sometimes for a long season together; that being a more luminous country than Arndrumnstake, light was become familiar to him; for it was very observable, that some who had been used to it young, though they might in time overcome it, yet at first it was very uneasy.

I was upon the tenter whilst he spoke, lest, before he had done, a question I had a thousand times thought to have asked my wife, should slip out of my head, as it had so often done before, and was what I had for years desired to be resolved in; viz. what the meaning of the word slit was, when applied to a man. So, on his pausing, I said, that his mention of Crashdoorpt reminded me of inquiring what crashee meant, when applied to a glumm or gawrey. It would be no hard task, he said, to satisfy me in respect of that, as I already understood the nature of the graundee; whereupon he went on thus: Slitting is the only punishment we use to incorrigible criminals: our method is, where any one has committed a very heinous offence, or, which is the same thing, has multiplied the acts of offence, he has a long string tied round his neck, in the manner of a cravat; and then two glumms, one at each end, take it in their hands, standing side by side with him; two more standing before him, and two behind him; all which in that manner take flight, so that the string keeps the criminal in the middle of them: thus they conduct him to Crashdoorpt, which lies farther on the other side of Arndrumnstake than this arkoe does on this side of it, and is just such an arkoe as ours, but much bigger within the rocks. When they come to the coovett they alight, where my deputy immediately orders the malefactor to be slit, so that he can never more return to Normnbdsgrsutt, or indeed by any means get out of that arkoe, but must end his days there. The method of slitting is thus: The criminal is laid on his back with his graundee open, and after a recapitulation of his crimes, and his condemnation, the officer with a sharp stone slits the gume between each of the filuses of the graundee, so that he can never fly more. But what is still worse to new comers, if they are not very young, is the light of the place, which is so strong, that it is some years before they can overcome it, if ever they do.

This discourse gave me a great pleasure; thereupon I repeated the dialogue that had passed between me and Youwarkee about my being slit, and how we had held an argument a long time, without being able to come at one another's meaning. But pray, brother, says I, how comes that light country to agree so well with you?—Why, says he, the combat of Crashdoorpt is reckoned one of the most honourable employments in the state, by reason of the hazard of it, and the person accepting it must be young: it was, by my father's interest at court, given to me at nine years of age; my friend Rosig has followed my fortune in it ever since, being much about my age, and has a post under me there: in short, by being obliged to be so much there, and from so tender an age too, I have pretty well inured myself to any light.

By this time we had got home again to dinner, which Pedro had set out as elegantly as my country could afford, consisting of pickles and preserves, as usual, a dish of hard eggs, and boiled fowls with spinage.

My guests, as I expected, stared at the fowls, but never offered to touch them, or seemed in the least inclined to do so. I was afraid they would be cold, and begged them to let me help them. I put a wing on each of their plates, and a leg on my own; but perceiving they waited to see how I managed it, I stuck

in my fork, cut off a slice, dipped it in the salt, and put it in my mouth. Just as I did they did, and appeared very well pleased with the taste. I never in my life, says Rosig, saw a crullmott of this shape before; and laid hold of a leg, (taking it for a stick I had thrust in, as he told me afterwards) intending to pull it out; but finding it grew there, Mr. Peter, says he, you have the oddest shaped crullmotts that ever I saw; pray, what part of the woods do they grow in?—Grow in? says I.—Aye, says he, I mean whether your crullmott-trees are like ours or not?—Why, says I, these fowls are about my yard and the wood too.—What, says he, is it a running plant like a boat?—No, no, says I, a bird that I keep tame about my house; and these, (showing him the eggs,) are the eggs of these birds, and the birds grow from them.—Pr'ythee, says Quangrollart, never let's inquire what they are till we have dined; for my brother Peter will give us nothing we need be afraid of.

It growing into the night by that time we rose from table, I set a bowl of punch before them, made with my treacle and sour ramshorn juice, which they pulled off plentifully. After some bumpers had gone round, I desired my brother to proceed where he left off, in the account of my wife's reception with her father.

When my father, says he, had recovered himself by some hours repose, the first thing he did was to order my sister Youwarkee to be called; who coming into his presence, he took her from her knees, kissed her, and ordered all to depart but myself and Hallycarnis. Then bidding us sit down, says he to your wife, Daughter, your appearance, whom I have so long lamented as dead, has given me the truest cordial I could have received, and I hope will add both to my health and years. I have heard, you suspect my anger for some part of your past conduct, (for he had hinted so to her sister and me) which you justly enough imagine may be censured; but, my dear life, I am this day, what I did not expect any more to be, a father of a new-born child; and not of one only, but of many; and this day, I say, daughter, shall not be spent in sorrow and excuses, or any thing to interrupt our mutual felicity; neither will I ever hereafter permit you to forget my forgiveness, or attempt to palliate any of your proceedings; for know, child, that a benevolence freely bestowed, is better than twice its value obtained by petition: I therefore, as in presence of the Great Image, your brother and sister, at this instant, erase from my mind for ever what thoughts I may have had prejudicial to the love I ever bore you, as I will have you to do all such as may cloud the unreserved complacency you used to appear with before me.—And now, Quangrollart, says he, let the guard be drawn out before my coovett, and let the whole country be entertained for seven days; proclaim liberty to all persons confined; and let not the least sorrow appear in any face throughout my colambat.

I retired immediately, and gave the necessary orders for the speedy dispatch of my father's commands, which indeed were performed to the utmost; and nothing for seven days was to be heard through the whole district of Arndrumnstake, but joy and the name of Youwarkee.

My father, so soon as he had dispatched the above orders, sent for the children before him, whom he kissed and blessed, frequently lifting up his eyes in gratitude to the Great Image, for the unexpected happiness he enjoyed on that occasion; and then he ordered Youwarkee to let him know what had befallen her in her absence, and where she lived, and with whom.

Youwarkee was setting out with some indirect excuses; but my father absolutely forbid her, and charged her only to mention plain facts, without flourishes. So she began with her swangean, and the accidental fall she had, your taking her in after it, and saving her life. She told him, your continued kindness so wrought upon her, that she found herself incapable of disesteeming you, but never showed her affection, till, having examined every particular of your life, and finding you a worthy man, she could not avoid becoming your wife; and she said, the reasons why she always declined being seen by her friends, in their swangeans, was, for fear she should be forced from you, though she longed to see us; and that at last, she was to come by your consent, and that, had it rested there only, she might have come much sooner, for that you would often have had her show herself to her friends, when you heard them, having strong desires yourself to be known to them.

My father, upon hearing this, was so charmed with your tenderness and affection to his daughter, that you already rival his own issue in his esteem, and he is persuaded he can never do enough for you or your children.

The noise of Youwarkee's return, and my father's rejoicing, soon spread over all Normnbdsgrsutt; and King Georigetti sent express to my father, to command him to attend with your wife and children at Brandleguarp, his capital. Thither accordingly we all went, with a grand retinue, and staid twenty days. The king took great delight, as well as the ladies of the court, to hear Youwarkee and her children talk English, and in being informed of you and your way of life; and so

fond was Yacoombourse (who, though not the king's wife, is instead of one) of my nephew Tommy, that, upon my father's return, she took him to herself, and assured my sister he should continue near her person till he was qualified for better preferment. The king's sister Jahamel, would also have taken Patty into her service; but she begged to be permitted to attend her mother to Arndrumnstake; so Hallycarnie her sister, who chose to continue with Jahamel, was received in her room.

Upon my father's return to Arndrumnstake, he found no less than fifteen expresses from several colambs, desiring to rejoice with him on the return of his daughter, with particular invitations to him and her to spend some time with them. My father, though he hates more pomp than is necessary to support dignity, could do no less than severally visit them, with Youwarkee, attended by a grand retinue, spending more or less days with each; hoping when that was over, he should have some little time to spend in retirement with his daughter before her departure, who now began to be uneasy for you, who, she said, would suffer the greatest concern in her absence; but, upon their return from those visits, at about the end of four months progress, they found themselves in as little likelihood of retirement as the first day; for the inferior colambs were continually posting away, one after another, to perform their respects to my father, and all the inferior magistrates of smaller districts sending to know when they might be permitted to do the same. Poor Youwarkee, who saw no end of it, expressed her concern for you in so lively a manner to my father, that, finding he could by no means put a stop to the good-will of the people, and not bearing the thoughts of Youwarkee's departure till she had now received all their compliments, he resolved to keep her with him till the next winter set in, in these parts, and then to accompany her himself to Graundevolet. In the mean while, that you might not remain in an uneasy suspense what was become of my sister, he ordered me to dispatch messengers express to inform you of the reasons of her stay; but I told him, if he pleased, I would execute that office myself, with my friend Rosig, with which he was very well pleased, and enjoined me to assure you of his affection, and that he himself was debtor to you for the love and kindness you had shown his daughter.

Thus, brother, says Quangrollart, I hope I have acquitted myself of my charge to your satisfaction, and it only now remains that I return you my acknowledgments for your hearty welcome to myself and friend; which (with concern I speak it) I am afraid I shall not have an opportunity to return at Arndrumnstake, the distance being so immensely great, and you not having the graundee. To-morrow morning my friend and I will set out on our return home.

Quangrollart having done, I told him I could not but blush at the load of undeserved praises he had laid on me; but as he had received his notion of my merits from a wife too fond to let my character sink for want of her support, it would be sufficient if himself could conceive of, and also represent me at his return, in no worse a light than other men; and though it gave me pain to think of losing my wife so long, yet his account of her health, and the company he assured me she would return in, would doubly compensate my loss; and I begged of him, if it might be with any convenience, he would let some messenger come the day before her, to give me notice of their approach. As to their departure on the morrow, I told them I could by no means think of that, as I had proposed to catch them a dinner of fresh fish in the lake, and to show them my boat, and how and where I came into this arkoe, believing by what I had observed, it would be no small novelty to them. So, having engaged them one day more, we parted for that night to rest.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*The Author shows Quangrollart and Ra his Poultry—They are surprised at them He takes them a Fishing—They wonder his Cart, and at his shooting a Fow They are terribly frightened at the fir of the Gun—Wilkins pacifies them.*

I WAS heartily sorry to lose my brot thus quickly, and still more so to find would be a long time yet ere I should see wife; however, I was resolved to behave cheerfully as possible, and to omit nothi could do, the few remaining hours of Qu grollart's stay with me, to rivet myself roughly in his esteem, and to dismiss him a most cordial affection to me and the of my children here with him. I rose in the morning, to provide a good breakf for my guests, and considering we sh be in the air most part of that day, I ca ed them with a dish of hot fish-soup, and before them on the table a jovial bott brandy, and my silver cann; this last I chose to show them, as a specimen of richness of my household furniture, and grandeur of my living, concealing most of other curiosities till Pendlehamby my fa

in-law's arrival, for I thought it would be imprudent not to have somewhat new of this kind to display at his entertainment.

After a plenteous meal, we set out on our pleasurable expedition, having told Pedro what to get for dinner, and that I believed we should not return till late.

We first took a turn in the wood, but I did not lead them near my tent, because I did not chuse my wife should hear of that till she came; I then showed them my farm-yard and poultry, which they were strangely surprised at, and wondered to see so many creatures come at my call, and run about my legs only upon a whistle, though before there were only two or three to be seen. They asked me an hundred questions about the fowl, which I answered, and told them these were some such as they had eaten, and called cruillmotts, the day before. I afterwards carried them to hear the music of those plants that I call my cream-cheese, which, as there happened to be a small breeze stirring, made their usual melody.

When we had diverted ourselves some time in the wood, we went to the wet-dock, where I showed them my boat. At first view they wondered what use it was for; to satisfy them in that I stepped in, desiring them to follow me, but seeing the boat's agitation, they did not chuse to venture till I assured them they might come with the greatest safety; at length, with some persuasion, and repeated assurances, I prevailed on them to trust themselves with me.

We first rowed to the bridge, where I informed them by what accident I was drawn down the stream on the other side of the rock, and after a tedious and dangerous passage, discharged safe in the lake through that opening.

I then told them how surprised I had been, just before I knew Youwarkee, with the sight of her country-folks, first on the lake, and then taking flight from that bridge, and what had been my thoughts, and how great my terrors on that occasion.

After we had viewed the bridge, I took them to my rill, (for by this time they were reconciled to the boat, and would help me to row it) and showed them how I got water. I then landed them to see the method of fishing, for which purpose I laid my net in proper order, and fixing it as usual, I brought it round out at the rill, and had a very good haul, with which I desired them to help me up; for though I could easily have done it myself, I had a mind to let them have a hand in the sport, with which they were pleased. I perceived, however, the fish were not agreeable to them, for when any one came near their hands, they avoided touching it: notwithstanding, having got the net on shore, I laid it open; but to see how they stared at the fish, creeping backwards, and then at me and the net, it made me very merry to myself, though I did not care to show it.

I drew up at that draught twenty-two fishes in all, of which a few were near an ell long, several about two feet, and some smaller. When they saw me take up the large ones in my arms, and tumble them into the boat, they both, unrequested, took up the small ones, and put them in likewise; but dropping them every time they struck their tails, the fish had commonly two or three falls ere they came to the boat.

I asked them how they liked that sport, and they told me it was somewhat very surprising, that I should know just where the fish were, as they could see none before I pulled them up, and yet they did not hear me whistle. I perceived by this, they imagined I could whistle the fish together as well as the fowls, and I did not undeceive them, being well enough pleased they should think me excellent for something, as I really thought they were on account of the graundee.

Upon our return, when I had docked my boat, as there were too many fish to carry up by hand to the grotto, I desired them to take a turn upon the shore till I fetched my cart for them. I made what haste I could, and brought one of my guns with me, which I determined, upon some occasion or other, to fire off; for I took it they would be more surprised at the explosion of that than at any thing they had yet seen. Having loaded my fish, and marched backwards, they eyed my cart very much, and wondered what made the wheels move about so, taking them for legs it walked upon, till I explained the reason of it, and then they desired to draw it, which they did with great eagerness, one at a time, the other observing its motions.

As we advanced homewards, there came a large water-fowl, about the size of a goose, flying cross us. I bid them look at it, which they did. Says my brother, I wish I had it!—If you have a mind for it, says I, I'll give it you.—I wish you would, says he, for I never saw any thing like it in my life!—Stand still then, [illegible] and stepping two or three yards before them, I fired, and down it dropped. I then turned about to observe what impression the gun had made on them, and could not help laughing to see them so terrified. Rosig, before I could well look about, had got fifty paces from me, and my brother was lying behind the cart of fish. I called and asked them what was the matter, and desired them to come to me, telling them

they should receive no harm, and offered my brother the gun to handle; but he, thanking me as much as if he had, retired to Rosig.

Finding they made a serious affair of it, (for I saw them whispering together) I was under some apprehension for the consequences of my frolic. Thinks I, If under this disgust they take flight, refusing to hear me, and report that I was about to murder them, or tell any other pernicious story to my father of me, I am absolutely undone, and shall never see Youwarkee more. So I laid down the gun by the fish, and moving slowly towards them, expostulated with them upon their disorder; assuring them, that though the object before them might surprise them, it was but a common instrument in my country, which every boy used to take birds with; and protested to them, that the gun of itself could do nothing without my skill directing it, and that they might be sure I should never employ that but to their service. This, and a great deal more, brought us together again; and when we came to reasoning coolly, they blamed me for not giving them notice. Says I, There was no room for me to explain the operation of the gun to you whilst the bird was on the wing, for it would have been gone out of my reach before I could have made you sensible of that, and so have escaped me; which, as you desired me to get it you, I was resolved it should not do. But for yourselves, surely you could have no diffidence in me; that is highly unbecoming of man to man, especially relations; and, above all, a relation to whom you have brought the welcomest news upon earth, in the love of my dear father, and his reconciliation to my wife.

At last, by degrees, I brought them to confess, that it was only a groundless sudden terror which suppressed their reason for a while, but that what I said was all very true; and as their serious reflection returned, they were satisfied of it. I then stepped for the bird, and brought it to them; it was a very fine-feathered creature, and they were very much delighted with the beauty of it, and desired it might be laid upon the cart and carried home.

All the way we went afterwards to the grotto, nothing was to be heard from them but my praises, and what a great and wise man brother Peter was. And no wonder now, sister Youwarkee, says Quangrollart, once knowing him, could never leave him. It was not my business to gainsay this, but only to receive it with so much modesty as might serve to heighten their good opinion of me; and I found, upon my wife's return, that Quangrollart had painted me in no mean colours to his father.

I once more had the pleasure of entertaining them with the old fare, and some of the fresh fish, part boiled and part fried, which last they chose before the boiled. We made a very cheerful supper, talking over that day's adventures, and of their ensuing journey home, after which we retired to rest, mutually pleased. We all arose early the next morning. We took a short breakfast, after which Quangrollart and Rosig stuck their chaplets with the longest and most beautiful feathers of the bird I shot, thinking them a fine ornament. Being now ready for departure, they embraced me and the children, and were just taking flight, when it came into my head, that as the king's mistress had taken Tommy into her protection, it might possibly be a means of ingratiating him in her favour if I sent him the flagelet, (for I had, in my wife's absence, made two others near as good, by copying exactly after it.) I therefore desired to know, if one of them would trouble himself with a small piece of wood I very much wanted to convey to my son. Rosig answered, with all his heart; if it was not very long he would put it into his colapet. So I stepped in, and fetching the flagelet, presented it to Rosig. My brother seeing it look oddly, with holes in it, desired (after he had asked if it was not a little gun) to have the handling of it. It was given him, and he surveyed it very attentively. Being inquisitive into the use of it, I told him it was a musical instrument, and played several tunes upon it; with which he and his companion were in raptures. I doubt not they would have sat a week to hear me if I would have gone on; but I desiring the latter to take care of its safety, he put it in his colapet, and away they went.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Peter prepares for his Father's Reception—Arguments about his Beard—Expects his Wife—Reflections on her not coming—Sees a Messenger on the Rock—Has notice of Pendlehumby's Arrival, and prepares a Treat.*

The news my late visitors had brought me set my mind quite at ease; and now, having leisure to look into my own affairs, with the summer before me, I began to consider what preparations I must make against the return of my wife; for, according to the report I had heard, I concluded there would be a great number of attendants; and, as her father would no doubt pique himself upon the grandeur of his equipage, if his followers should see nothing in me but a plain dirty fellow, I should be contemned, and perhaps my wife, through

y means, be slighted, or at least lose that spect the report of me had in a great mea- re procured her.

The first thing therefore that I did, was to ok into my chests again, wherein I knew ere were many of the Portuguese captain's thes, and take out such as would be most itable to the occasion, and lay them all by emselves. I found a blue cloth laced-coat, uble-breasted, with very large gold buttons, d very broad gold button-holes, lined with ite silk; a pair of black velvet breeches, a ge gold-laced hat, and a point neckcloth, th two or three very good shirts, two pair red-heeled shoes, a pair of white and an- her of scarlet silk-stockings, two silver-hilt- swords, and several other good things; upon examination of these clothes, and by tter or two I found in the pockets of some them, directed to Captain Jeremiah Vau- ile, in Thread-needle Street, London, I ught these belonged to the English captain, ken by the Portuguese ship in Africa. I mediately tried some of them on, and ught they became me very well, and laid those in particular chests, to be ready en the time came, and set them into one my inner rooms.

Upon examining the contents of another est, I found a long scarlet cloak laced, a se of razors, a pair of scissars, and sha- ng-glass; a long-wig, and two bob-wigs, and d them by; for I was determined, as I ght possibly have no other opportunity, to ake myself appear as considerable as I could.

When I had digested in my mind upon hat occasions I would appear in either of hem, and laid them in proper order, Pedro nd I went several days to work with the net, nd caught abundance of fish, which I salted nd dried; and we cut a great quantity of ong grass to dry, and spread in my tent for he lower gentry, and made up a little cock of it; we also cut and piled up a large parcel of fire-wood; and as I had now about thirty of the best fish-skins, each of which would over four chairs, I nailed them on for cu- hions to my chairs, and the rest I sewed to- gether, and made rugs of them.

I had observed, that my brother Quangrol- art, and Rosig, neither of them had beards, nd as they were quite smooth-chinned, I onjectured that none of their countrymen had ny; So, says I, if that is the case, as I have ow both scissars and razors, I will e'en cut off mine, to be like them. I then set up my ace, taking my scissars in hand; but had ot quite closed them for a snip, when I con- idered, that as I was not of their country, nd was so different from them in other re- pects, whether it would not add to my dig- ity to appear with my beard before them. This I debated some time, and then deter- mined in favour of my beard; but as this question still ran in my mind, and I wavered sometimes this way, sometimes that, I some days after prepared again for execution, and took a large slip off; When, says I, how can I tell whether I can shave after all? I have not tried yet, and if I can't, how much more ridiculous shall I look with stubbed hair here and there, than with this comely beard? I must say, I never in my life had so long a de- bate with myself, it holding upwards of two months, varying almost every time I thought of it; till one day, dressing myself in a suit I had not before tried on, and looking in the glass; It can never be, says I, that this grave beard should suit with these fine clothes: no, I will have it off, I am resolved. I had no sooner given another good snip, than spying the cloak, I had a mind to see how I looked in that: Aye, says I, now I see I must either wear this beard or not this cloak. How ma- jestic does it look! So sage, so grave, it de- notes wisdom and solidity; and if they al- ready think well of me, don't let me be fool enough to relinquish my claim to that for a gay coat. I had no sooner fixed on this, than I took up all the implements to put again in- to the chest; and the last of them being the glass, I would have one more look before I parted with it: but my beard made such a horrid, frightful figure, with the three great cuts in it, that though it grieved me to think I must part with it just when I had come to a resolution to preserve it, I fell to work with my scissars, and off it came; and after two or three trials, I became very expert with my razor.

Winter coming on, as I knew I must soon have more occasion than ever for a stock of provision, from the increase of mouths I ex- pected, I laid in a stock for a little army; and when the hurry of that was over, I kept a sharp look-out upon the level, in expectation of my company, and had once a mind to have brought my tent thither to entertain them in; but it was too much trouble for the hands I had, so I dropped the design. I took one or other of the children with me every day, and grew more and more uneasy at hearing no- thing of them; and as uncertain attendance naturally breeds thoughtfulness, and the hours in no employ pass so leisurely as in that, my mind presaged numberless intervening acci- dents, that might, if not entirely prevent their coming, at least postpone it.

Thinks I, (and that I fixed for my stand- ard) Youwarkee, I am sure, would come if she could; but then, says I, here is a long flight, and to be undertaken by an old man too, (for I thought my father-in-law much older than I afterwards found him) who is

now quiet and safe at home; and having his daughter with him, is no doubt desirous of continuing so: now, what cares he for my uneasiness? He can find one pretence or other, no doubt, of drilling on the time till the dark weather is over; and then, forsooth, it will be too light to come; and thus shall I be hung up in suspense for another year. Or what if my brother, as he called himself, for he may be no more a brother of mine than the pope's, for aught I know, came only on a pretence to see how I went on; and not finding, for all his sham compliments to me, his sister married to his father's liking, should advise him not to send my wife back again; and so all the trouble I have had on their account should only prove a standing monument of my foolish credulity! Nay, it is not impossible, but as I have already had one message to inform me Tommy and Hallycarnie are provided for, as much as to say in plain English, I shall see them no more, so I may soon have another by some sneaking puppy or other, whom I suppose I am to treat for the news, to tell me my wife and Patty are provided for too, and I am to thank my kind benefactors for taking so great a charge off my hands. Am I? No! I'll first set my tent, clothes, chairs, and all other mementos of my stupidity on fire, and by perishing, what's left of us, in the blaze, exterminate at once the wretched remains of a deserted family. I hate to be made a fool of!

I had scarce finished my soliloquy, when I heard a monstrous sort of groan or growl in the air, like thunder at a distance. What's that, Pedro? says I.—I never heard the like before, daddy! says he.—Look about, boy, says I, do you see any thing?—We heard it again. Hark! says Pedro, it comes from that end of the lake.—While we were listening to the third sound, says Pedro, Daddy, yonder is something black upon the rock, I did not see just now.—Why it moves, says I, Pedro; here is news, good or bad.—Hope the best, daddy, says Pedro; I wish it may be mammy.—No, says I, Pedro, I don't expect her before I hear from her.—Why then, says Pedro, here they come; I can plainly discern three of them. If my brother Tommy should be there, daddy!—No, says I, Pedro, no such good news; they tell me Tommy's provided for, and that's to suffice for the loss of my child: and yet Pedro, if I could get you settled in England in some good employ, I should consent to that: but what Tommy's to be I know not.

By this time the three persons were so near, that seeing us, they called out Peter! and I making signs for them to alight, they settled just before me, and told me that Pendlehamby and Youwarkee would be with me by light next day.

I had no sooner heard this, but so far was I from firing my tent, that I invited them to my grotto, set the best cheer before them, and with overhaste to do more than one thing at once, I even left undone what I might have done.

I asked them who came with my father; and they told me about two hundred guards: that knocked me up again, as I had but prepared for about sixty; thinks I, My scheme is all untwisted. I then asked them, what loud noise it was, and if they heard it just before I saw them over the rock. They told me they heard only the gripsack they brought with them to distinguish them from ordinary messengers; and then one of them showed it me, for I had before only taken it for a long staff in his hand: But, says he, you will hear them much louder to-morrow, and longer before they come to you.

Having entertained them to their content, I sent them to rest, not chusing to ask any questions; for I avoided anticipating the pleasure of hearing all the news from Youwarkee herself. However, the boys and I prepared what provisions of fowl and fish we could in the time, to be ready cold against they came, and then laid down ourselves.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*Peter settles the formality of his Father's Reception—Description of their Meeting, and alighting, receives his Father—Conducts him to his Grotto—Offers to beg Pardon for his Marriage—Is prevented by Pendlehamby—Youwarkee not known in the English Habit—Quarters the Officers in the Tent.*

My mind ran so all night upon the settling the formality with which I should receive Pendlehamby, that I got little or no rest. In the morning I spread my table in as neat a manner as I could, and having dressed myself, Pedro, Jemmy, and David, we marched to the plain; myself carrying a chair, and each of them a stool. I was dressed in a cinnamon-coloured gold-button coat, scarlet waistcoat, velvet breeches, white silk stockings, the campaign-wig flowing, a gold laced hat and feather, point cravat, silver sword, and over all my cloak: as for my sons, they had the clothes my wife made before she went.

When we heard them coming, I marshalled the children in the order they were to sit, and charged them to do as they saw me do; but to keep rather a half-pace backwards

than me; and then sitting down in my chair, I ordered Pedro to his stool on my right hand, and Jemmy to his on my left, and David to the left of Jemmy.

I then sent two of the messengers to meet them, with instructions to let Youwarkee know where I waited for them, that they might alight at a small distance before they came to me. This she having communicated to her father, the order ran through the whole corps immediately when and where to alight.

It will be impossible for me by words to raise your ideas adequate to the grandeur of the appearance this body of men made, coming over the rock; but, as I perceive your curiosity is on the stretch to comprehend it, I shall faintly aim at gratifying you.

After we had heard for some time a sound as of distant rumbling thunder, or of a thousand bears in consort, serenading in their hoarsest voices, we could just perceive, by the clearness of the dawn gilding on the edge of the rock, a black stream arise above the summit of it, seemingly about forty paces broad; when the noise increasing very much, the stream arose broader and broader; and then you might perceive rows of poles, with here and there a streamer; and as soon as ever the main body appeared above the rock, there was such an universal shout as rent the air, and echoing from the opposite rock, returned the salute to them again. This was succeeded with a most ravishing sound of voices in song, which continued till they came pretty near me; and then the first line, consisting of all the trumpets, mounting a considerable height, and still blowing, left room for the next ranks, about twenty abreast, to come forward beneath them; each of which dividing in the middle, alighted in ranks at about twenty paces distant from my right and left, making a lane before me, at the farther end of which Pendlehamby and his two daughters alighted, with about twenty of his guards behind them, the remainder, consisting of about twenty more, coming forward over my head, and alighting behind me; and during this whole ceremony, the gripsacks sounded with such a din, it was astonishing.

Poor Youwarkee, who knew nothing of my dress, or of the loss of my beard, was thunder-struck when she saw me, not being able to observe any visage I had for my great wig and hat; but putting a good face upon the matter, and not doubting but if the person she saw was not me, she should soon find her husband, for she knew the children by their clothes, she came forward at her father's right hand, I sitting as great as a lord, till they came within about thirty paces of my seat; and then gravely rising, I pulled off my hat and made my obeisance, and again at ten steps forwarder; so that I made my third low bow close at the feet of Pendlehamby, the children all doing the same. I then kneeling with one leg, embraced his right knee; who raising me up, embraced me. Then retiring three steps, and coming forward again, I embraced Youwarkee some time; during which the children observed my pattern with Pendlehamby, who took them up and kissed them.

I whispered Youwarkee to know if any more of her relations were in the train, to whom I ought to pay my compliments; she told me only her sister Hallycarnie, just behind her father; I then saluted her, and stepping forward to the old gentleman's left-hand, I ushered him through the lines of guards to my chair; where I caused him to sit down with Youwarkee and Hallycarnie on each side, and myself on the left of Hallycarnie.

After expressing the great honour done me by Pendlehamby in this visit, I told him I had a little grotto about half a mile through the wood, to which if he pleased to command, we would retire; for I had only placed that seat to relieve him immediately upon his descent.

Pendlehamby rose, and all the gripsacks sounded; he leading Youwarkee in his right-hand, and I Hallycarnie in mine.

At the grotto, my father being seated, taking Youwarkee in my hand, we paid our obedience to him. I would have asked his pardon for taking his daughter to wife without his leave, and was going on in a set speech I had studied for the purpose; but he refused to hear me, telling me I was mistaken, he had consented. I was replying I knew he had been so good as to pass it over, but that would not excuse—when he again interrupted me, by saying, If I approve it, and esteem you, what can you desire more!—So, finding the subject ungrateful, I desisted.

I then gave each of them a silver cann of Madeira, and Youwarkee retired. I soon made an excuse to follow her, to learn if she was pleased with what I had done. Says she, My dearest what is come to you? I will promise you, but for fear of surprising my father, I had disowned you for my husband.—Dear Youwee, says I, do you approve my dress, for this is the English fashion?—This, Peter, says she, I perceived attracted all eyes to you, and indeed is very showy, and I approve it in regard to those we are now to please; but you are not to imagine I esteem you more in this than your old jacket; for it is Peter I love, in this and all things else: but step in again, I shall only dress, and come to you.

My wife being dressed in her English gown, just crossed the room where my father sat, to see Dicky, who was in another side-room.

I was then sitting by, and talking with him. Son, says my father, I understood you had no other woman in this arkoe but my daughter; for surely you have no child so tall as that, pointing to my wife.—No, sir, said I, that is a friend.—Is she come to you, says he, in my daughter's absence?—O, sir, says I, she is very well known to my wife.

Whilst we were talking, in comes Youwarkee, with the child in her arms, which she kept covered to the wrists with her gown-sleeve, to hide her graundee; and playing with the child, talked only in English to it. Is this your youngest son? says my father.—I told him yes.—Pray, madam, says I, bring the child to my father.—Madam, says he, you have a fine baby in your arms; has his mother seen him since she came home? He speaking this in his own tongue, and Youwarkee looking at me, as if she could not understand him, I interpreted it to her. My sister then desired to see the child, but I was forced again to interpret there too. In short, they both talked with my wife near half an hour, but neither of them knew her; till at last, saying in her own language, That is your grand-daddy, my dear Dicky! the old gentleman smoked her out.—I'll be slit, says he, if that is not Youwarkee!—Its impossible! says Hallycarnie.—Indeed, sister, says Youwarkee, you are mistaken! and my father protesting he had not the least suspicion of her, till she spoke in his tongue, rose, and kissing her and the child, desired her to appear in that habit during his stay.

I asked Pedro what provision had been made for the guards: Son, says my father, I bring not this number of people to eat you up; they have their subsistence with them; and he would by no means suffer me to allow them any. I then desired to know if there were any officers or others to whom he would have shown any particular marks of distinction.—Son, says the old glumm, you seem to have studied punctilios; and though I should be sorry to incommode you for their sakes, if you could procure some shelter and sleep-room for about twenty of them, who are superiors, ten at a time, while the rest are on duty, I should be glad. I told him I had purposely erected a tent, which would with great ease accommodate a greater number; and as they were of distinction, with his leave I insisted upon providing for them; to which, with some reluctance, I procured his consent.

When Pendlehamby was refreshed, he would go with me to see the officers' quarters; and showing him my tent, he having never seen such a thing before, was going to climb up the outside of it, taking it for earth. Hold, sir, said I, you cannot do so! Then taking him to the front of it, I turned aside the blue cloth, and desired him to walk in; at which he seemed wonderfully pleased, and asked me how it was made. I told him in as few words as I could; but he understood so little of it, that any thing else I had said might have done as well. He mightily approved it; and calling the chief officer, I desired he would command my house, and that provision should be supplied to his quarters daily; at which he hesitating, I assured him I had my father's leave for what I offered; whereupon he stroked his chin.

I then asked him if he had any clever fellows under him to serve them, and dress their provisions; but he hoped, he said, they were ready dressed, as his men knew little of that matter; but for any other piece of service, as many as I pleased should be at my command.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*The Manner of their Dinner—Believe the Fish and Fowl to be Fruits—Hears his Brother and the Columbs are coming—Account of their lying—Peter's Reflections on the want of the Graundee—They view the Arkoe—Servants harder to please than their Masters—Reasons for different Dresses the same Day.*

PENDLEHAMBY having a mind to view my arkoe, took a long walk with Hallycarnie in the wood till dinner-time; and he having before told me, that some of his guards always waited on him at meals, I ordered their dinner before his return, sending a large dish of cold fowls, cut into joints, into the tent, to be spread on clean leaves I had laid on the chests; and setting a sufficient quantity of bread and fish there also, I desired the officers present to refresh themselves now, and the rest, when relieved, should have a fresh supply. I saw there was an oddity in their countenances, which at first I did not comprehend; but presently turning about to the superior, Sir, says I, though this food may look unusual to you, it is what my island affords, and you will be better reconciled to it after tasting. So taking a piece of fowl, and dipping it in the salt, I eat a bit myself, and recommended another to him; who, eating it, they all fell to without farther scruple; above all things commending the salt, as what they had never tasted the like of before, though they thought they had both of the fish and fowl.

I then told them where my supply of water came from, and that they must furnish themselves with that by their own men.

Upon the return of my father and sister, the gripsack sounded for dinner; when four officers on duty entering, desired, as their posts, to have the serving up of the dishes. One of them I perceived having set on the first dish, never stirred from behind Pendlehamby; but upon his least word or sign, ordered the others what to do or bring, which he only presented to my father, and he frequently gave him a piece from his own plate; but the other officers served at the table promiscuously.

After dinner I brought in a bowl of punch; when begging leave to proceed in my country method, I drank to my father's health. So, daughter, says he to my wife, we are at the old game again.—Son, says he, this is no novelty to me, Youwarkee constantly drinking to the health of her dear Peter, and the children at Graundevolet, and obliging us to pledge her, as she called it: but I thank you, and will return your civility; so taking a glass, Son and daughter, says he, long life, love and unity, attend you and my grand-children!—Youwarkee and I both rising till he had done, returned him our thanks.

When we had sat some time, Son, says my father, you and your wife having lived so retired, I fear my company and attendants must put you to an inconvenience; now, as my son intends you a visit also, in company with several of my brother colambs, if we shall be too great a load upon you, declare it, for they will be at Battrindrigg arkoe to-morrow, to know whether it will be agreeable for them to proceed.

You know, son, says my father, the mouth is a great devourer, and that the stock your family cannot consume in a year, by multiplying their numbers, may be reduced in a day: now freely let me know (for you say you provided for us) how your stock stands, that you may not only pleasure us, but we not injure you.

I told him, as for dried fish I had a vast quantity, and that my fowls were so numerous I knew not my stock; as to bread, I had a great deal, and might have almost what more I would; and then for fresh fish, the whole province of Arndrumnstake could not soon devour them; but for my pickles and preserves, I had neither such large quantities, nor conveniences to bestow them, if I had.

If this be the case, son, says my father, I may send your brother word to proceed: and dispatched ..en messengers with a gripsack to hasten his son's arrival.

It now began to be time for rest, and the old gentleman growing pretty mellow with the punch, which, by the heavy pulls he took at it, I perceived was no disagreeable entertainment to him, I conducted him to his repose; and disposing of the rest of the family, Youwarkee and I with great impatience retired.

You may imagine I was sincerely glad to find myself once more alone with my Youwarkee; when, after a transport of mutual endearments, I desired to know how Pendlehamby first received her; which she told me, with every circumstance, in so affecting a manner that the tears forced passage from mine eyes in perfect streams; and I loved the dear man ever after as my own father.

She told me Tommy was in great favour at court before her brother returned from me; but ever since I sent him the flagelet he had been caressed above measure, and would soon be a great man: that Hallycarnie was a constant attendant on Jahamel both in her diversions and retirement; and, she did not doubt, would in time marry very well: as for Patty, she said her father intended, with my leave, to adopt her as his own child.

My wife slept very sound after her journey; but my hurry of spirits denying me that refreshment, I never so much as now lamented the want of the graundee. For, thinks I, now I have once again tasted the sweets of society, how shall I ever relish a total desertion of it, which in a few days must be the case, when all this company are fled, and myself am reduced to my old jacket and water-cart again! Now, if I was as others here are, I might make a better figure than they by my superior knowledge of things, and have the world my own; nay, I would fly to my own country, or to some other part of the world, where even the strangeness of my appearance would procure me a good subsistence.—But, says I, if with my graundee I should lose my sight, or only be able to live in the dark in England, why I should be full as bad as I am here! for nobody would be able to keep me company abroad, as my hours for the air would be theirs of retirement; and then, at home, it would be much the same; no one would prefer my company in a dark room in the day-time, when they could enjoy others in the light of the sun; then how should I be the better for the graundee, unless I fixed a resolution of living here, or hereabouts? and then to get into company, I must retire to still darker regions, which my eyes are no ways adapted to: in short, I must be quite new moulded, new made, and new born too, before I can attain my desires. Therefore, Peter, says I, be content; you have been happy here in your wife and children without these things; then never make yourself so wretched as to hope for a change which can never possibly happen, and which, perhaps, if obtained, might undo you; but

intend only what you can compass, by weighing all circumstances, and your felicity will lie in very narrow bounds, free from two of the greatest evils a man can be beset by, hopes and fears; two inseparable companions, and deadly enemies to peace: for a man is destroyed by hope through fear of disappointment. This brought me a show of peace again: Surely, says I, I am one of the most unaccountable amongst mankind! I never can reflect till I am worn down with vexation.—O Glanlipze! Glanlipze! says I, I shall never forget thy speech after engaging the crocodile, that every thing was to be attained by resolution by him that takes both ends of a thing in his view at once, and fairly deliberates what may be given and taken from end to end. Surely, says I, this ought to be engraven on brass, as I wish it was on my heart, it would prevent me many painful hours, help me with more ease to compass attainable ends, and to rest contented under difficulties insuperable: and if I live to rise again, I will place it where it shall never be more out of my sight, and will enforce it not only more and more on myself, but on my children.

With this thought I dropped to sleep, and with this I awaked again, and the first thing I did was to find a proper place to write it, which, having fixed for the door of my cupboard, I took a burnt stick for my pencil, and wrote as follows: "He that is resolved to overcome, must have both ends of an object in view at once, and fairly deliberate what may be given and taken from end to end; and then pursue the dictates of cool reason." This I wrote in English, and then in the Doorpt Swangeantine tongue; and having read it twice or thrice over, I went for water and fish, and returned before the family were up.

I took care to-day also, that the officers should be as well served as possible, and where an accomodation must be wanting, I rather chose to let it fall on my father than on them; for I had ever observed it to be an easier thing to satisfy the master than the man; as the master weighs circumstances, and from a natural complacency in himself, puts a humane construction upon that error or omission, which the servant wholly attributes to slight and neglect.

My company being abroad, about the time I expected their return, I dressed myself as the day before, only without my cloak, and in a black bob-wig, and took a turn to meet them.

Pendlehamby spying me first among the trees, Daughter Youwarkee, says he, you have an husband, I think, for every day in the week. Who's this? my son Peter! Why, he is not the same man he was yesterday. She told him she had heard me say we changed our apparel almost every day in England; nay, sometimes twice or thrice the same day. —What! says Pendlehamby, are they so mischievous there they are fearful of being known in the latter by those who saw them in the former part of the day?

By this time I was come up, and after paying due compliments, says Youwarkee, My father did not know you, my dear, you are so altered in your other wig; and I told him in your country they not only change wig, but their whole clothing, two or three times a day sometimes.—Son, says my father, if it be so, I cannot guess at the design of a man's making himself unlike himself.—O, sir, says I, it is owing to the different functions he is to perform that day: as, suppose, in the morning he is to pursue business with his inferiors, or meet at our coffee-houses to hear and chat over the news of the day, he appears in a light easy habit proper for dispatch, and comes home dirty: then, perhaps, he is to dine with a friend at mid-day, before whom, for respect's sake, not chusing to be seen in his dirty dress, he puts on something handsomer; and, after spending some time there, he has, it may be, an appointment at court, at play, or with his mistress, in all which last cases, if he has any thing better than ordinary, it is a part of good-breeding to appear in that: but if the very best was to be used in common, it might soon become the worst, and not fit for a nice man to stir abroad in.—The different customs of countries you have told me of, says my father, is surprising: here are we born with our clothes on, which always fit, be we ever so small or large; nay, are never the worse for constant wearing; and you must be eternally altering and changing colour, shape, and habit. But, says he, where do they get all these things? Does every man make just what he likes?—No, says I, there are a particular set of men whose business it is to make for all the rest.—What, says he, I suppose their hands make them?—No, sir, they are filgays, says I. It is their trade, they do it for a livelihood, being paid by them they work for. A suit of their clothes, says I, taking up the flap of my coat, will cost what we call twelve or fourteen pounds in money.—I don't understand you, says he.—Why, sir, says I, that is as much as will provide one moderate man with all the necessary things of life for two months. —Then, says he, these nice men must be very rich.—No, sir, said I, there you are under a mistake; for if a man, very rich, and who is known to be so, neglects his habit, it is taken to be his choice; but one who is not known to be rich, and is really not so, is, by appearing gay sometimes, thought to be so; for he comes little abroad, and pinches miserably at home, first to get that gay suit, and then act

on the same part to preserve it, till some lucky hit may help him to the means of getting another, as it frequently happens by a good marriage: for though he is but seldom seen in public, yet always appearing so fine when he is, the ladies, whose fancies are frequently more tickled with show than sense, admitting him only at first as a companion, are at last, if worth any thing, taken in the toils he is ever spreading for them; and, becoming his wife, produce a standing fund to make him a rich man in reality, which he but personated before.

Pendlehamby could not well understand all I said; and I found by him that all the riches they possessed were only food and slaves; and, as I found afterwards when amongst them, they know the want of nothing else: but I am afraid I have put them upon another way of thinking, though I aimed at what we call civilizing of them.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Quangrollart arrives with the Colambs—Straitened for Accommodation—Remove to the Tent—Youwarkee not known—Peter relates Part of his Travels—Dispute about the Beast-fish Skins.*

SLEEPING longer than usual, I was awakened next morning by a gripsack from Quangrollart; upon hearing of which I roused immediately, thinking they were at my door; but the messenger told me they could not be there in what I understood by his signs to be about two hours, for they have no such measure for time as hours; so I dressed at leisure, and then went to Youwarkee, and waked her. Youwee, says I, your brother will be here presently, and I having a mind you should appear as my country-woman, would have you dress yourself.

We walked down to the level, and but just saved our distance; for the van of them were within the arkoe before we arrived, and with such a train after them as seemed to reach the whole length of the arkoe. The regularity and order of their flight was admirable, and the break of the trumpets so great, sounding all the way they came, (for we had not only one set of them, but at least thirty, there being so many colambs and petty princes in the train, each with fifty attendants) that I wondered how they could bear it. As the principals alighted, which was at least an hundred paces from me, the gripsacks still kept wing, sounding as long as we staid.

This was a very tedious ceremony, for the guards alighting with their colambs, ranged just as Pendlehamby's had done, but reached as far as the eye could see. As they moved towards us, Youwarkee and I, having stood still some time, moved slowly forward to meet them.

It would have surprised you to have seen the deference they paid us; and I believe the guards took us for something above the mortal race. Youwarkee showed no part of her graundee, having on sleeves down to her wrists, white silk stockings, and red-heeled shoes: so that none of them knew her for one of them.

The first that we met was my brother, to whom we had only an opportunity of paying our compliments *en passant*, before another grandee came up, who was succeeded by another and another, to the number of thirty; some out of respect to my father and brother, and some out of mere curiosity to see me; and as fast as each had paid his salutes, he passed us, till we found we had no more to meet, when we turned about, and fell in with the company.

When we came to the grotto, I was very much put to it for room, we scarce being able to stand upright by each other, much less to sit down; which my father perceiving, My dear friends, says he, had my son known in time of so much good company, he would have been better provided with seats for us all; but, considering all we see is the labour only of his own hands, we should rather admire at the many conveniences we see here, than be uneasy there are no more.—And, son, says he, as we are now so large a body, I propose that we adjourn to the officers quarters, and let them take ours.—I returned my father thanks for the hint, and led the way, the rest following, where we found room enough, and to spare.

Though Youwarkee was with us all dinner-time helping the guests, we had no sooner done, But, says Quangrollart, aloud, Brother Peter, are we not to see my sister?—I not hearing perfectly what he said, though I perceived he spoke to me, Sir! says I.—My sister Youwarkee! says he, why won't she appear? Here are several of her good friends, as well as myself, will be glad to see her.—My father then laughed so heartily, that the rest taking notice of it, my poor brother was put to the blush. Son, says my father, don't you know your own sister?—We have not seen her yet, says one of the colambs, or any lady but your daughter Hallycarnie and that attendant.—My brother then seeing how it was, came up to salute my wife; but even then had his scruples, till he saw her smile, and then begged pardon for his oversight, as did all the colambs upon saluting her; my brother declaring, that as she was somewhat behind me on the level, he had only paid her the respect of his chin,

taking her for some one attending me. The colamb following my brother, assured her the little regard shown her by Quangrollart, who he thought should know best where to bestow his respects, was the reason of his taking no more notice of her; and each confessing his mistake arose from too nearly copying the steps of his immediate predecessor, they all made excuse, and the mistake made us very merry, till they proposed taking a turn in the woods, it being a great novelty to them, they said; but I begged they would leave me behind to prepare for their return.

Having refreshed themselves after they came home, Quangrollart (being put upon it by some of the colambs) told me I could not render a more acceptable favour to the whole company than to relate to them an account of my adventures: For though, says he, I told them last night what I remembered to have heard from you, yet the variety was so great, I could not deliver the facts in order as I heard them, but was obliged to take here a piece, and there another, as they occurred to me, making rather several stories of it than a continued series of facts.

All the colambs immediately seconded the motion, and desired me to begin. I then ordering a clear table and a bowl of punch, and having drank all the company's healths, began my narration, hoping to have finished it before bed-time; but they pressing me to be very particular, and frequently one or other requiring explanations upon particular facts, and then one making a remark upon something, which another answered, and a third replied to, they got the talk out of my hands so long, that having lost themselves in the argument, and forgot what I said last, they begged my pardon and desired me to go on; when one, who in contemplation of one fact had lost best part of another, prayed me to go on from such an incident, and another from one before that; so that I was frequently obliged to begin half-way back again. This method not only spun out my story to a very great length, but instead of its being finished that evening, as I had purposed, it was scarce well begun before bed-time drew on; so I just having brought them to Angola, told them, as it grew late, if they pleased, I would finish the remainder next night, which they agreed to.

Quangrollart then asked my father if he had been fishing since he came; but he told him he knew not what he meant. Then all the company desired I would show them what that was. I told them they might command me as they pleased; so we appointed the next morning for that exercise. But, gentlemen, says I, your lodging to-night gives me the greatest pain; for I know not what I shall do about that. I have a few beast-fish skins, which are very soft and hairy, but not a sufficiency for so many friends as I would at present be proud to oblige; but I can lay them as far as they will go upon as much dry reeds and grass as you please. I then sent a servant to Youwarkee for the skins; after which, they one and all crying out if they had but good dry reeds they desired no better lodging, I dispatched hands to bring away a large parcel of them to the tent, which they did in a trice. Then waiting on those few who lay at the grotto to their quarters, and having sent Youwarkee to her sister, I returned to the tent to take up my own lodging with those I had left there.

I had not yet entered the tent, when I heard a perfect tumult within, every one talking so loud, and all together, that I verily thought they had fallen out, and were going to handy-cuffs: however, I resolved to go in amongst them, and try to compose their difference; when just entering, and they spying me, several ran to me, with each a skin in his hand, the rest following as fast as they could. Gentlemen, says I, I hoped to have found you all at rest.—So we should have been, says one of them, but for these what you call 'eus.—It is my unspeakable misfortune, says I, that I have no more at your service, and am sorry I should cause them to be brought, since each of you cannot have one.—Says one of them, I don't want one, I have seen enough of it.—Then, gentlemen, says I, it is possible there may be so many more of that colamb's mind, that there may be sufficient for those who desire them.—They neither knew what to make of me, nor I of them, all this while; till an old colamb perceiving our mistake, Mr Peter, says he, we have only had a dispute.—I am sorry at my heart for it, says I; but I perceived you were very warm before I entered, and am in great hopes of compromising matters to all your satisfactions.—I was going, says the same colamb, to tell you we had a dispute about what these things were, nothing else.—I was then struck on a heap, being quite ashamed they should think I suspected they had been quarrelling for the skins; and how to come off I knew not. You'll excuse me, sir, says I, for expressing a concern that you could not each have one to examine into at the same time, that one of you need not have waited to make your remarks, till the other had done.—No occasion, no occasion for that, Mr Peter, said they all together; we shall have leisure enough to examine them to-morrow; but we want to know what they are, and where they grow.—Gentlemen, says I, each of these is the clothing of a particular fish.—And where do they grow? said they.—In the lake, says I; they are

a living creature, who inhabit that great water; I often catch them when I am fishing, the same exercise we shall go upon to-morrow.

I had much ado to persuade them they did not grow on trees, which I was then much more surprised at than some time after, that I returned their visit; but having satisfied them, and given them some possible hopes they might see one alive next day, they were very well contented, and we all lay down to rest.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*Go a Fishing—Catch a Beast-fish—Afraid of the Gun—How Peter altered his Net—Fish-Dinner for the Guards—Method of dressing and eating it.*

I APPEARED before them, in the morning, in my old jacket, and an old hat with brims indented almost to the crown, a flannel night-cap, and chequered shirt. 'How now, son! says my father, what have we here?—Sir, says I, this will show you the use of our English fashion I mentioned the other day, and the necessity of it. You see me in this indifferent habit, because my next business requires it; but when I come back, and have no farther dirty work to do, I shall then dress, as near as I can, to qualify me for your company.

Are you for moving gentlemen? says my brother; I believe it is time. They then all arising, we went to the lake where getting into my boat, and telling them, that any six of them might go with me, they never having seen such a thing before, and not much liking the looks of it, all made excuses, till my brother, assuring them it was very safe, and that he had sailed in it the last trip, three or four of them, with my father, and Hallycarnie, who was very desirous of seeing me fish, got in, and we sailed a great way up the lake, taking my gun as usual with me.

It gave me exceeding delight, to see the whole body of people then in the arkoe on the graundee; some hovering over our heads, and talking with us; others flying this way, others that, till I had pitched upon a spot to begin my operation; when rowing to shore, and quitting my boat, the whole body of people settled just by me, staring at me and my net, and wondering what I was doing. I then taking a sweep as usual, got some of the soldiers to assist me to shore with it; but when the cod of the net landed, and the fish began to dash with their tails at the water's edge, away ran all my soldiers, frighted out of their wits to think what was coming: but it being a large hale, and a shelving bank, I could not lift it to the level myself; which my brother, who had seen the sport before, perceiving, though not one of the rest stirred, lent me a hand, and we got it up.

You cannot imagine what surprise appeared in every face upon opening the net, and seeing all the fish naked: they drew up by degrees closer and closer, for I let the fish lie some time for their observation; but seeing the large fish, upon my handling them, flap their tails, they very expeditiously retired again. I then tossed several of them into the boat; but two of them being very large, and rough-scaled ugly fish, I did not think I could lift them myself, so desired assistance, but nobody stirred; I expected some of the colambs would have ordered their men to have helped me, but they were so terrified with seeing me handle them, that they could not have the conscience to order their men on so severe a duty, till a common man came to me, and taking the tail, and I the head, we tossed them both into the boat.

I went higher up the lake than usual, in hopes of a beast-fish to show them; but, though I could not meet with one, I had several very great hawls, and took three or four of my lobsters, very large ones. This was the second trial I had made of my net since I had altered it, and it gave me great satisfaction, for I could now take as many fish at one draught as I could before have done at ten. I had found, that though my net was very long, yet for want of a bag, or cod, to enclose the fish, many that were included within its compass would, whilst I drew round, swim to the extremes, and so get out, for want of some inlet to enter at; for which reason I sawed off the top of a tree at about ten feet from the ground, and drawing a circle of six feet diameter round the tree, on the ground, I stuck it round with small pegs, at two inches distance; then I drove the like number of nails round the top of the trunk of the tree, and straining a length of mat-line from each peg on the ground to a correspondent nail on the tree, I tied my mat-line in circles round the strained lines, from top to bottom, about two inches distance at the bottom, but at a less distance where the strained lines grew nearer to each other towards the top; and having secured all the ends, by some line twisted round them, I cut a hole in the middle of my net, and tied the large ground-end over the hole in the net, and gathered the small end up in a purse, tying it up tight; and by this means I now scarce lost any fish which once were within the sweep of my net.

Having had so good success, I had a design of returning, but thought, as I could now so easily entertain a multitude, I might as well take another hawl or two, and make an

handsome treat for the soldiery; then coming up to my drill's mouth, I fixed my implements for a draught there, and beginning to draw up, I found great resistance in the net, and got two or three to help me; but, coming near shore, when the company saw the net tumble and roll, and rise and fall, they all ran as if they were mad, till I called them, and told the colambs it was only one of the fish whose skins I had shown them; upon which, by that time I had discharged the fish from the net, they were all round me again: but no sooner had he got loose, than up he rose, whirled his wings, and at the same instant uttered such a groan that my whole company retreated again, thinking me somewhat more than a man, who could face so dreadful an enemy. I entreated them to come and view it; but finding no arguments could bring them nearer, I edged round till I got him between me and the water, and shot him dead.

Upon the report of my gun, the whole field was in the air, darting and screaming, as I have often seen a flight of rooks do on the same occasion; and I am apt to believe some of them never returned again, but went directly home.

I was a little concerned to see the confusion I had caused; and laying down my gun, my brother, who though at a distance when I shot, knowing what I was at, and coming up to me it put the rest upon their consideration; and they alighted one by one, at a distance, till they were all on the level again.

My father and the colambs, who were the the first that durst approach, wondered what I had done, and how the fish came to be dead, and whence so much fire and smoke proceeded, for they were sure I brought none with me, and asked me abundance of questions; but as I knew I must have occasion for answering to the same thing twenty times over, had I entered upon an explanation there, I deferred giving them satisfaction till we came home, when all at once might be capable of hearing what was said. So I told them the most necessary thing at present was to stow the fish in the boat; for it was the largest I had ever taken, and I could not wholly do it myself. I made several efforts for help, but in vain, till the same soldier who had helped me with one of the first fish, came to my relief, and, desiring my orders what to do, assisted me; and the rest seeing the difficulty we both had to manage it, one or two more of them came up, and we shipped it on board.

I then called the colambs to me, telling them I was sorry I had given such a general disturbance to them, by shooting the fish; but, as they kept at too great a distance from me to have notice of my design, and if I had followed them, the fish might have escaped before my return, I was obliged to do as I did, which was without any possibility of hurting them. But, as I had given them such a fright, I hoped they would this one day give me an opportunity of complimenting their guests with a fish dinner, if we could any way contrive to dress it; for whoever did that must be able to bear the close light of a large fire. They all shook their heads but my brother, who told me he had in his retinue six men from Mount Alkoe, purposely retained for their strong sight, to attend him always to Crashdoorpt, who, he believed, for the benefit of the rest, would undertake the cookery if I would show them how. I desired he would give them orders to attend me on the other side the lake, and I would instruct them at my landing; and then I crossed over with my booty.

Finding the Mount Alkoe men waiting for my landing, I asked if they could bear the sight of fire: they told me they were used to much greater light and flames than I had ever seen, they believed.—Very good, said I; then get into my boat, three of you, and hand out that fish to the shore.—I found they were more afraid of the fish than of the fire, for not one of them stirred till I got in and tossed out several small ones; and then taking up a large one, Help me somebody! says I, they looking a little at one another, till one of them venturing to take it, the rest fell heartily to work, and dispatched the whole lading presently. I then laid a small parcel upon my cart, for our own eating and the officers, and sending them to the grotto, I gave the cooks their charge.

Now, says I, my lads, do you serve all the rest of the fish as I do this; cutting it open at the same time, and throwing away the guts; and I will send each of you such an instrument as I use here, pointing to my knife. I shall order six large heaps of wood to the level, to be piled up there: when you have done the fish, do you set fire to the heaps, and let them burn till the flame is over and the coals are clear; then lay on your fish, and if any are too large to be manageable, cut them in proper pieces, and with sticks, which I will send you, turn them over and over, walking round the fire, and with the forked end of the stick toss the least off first, and afterwards the greater; but be sure throw the fish as far as ever you can, from the fire, amongst the men, that they may not be obliged to come too near it: and in this manner go on, till either they have enough, or your fish are gone; and when you have done, come to the grotto for your reward.

I then set abundance of hands to work to carry wood, to be laid in six heaps, two hun-

dred paces from each other, and told them how to pile it. I then prepared six long taper sticks with forked ends, and ordered more hands to divide the fish equally to the piles. I sent others with salt and bread; and I ordered them to let me know when all was ready.

While these preparations were making, my tent-visitors had all dined, and my cart had returned with the beast-fish, which the company desired might be brought in, when every one passed his judgment upon it, and a long dissertation we had on the marvellous works of Collwar. I let them go on with their show, though I could have disproved most of their conclusions from the little knowledge I had of things; but I never was knight-errant enough to oppose my sentiments to a multitude already prepossessed on the other side of the question; for this reason, because I have ever observed that where several have imbibed the same ridiculous principle in infancy, they never want arguments, though ever so ridiculous, to support it; and, as no one of them can desert it without impeaching the judgment of the rest, they encourage each other in their obstinacy, and quite out-vote a single person; and then, the laugh beginning on the strongest side, nothing is so difficult as to get it out of their hands; but when a single man in the wrong hears a just argument from a single antagonist which he cannot contradict, he imbibes its force, and whilst that lasts, as nothing but a better argument, with better reasons, can remove it, he from thenceforth adopts his adversary's reasons for his own, to oppose against his own former opinion.

In the height of our disputations on the beast-fish, came news that the broil was going to begin; and, as I expected very good diversion at it, I invited the company to go see it, telling them, in my opinion, it would exceed the sport in taking them. We passed through the wood till we came amongst the shrubs, where I placed them to be out of harm's way; and the fire, which was now nothing but cinders, was of no inconvenience to them. They were pleased with it to perfection; for, first, the six men who walked round the fires, by the glowing light of the embers, and the shining of their graundees, looked like men on fire; then, to see each fire surrounded with a circle of men at the diameter of near two hundred paces, as close as they could well stand, by a more distant shine of the fire, had a very pleasing effect; but, when the broilers began to throw the fish about, (for each man stood with some salt and a cut of bread in his hand) to see a body of an hundred men running for it, and whilst they were stooping and scrambling for that, to see a hot fish fall on the back of one, which was whipped off by another, who, scalding his mouth with it, threw it in the face of a third; when a fourth, fifth, and sixth, pulling it in pieces, run away with it; and to see the different postures, courses, and groupes, during this exercise and running feast, was the most agreeable farce my guests had ever seen in their lives; and, to the great saving of my liquors, kept us in the wood for full three hours, not a soul stirring till the feast was over.

We spent best part of this evening in discourse on the passages of the day, the reflections on which not being concluded till bedtime, my adventures were postponed till the next night; but we had first concluded upon a shooting for the next morning, (for they were all extremely desirous of knowing how I did it) at a time they should have opportunity of seeing me and making remarks; and I, being unwilling they should think me a conjuror, agreed to make them masters of part of the mystery of powder and ball.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*A Shooting proposed—All afraid of the Gun but one Private Guard—His Behaviour—Pendlehamby, at Peter's request, makes him a General—Peter's Discourse thereon—Remainder of his Story—The Colambs return.*

THIS being the fifth morning, I cleaned up my best gun, and prepared my balls, and we all took a walk towards the bridge, every one admiring my gun as we went; but I could get none of them to carry it, and we had at least five hundred questions proposed about it. I told them they need not be afraid of it, for it was only wood and iron; but they knew nothing of iron. I then showed them how I made it give fire, by snapping the cock; they thought it was very strange. I then put a little powder in the pan, and made it flash, and showing them the empty pan, they would not be persuaded but I had taken away the powder before the flash, or else, they said, it was impossible that should be all gone upon flashing only; for they said it was a little nut, using the same word to express both nut and seed. I then desired one of them to put in some powder, and snap it himself; but having prevailed with him to try the experiment, if I had not through caution held my hand upon the barrel, the gun had been on the ground, for the moment it flashed, he let go and ran for it.

I had a great inclination to gain the better of their prejudices, and used abundance of arguments to prove the gun as innocent a thing

as a twig I took up; and that it was the powder which, when set on fire, the flame thereof wanting more room than the powder itself did, forced itself, and all that opposed it, out of the mouth of the gun with such fury as to make the noise they heard; and being just come to the rock, Now, says I, you shall see that what I tell you is true. They told me they desired nothing more than that I would make them understand it, for it was the strangest thing they had ever seen. Well, then, says I, observe; I put in this much powder only, and with this rag I stop it down close. Now, says I, you see by the length of this stick that the rag and powder take up the space only of a finger's depth on the inside of the gun. They saw that plainly they said; But how could that kill any thing?—Now look again, says I; I put in a little more powder, as I did before when I made a flash, and you see there is a little hole from this powder through the side of the gun to the powder within. Do you observe that this communicates with that through this hole?—Yes, said they, they did.—Now, says I, when I put fire to this, it sets fire to that within, which fire turning to flame, and wanting room, bursts out at the mouth of the gun; and to show you with what force it comes out, here handle this round ball, giving them a bullet to handle; you feel how heavy it is: now, can any of you throw this ball as far as that rock; for I stood a good hundred paces from it.—They told me, No.—And don't you think, says I, that if the force of the fire made by this powder can throw this ball to that rock, that force must be very great?—They said, they thought it must, but believed it to be impossible.—But, says I, if it not only throws it to the rock, but beats out a piece of the stone, must not that be much more violent? They agreed it must.—Then putting in the ball, Now, says I, we will try. I then ordered one to daub a part of the rock, about breast high, with some mud; and first to observe about it, if the rock was any where fresh broken, or not; who, returning, reported that the rock was all of a colour and sound, but somewhat ragged all about the mud.—Did you lay the mud on smooth? says I. He replied, Yes.—Then lifting up my gun, I perceived they were creeping off; so I took it down again, and calling, reasoned with them upon their fears. What mischief, says I, can you apprehend from this gun in my hand! Should I be able to hurt you with it, are you not all my friends or relations, could I be willing to do it? If the gun of itself could hurt, would I handle it as I do? For shame! be more courageous, rouse your reason, and stand by me; I shall take care not to hurt you. It looks as if you mistrust my love to you, for this gun can do nothing but what I direct it to.

By such like persuasions, rough and smooth, I prevailed upon the major part of the colonels and officers to stand near me to see me fire, and then I shot; but though my words had engaged them to stand it, I had no sooner snapped but the graundees flew all open, though they closed again immediately; and then we fell to question and answer again. I desired them to walk to the rock; and see the person who put up the mark before, to see and show us exactly what alteration there was: he told us there was a round hole in the mud, pointing to it, which he did not leave there, and taking away the mud, a thick shiver of the rock followed it. They then all agreed, that the ball must have made both the hole in the mud and also splintered the rock, and stood in amaze at it, not being able to comprehend it: but, by all the art I had, I could not prevail with a man of them to fire the gun himself, till it had been buried about a good while, and at last came to my ears, that a common soldier behind said he should not be afraid of it, if the gentleman would show him how.

I then ordered the fellow to me, and he told me, with a composed look, that it had always been his way of thinking, that what he saw another do he could do himself, and could not rest till he had tried. And, sir, says he, if this gun, as you call it, does not hurt you, why should it hurt me? And if you can make it hit that rock, why should not I, when you have told me how you manage it?—Are not you the man that first helped me up with the large fish yesterday? says I. He told me, he was.

I was prodigiously pleased with the fellow's spirit, And, says I, my friend, if you will, and I live, you shall hit it before you have done. I then showed him the sight of the gun, and how to hold it; and being perfect in that. Now, says I, shut your left eye, and observe with your right, till this knob and that notch are exactly even with each other and the middle of that mark; and when they are so pull this bit with your fore-finger, holding the gun tight to your shoulder. He so exactly pursued my directions, that he hit the very middle of the mud; and then, without any emotion, walked up with the gun in his hand as I had done before; and turning to me very gravely, Sir, says he, it is hit. I told him the best marksman on earth could not be sure of coming so near his mark. He stroked his chin, and giving me the gun again, was walking to his place; but I stopped him, and seeing something so modest and sincere in his

countenance and behaviour, and so generous in his spirit, I asked him to which colamb he belonged. He told me to colamb Pendlehamby.—To my father? says I; then sure I shall not be denied.

I took him with me to my father, who was not yet come up to the rock. Sir, says I, there is a favour I would beg of you.—Son, says he, what is it you can ask that I can refuse you?—Says I, This man belongs to your guards; now there is something so noble and daring in his spirit, and yet so meek and deserving in his deportment, that if you will load me with obligation, it is to make him an officer: he is not deserving of so ill a station as a private man.

My father looking at me, Son, says he, there is something to be done before he can be qualified for what you require.—This, thinks I, is a put-off. Pray, sir, says I, what can a man of courage, sense, and a cool temper, want to qualify him for what I ask?—Something, says he, which none but myself can give; and that, at your desire, I will supply him with.—Then, my father calling him, Lask Nasgig, bonyoe, says he; that is, Slave Nasgig, lie down. Nasgig (for that was his name) immediately fell on his face, with his arms and hands straight by his sides; when my father, setting his left-foot on Nasgig's neck, pronounced these words: Lask, I give thee life, thou art a filgay! Then Nasgig, raising himself on his knees, made obeisance to my father, and standing up, stroked his chin; and my father taking him by the hand, in token of equality, the ceremony ceased.

Now, son, says my father, let me hear your request?—It is only, sir, said I, preferment for the deserving, equal to his merit. My father asked him if he understood the duty of a gurpell. He did not reply yes, but beginning, gave a compendious sort of history of his whole duty; at which, all the colambs were very much surprised, for even his comrades were not apprised, or ever imagined, he knew more of military affairs than themselves. My father then asked him, if he knew how to behave as a cluff; but he made as little difficulty of that as the other, going through the several parts of duty in all the different branches, in peace and war, at home and abroad. Son, says my father, it is a mystery to me, you should have found out more in an hour, than I myself could in half an age; for this man was born in my palang, of my own lask, and has been mine and my father's these forty years. I shall be glad if you will look on the rest of my lasks, and give me your opinion; I may have more as deserving. I told him, such as Nasgig were not to be met with very often; but when they were found, ought to be cherished accordingly.

Sir, says I, nature works upon the same sort of materials divers ways; on some in sport, and some in earnest; and if the necessary qualifications of a great man are impressed on our mass, it is odds but we improve regularly into one, though it may never be publicly known, or even to ourselves, till a proper occasion: for as a curious genius will be most inquisitive after, and is most in the end retentive of knowledge, so no man is less ostentatious of it. He covets knowledge, not from the prospect of gain, but merely for its own sake; the very knowing, being his recompence: and if I may presume to give you a hint, how properly to bestow your favours, let it be on persons like this; for the vain, knowing man, who is always showing it, as he for the most part labours for it, to show out with, and procure his rise by it, were it not for the hopes of that, would not think knowledge worth attaining; and as his rise is his aim, if he could invent any more expeditious method than that, he would not pretermit any ill act, that might advance him according to his lust of rising. But the man who aims at perfection, from his natural inclination, must, to attain his end, avoid all ill courses, as impediments to that perfection he lusts after: and that, by Nasgig's worth being so little known, I'll answer for it is his character. And this being true, yourself will deduce the consequence, which is the fitter man to bear place; for with me it is a maxim, he that labours after truth for truth's sake, (and that he surely must who proposes no worldly view in it) can't arrive at his ends by false methods; but is always the truest friend to himself and others, the truest subject to his lord, and the most faithful servant to his God.

My father then turning to me, Son, says he, you have enlightened me more than ever I was before, and have put me on a new way of thinking; for which I am to return you many thanks. And the whole company doing the same, says my father, I lost a brave general officer lately, who was destined to the western wars, which are breaking out, and have been long debating in my mind, to whom I should commit his corps; and, but for the hazard of the enterprize, I would have now given it to Nasgig; but shall be loth to lose him so soon after I am acquainted with his worth; so will think of some other post nearer my person for him, less dangerous, though perhaps not so honourable.

Great sir, says Nasgig, I am too sensible of the honour already done me, to think any post wherein I may continue to serve you either too mean or too hazardous for me; and as valour is no where so conspicuous as in the greatest dangers, I shall esteem my

blood spent to great advantage in any enterprize where my duty under your command leads me: I therefore rather humbly request this dangerous post, that I may either lose my life in your service, or live to see you justified in your advancement of me by the whole nation. For what can I do, or how can I demonstrate my affection to your person and pleasure, in an inactive state?

Here the whole level rang with applause to Nasgig.

My father then giving his hand to Nasgig, in token of friendship, and his word for investiture in the command of that vacant post, the whole level again resounded with, Long live Pendlehamby, and his servant Nasgig!

This being the last day of my company's stay, for they had agreed to go homewards next morning, some of them moved to return the sooner, that they might have time to hear out my story. So that our stay was very little longer.

In our return home, Nasgig singled me out, to return his acknowledgments for my favour; and, viewing my gun, told me, they had no such thing growing in his country. I told him, if he had it, it would do no good without my powder. I then, at his request, described what I had heard of our method of fighting in battle in Europe; and mentioning our cannon, he said, he supposed they killed every man they hit.—No, says I, not so bad as that; sometimes they hit the flesh only, and that is commonly cured; sometimes break a leg or arm, and that may in time be cured, some so well as to be useful again, and others are cut off, and healed up again; but if the ball hits the head or vitals, it is commonly mortal.—O, says he, give me the head or vitals, then; no broken limbs for me.

After dinner, at their request, I went on with my story, at repairing the castle, and my escape with Glanlipze, and so on to the crocodile; when I repeated his speech to me on that account, and told them it had made such an impression upon me that I had endeavoured to make it the leading thought of my mind, and had set it down upon one of my doors at the grotto, that it might the oftener be in my sight when any difficulty arose.

One of the colambs begged pardon for interrupting, but told me, though he understood what Glanlipze meant, he could not tell how I could set what he said down at my grotto, or have it in my sight, and desired me to explain that. I would have told my guest I took it down in writing, if that would not have puzzled the cause more; but, to go the nearest way I could, I told him, we had a method in my country of conveying to a man at a great distance whatever we have a mind to say to him; and in such a manner, that nobody but himself would know what we would have him know. And pausing here a little, to consider the easiest method of demonstrating this to their senses, they told me they had gone as far as their conjectures could carry them, but could conclude on nothing so probable as sending it by a messenger. I told them, that in part was my way; but my messenger should not know the message he carried. That gravelled them quite, and they were unanimous that was what could not be done. By this time I had sent for a wood-coal, to write with upon my deal-table, and kneeling down to the table, I began to write, "Honoured sir, I send this to gain by your answer to it an account of your arrival at Arndrumnstake." I then called them all to me: Now, says I, suppose I want to know how my father gets back to Arndrumnstake, my way is this: I set down so many words as will express my meaning to my father, after the manner you see on this table, and make a little distance between each word, which is the same thing as you do in speaking; for there, if you run one word into another, and don't give each its proper sound, who can understand you? For though you speak what contains all the words, yet, without the proper sound and distinction, it is only confusion. Do you understand this? They told me they did. Then, says I, these are the words I would have my father know, I being at this arkoe, and he at Arndrumnstake. Honoured sir, and so I read on; here, says I, you must take us to be countrymen, and that he and I understand both the same method. Now look, this word, which ends where you see the gap, stands for *honourrd*, and this next for *sir*, the next for *I*, and so on; and we both using the same method, and seeing each other's words, are able to open our mouth at a distance. I was now in hopes I had done, and was going on with my story, But, says one of the colambs, Mr Peter, though this is a matter that requires consideration, I plainly see how you do it, by agreeing that all these strokes put into this form, shall stand for the word honoured, and so on, as you say, let who will make them; but have not you set down there the word Arndrumnstake?—Yes, says I.—Why then, says he, none of your countrymen could understand what that means.—No! says I, smiling; but they could.—Says he, You say, you agree what strokes shall stand for one word, and what for another; but then, how could your countrymen, who never knew what strokes you would set down for Arndrumnstake, know that your strokes meant that very country! for that you could not have agreed upon before either of you knew there was any such place.

I was at a loss, without spending more

words than I was willing about it, how to answer this close reasoner; and talking of syllables and letters, would only have perplexed the affair more, so I told him the readiest for dispatch; that as every word consisted of one or more distinct sounds, and as some of the same sounds happened in different words, we did not agree so much upon making our strokes stand for several words, as for several sounds; and those sounds, more or less of them, added together, made the particular words. As for example, says I, *Arn* is one sound, *drum* is another sound, and *stake* is another; now, by our knowing how to set down these several sounds by themselves, we can couple them, and apply them to the making up any word, in the manner we please; and therefore he, by seeing those three sounds together, knows I mean *Arndrumnstake*, and can speak it as well, though he never heard the whole word spoken together, as if he heard me speak to him.—I have some little notion of what you mean, says he, but not clear enough to express myself upon it; and so go on! go on! And pray what did you do about the reeds?

I then resuming my discourse where I left off, completed my narration that night; but I could perceive the water in my father's eyes, when I came to the account of Youwarkee's fall, and the condition I took her up in.

When I had done, they adjusted the order of their flight, for avoiding confusion, one to go so long before another, and the junior colambs to go first.

In the morning nothing was to be heard but the gripsacks; the men were all ranged in order to go off with their respective colambs; and after all compliments passed, the junior colamb arising, walked half way to the wood, where his gripsack standing to wait for him, preceded him to the level, the next gripsack standing ready to sound as soon as the first removed; and this was the signal for the second colamb to move, so that each colamb was a quarter of a mile before the other.

My father was the last but two; but I shall never forget his tenderness at parting with his daughter and grand-children, and I may say with myself too; for by this time he had a high opinion of me. Patty went with my father, she so much resembling my wife, that my father said, he should still have his two daughters in his sight, having her with him.

At parting, I presented Nasgig with a broad-sword; and, showing him the use of it, with many expressions of gratitude on his part, and respect on mine, he took flight after the rest.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*Peter finds his Stores low—Sends Youwarkee to the Ship—Receives an Invitation to Georigetti's Court.*

For the first few days after our company had left us, Youwarkee could not forbear a tear now and then for the loss of her father and sister; but I endeavoured not to see it, lest I should, by persuading her to the contrary, seem to oppose what I really thought was a farther token of the sweetness of her disposition; but it wore off by degrees, and having a clear stage again, it cost us several days to settle ourselves, and put our confused affairs in order; and when we had done, we blessed ourselves that we could come and go, and converse with the pleasing tenderness we had hitherto always done.

She told me, nothing in the world but her concern for so tender a father, and the fear of displeasing me if she disobliged him, should have kept her so long from me; for her life had never been so sweet and serene as with me and her children; and if she was to begin it again, and chuse her settlement and company, it should be with me in that arkoe. I told her, though I was entirely of her opinion, for avoiding a life of hurry, yet I loved a little company, if for nothing else but to advance topics for discourse, to the exercise of our faculties; but I then agreed, it was not from mere judgment I spoke, but from fancy. But, Youwee, says I, it will be proper for us to see what our friends have left us, that we don't want before the time comes about again. Then she took her part, and I mine; and having finished, we found they would hold out pretty well, and that the first thing to be done, was to get the oil of the beast-fish.

When we came to examine the brandy and wine, I found they had suffered greatly; so I told Youwarkee, when she could spare time, she should make another flight to the ship: And, says I, pray look at all the small casks of wine or brandy, or be they what they will, if they are not above half full, or thereabouts, they will swim, and you may send them down. I desired her to send a fire-shovel and tongs, describing them to her: And there are abundance of good ropes between decks, rolled up, send them, says I, and any thing else you think we want, as plates, bowls, and all the cutlasses and pistols, says I, that hang in the room by the cabin: for I would, methinks, have another cargo, as it may possibly be the last, for the ship can't hold for ever.

Youwarkee, who loved a jaunt to the ship

mightily, sat very attentive to what I said, and told me, if I pleased, she would go the next day; to which I agreed.

She stayed on this trip till I began to be uneasy for her, being gone almost four days, and I was in great fear of some accident; but she arrived safe, telling me, she had sent all she could any ways pack up; and any one who had seen the arrival of her fleet would have taken it for a good ship's cargo, for it cost me full three weeks to land and draw them up to the grotto: and then we had such a redundancy of things, that we were forced to pile them upon each other, to the top of the room.

It began to draw towards long days again, when one morning, in bed, I heard the gripsack. I waked Youwarkee, and told her of it; and we both got up, and were going to the level, when we met six glumms in the wood, with a gripsack before them, coming to the grotto. The trumpeter, it seems, had been there before; but the others, who seemed to be of a better rank, had not. We saluted them, and they us; and Youwarkee knowing one of them, we desired them to walk to the grotto.

They told us, they came express from Georigetti's palace, with an invitation to me and Youwarkee, to spend some time at his court. I let them know what a misfortune I lay under in not being born with a graundee, since Providence had pleased to dispose of me in a part of the world where alone it could have been of such infinite service to me, or I should have taken it for the highest honour to have laid myself at their master's feet: and after some other discourse, one of them pressed me to return his master my answer, for they had but a very little time to stay. I told them, they saw plainly, by baring my breast to them, that I was under an absolute incapacity for such a journey, and gratifying the highest ambition I could have in the world; for I was pinned down to my arkoe, never more to pass the barrier of that rock. One of them then asking, if I should chuse to go, if it was possible to convey me thither, I told him, he could scarce have the least doubt, was my ability to perform such a journey equal to my inclination to take it, that I should in the least hesitate at obeying his master.—Sir, says he, you make me very happy, in the regard you show my master; and I must beg leave to stay another day with you. I told him, they did me great honour; but little thought what it all tended to.

We were very facetious; and they talked of the number of visitors I had had here; and they mentioned several facts which had happened, and, amongst the rest, that of Nasgig, who they said, since his return, had been introduced by Pendlehamby to the king, and was, for his great prudence and penetration, become Georigetti's great favourite. They told me war was upon the point of breaking out, and several other pieces of news, which, as they did not concern me, I was very easy about.

The next morning they desiring to walk, and view what was most remarkable in my arkoe, and above all to see me fire my gun, which they had heard so much of; I gratified them at a mark, and hit the edge of it, and found them quite staunch, without the least start at the report. I paid them a compliment upon it, and told them how their countrymen had behaved, even at a second firing: He says he, who was the chief spokesman, and knew, I found, as much as I could tell him, that second fright was from seeing death the consequence of the first; and though you had then to do mostly with soldiers, you must not think they chuse death more than others, though their duty obliges them to shun it less.

The same person then desired me to show him how to fire the gun; which I did, and believe he might hit the rock somewhere or other; but he did not seem to admire the sport, and I, having but few balls left, did not recommend the gun to the rest.

A little before bed time, the strangers told me, they believed I should see Nasgig next morning. I presently thought there was somewhat more than ordinary in this visit, but could no ways dive to the bottom it.

Just before they went to rest, they ordered the trumpeter to be early on the rock next morning; and upon the first sight of Nasgig's corps, to sound notice of it, for us to be ready to receive him.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*Nasgig comes with a Guard to fetch Peter—Long Debate about his going—Nasgig's uneasiness at Peter's refusal—Relates a Prediction to him, and Proceedings there at Georigetti's Court—Peter consents to go—Prepares a Machine for that purpose.*

We were waked by the trumpet giving notice of Nasgig's coming; I did not care to inquire of the strangers into the particulars of his embassy; for be it what it will, thinks I, Nasgig is so much my friend that I can know the motives of it from him, and, or I am much deceived, he is too honest to impose upon me. But I had but little time for thought, for upon our entering the level, we found him and his train, of at least an hundred persons, just alighting before us.

We embraced, and professed the particular

pleasure fortune had done us in once more meeting together. When we arrived at the grotto, he told me he was assured I had been informed of the occasion of his visit; and that it would be the greatest honour done to his country that could be imagined. He then laid his hand on my beard, which was now of about five months growth, having never shaved it since my father went, and told me he was glad to see that.—And are you not so to see me? says I.—Yes, surely, says he, for I prize that for your sake.—But, says I, pray be open with me, and tell me what you mean by my being informed of the occasion of your coming?—Why, says he, of Georigetti's message to you, as it will be of such infinite service to our country: and, says he, if you had not consented to it, the messengers had returned and stopped me.—True, says I, one of the messengers told me the king would be glad to see me; which as I, so well as he, knew it was impossible he should, in return to his compliment, I believe I might say, what a happiness it would be to me if I could wait on him. But pray what is your immediate message; for I hear you are in great favour at court, and would never have come hither with this retinue in so much ceremony on a trifling account.

My dear Peter, says Nasgig, know that your fame has reached far and near since I saw you before; and our state, though a large and populous one, and once of mighty power and twice its present extent, by the revolt of the western part of it, who chose themselves a king, has been so miserably harassed by wars, that the revolters, who are ever fomenting discontent and rebellion amongst us, will, by the encroachments they daily make on us, certainly reduce us at last to a province under their government; which will render us all slaves to an usurped power, set up against our lawful sovereign. Now these things were foretold long enough before they actually began to be transacted; but all being then at peace, and no prospect of what has since happened, we looked not out for a remedy, till the disease became stubborn and incurable.—Pray, says I, by whom were the things you mention foretold?—By a very ancient and grave ragan, says he.—How long ago? says I.—O, above four times the age of the oldest man living, says he.—And when did he say it would happen? says I.—That, says he, was not quite so clear then.—But how do you know, says I, that he ever said any such thing?—Why the thing itself was so peculiar, says he, and the ragan delivered it so positively, that his successors have ever since pronounced it twelve times a year publicly, word for word, to put the people in mind of it, and from whom they must hope for relief; and now the long expected time being come, we have no hopes but in your destruction of the tyrant-usurper.—I destroy him! says I: if he is not destroyed till I do it, I fear your state is but in a bad case.—My good friend Peter, says he, you or nobody can do it.—Pugh, says I, Nasgig, I took you for a man of more sense, notwithstanding the prejudices of education, than to think, because you have seen me kill a beast-fish that could not come to hurt me, at the distance of twenty paces, that I can kill your usurper at the distance he is from me.—No, my good friend, says Nasgig, I know you take me to have more judgment than to think so.—Why, what else can I do, says I, unless he will come hither to be killed by me?—Dear Peter, says he, you will not hear me out.—I will, says I, say on.—You, as I said before, being the only person that can, according to our prediction, destroy this usurper, and restore peace among us, my master Georigetti, and the whole state of Normnbdsgrsutt, were going to send a splendid embassy to you; but your father advising to repose the commission wholly in me, they all consented to it, and I am come to invite you over to Brandleguarp for that purpose. I know you will tell me you have not the graundee, and cannot get thither: but I am assured you have what is far better; the wisdom you have will help you to surmount that difficulty, which our whole moucheratt cannot get over. And I am sure did you apply half the thought to accomplish it, you seem to do to invent excuses against it, you would easily overcome that. And now, dear friend, continues he, refuse me not; for as my first rise was owing to your favour, so my downfal as absolutely attends your refusal.

Dear Nasgig, says I, you know I love you, and could refuse you nothing in my power; but for me to be mounted in the air, I know not how, over these rocks, and then drowned by a fall into the sea, which is a necessary consequence of such a mad attempt; and all this in prosecution of a project founded upon an old wife's tale, is such a chimera as all men of sense would laugh at; as if there was no way of destroying me, but with a guard of an hundred men to souse me into the wide ocean. A very pretty conqueror of rebels I should prove, truly, kicking for life, till the next wave sent me to the bottom.

Nasgig looked then so grave, I almost thought I should have heard no more of it; but, after a short pause, Peter, says he, I am sorry you make so light of sacred things; a thing foretold so long ago by a holy ragan, kept up by undoubted tradition ever since, in the manner I have told you, in part performed, and now waiting your concurrence for its accomplishment: but if I cannot prevail with

you, though I perish at my return, I dread to think you may be forced without thanks to perform what generously to undertake will be your greatest glory.—Pray, says I, Nasgig, (for now I perceive you are in earnest) what may this famous prediction be?—Ah, Peter! says Nasgig, to what purpose should I relate so sacred a prediction to one who, though the most concerned in it, makes such a jest of it?

His mentioning me as concerned in it, raised my curiosity once more to desire a relation of it. Why should I relate it, says he, if you are resolved not to fulfil it?—I told him I had no resolution against any thing that related to my own good, or that of my friends; But the greatest question with me, says I, is, whether I am at all concerned in it.—O clearly, clearly! says he, there is no doubt of it; it must mean you or nobody.—I told him I must judge by the words of it, that I was the person intended by it; and till that was apparent to my reason, it would be difficult to procure my consent to so perilous an undertaking.—And, says he, will you upon hearing it, judge impartially, and go with me if you can take the application to yourself?—I cannot go quite so far as that, says I; but this I'll promise you, I'll judge impartially, and if I can so apply it to myself, that it must necessarily mean me, and no other, and if you convince me I may go safely, I will go.

Nasgig was so rejoiced at this, he was at a loss how to express himself. My dear Peter, says he, you have given me new life! our state is free! our persons free! we are free! we are free! And, Peter, says he, now I have given vent to my joy, you shall hear the prediction.

You must know, this holy ragan lived four ages ago; and from certain dreams and revelations he had had, set himself to overturn our country-worship of the Great Image, and by his sanctity of life, and sound reasonings, had almost effected it under the assistance of Begsurbeck, then our king, who had fully embraced his tenets; but the rest of the ragans opposing him, and finding he could not advance his scheme, he withdrew from the ragans to a close retirement for several years; and just before his death, sending for the king and all the ragans, he told them he should certainly die that day, and that he could not die at peace till he had informed them what had been revealed to him; desiring them to take notice of it, not as a conjecture of his own, but a certain verity which should hereafter come to pass. Says he, you know you have rejected the alteration in your religion I proposed to you; and which Begsurbeck, here present, would have advanced: and now I must tell you what you have brought upon yourselves. As for Begsurbeck, he shall reign the longest and most prosperously of all your former and future kings; but in twice his time out-run, the west shall be divided from the east, and bring sorrow, confusion, and slaughter, till the waters of the earth shall produce a glumm, with hair round his head, swimming and flying without the graundee; who, with unknown fire and smoke, shall destroy the traitor of the west, settle the ancient limits of the monarchy, by common consent establish what I would have taught you, change the name of this country, introduce new laws and arts, add kingdoms to this state, and force tributes from the bowels of the earth, of such things as this kingdom shall not know till then, and shall never afterwards want; and then shall return to the waters again. Take care, says he, you miss not the opportunity when it may be had; for once lost, it shall never, never more return; and then, woe, woe, woe, to my poor country!—The ragan having said this, expired.

This prediction made so great an impression on Begsurbeck, that he ordered all the ragans singly before him, and heard them repeat it; which having done, and made himself perfect in it, he ordered it to be pronounced twelve times in the year on particular days, in the moucheratt, that the people might learn it by heart; that they and their children being perfect in it, might not fail of applying it, when the man from the waters should appear with proper description.

Thus, Peter, says he, has this prediction been kept up in our memories as perfectly as if it had but just been pronounced to us.—'Tis very true, says I, here may have been a prediction, and it may have been, as you say, handed down very exactly from Begsurbeck's days till now, but how does that affect me? how am I concerned in it? Surely, if any marks would have denoted me to be the man, some of the colambs who have so lately left me, and were so long with me, would have found them out in my person, or among the several actions of my life I recounted to them.—Upon the return of the colambs from you, says Nasgig, they told his majesty what they had heard and seen at Graundevolet, and the story was conveyed through the whole realm: but every man has not the faculty of distinction. Now, one of the ragans, when he had heard of you, applying you to the prediction, and that to you, soon found our deliverer in you; and at a public moucheratt, after first pronouncing the prediction, declared himself thereon to the following effect:

May it please your majesty—and you the honourable colambs—the reverend ragans—

and people of this state, says he, you all know that our famous king Begsurbeck, who reigned at the time of this prediction, did live sixty years after it in the greatest splendour, and died at the age of one hundred and twenty years, having reigned full ninety of them; and herein you will all agree with me, no king before or since has done the like. You all likewise know, that within two hundred years after Begsurbeck's death, that is, about twice his reign of ninety years out-run, the rebellion in the west began, which has been carried on ever since; and our strength diminishing as theirs increases, we are now no fair match for them, but are fearful of being undone. So far you will agree matters have tallied with the prediction: and now, to look forward to the time to come, it becomes us to lay hold of the present opportunity for our relief, for that, once slipped, will never return; and, if I have any skill in interpretations, now is the time of our deliverance.

Our prediction foretells the past evils, their increase and continuance, till the waters of the earth shall produce a glumm. Here I must appeal to the honourable colambs present, if the waters have not done so in the person of glumm Peter of Graundeyolet, as they have received it from his own report.

All the colambs then rising, and making reverence to the king, declared it was most true.

The next part, says the ragan, is, he is to be hairy round his head; and how his person in this respect agrees with the prediction, I beg leave to be informed by the colambs.

The colambs then rising, declared, that having seen and conversed with him, they could not observe any hair on the fore-part of his head; but I answered, that when I left you, I well remembered your having short stubbs of hair upon your cheeks and chin; which I had no sooner mentioned, than your father arose, and told the assembly, that though he did not mind it whilst he was with you, yet he remembered that his daughter, a year before, had told him that you had hair on your face before as long as that behind.

This again putting new life into the ragan, he proceeded—Then let this, says he, be put to the trial by an embassy to glumm Peter; and if it answers, there will be no room to doubt the rest. Then, says the ragan, it is plain by the report of the colambs, that glumm Peter has not the graundee.

As to the next point, he is to swim and fly. Now I am informed he swims daily in a thing he calls a boat. To which the colambs all agreed. And now, says he, that he flies too, that must be fulfilled; for every word must have a meaning, and that indeed he must do if ever he comes hither. I therefore advise, that a contrivance be somehow found out for conveying glumm Peter through the air to us, and then we shall answer that part of the prediction; and I think, and do not doubt, but that may be done.

Now, says he, let us see the benefit predicted to us upon the arrival of glumm Peter. Our words are: Who, with unknown fire and smoke, shall destroy the traitor of the west. What can be plainer than this? For I again appeal to the colambs for his making unknown fire and smoke.

Thus far, says the ragan, we have succeeded happily towards a discovery of the person; but it ends not here with the death of the traitor; but such other benefits are to accrue as are mentioned in the following part of the prediction: they are blessings yet to come, and who knows the end of them.

I hope, says the ragan, I have given satisfaction in what I have said, and shall now leave it to the care of those whose business it is to provide, that none of those woes pronounced against us may happen, by missing the time which, when gone, will never return.

The assembly were coming to a resolution of sending you a pompous embassy, but your father prevailed for sending me only; For, says he, my son thinks better of him than of the rest of our whole race. So this important affair was committed to me, with orders to prepare a conveyance for you, which I cannot attempt to do; but shall refer myself to your more solid judgment in the contrivance of it.

I had sat very attentive to Nasgie, and from what he had declared, could not say but there was a very great resemblance between myself and the person predicted of; But then, says I, they are idolaters: Providence would not interpose in this affair, when all the glory of its success must redound to an idol. But, says I, has not the same thing often happened from oracular presages, where the glory must redound to the false deity? But what if, as is predicted, their religion is to be changed to the old ragan's plan, and that will be to the abolition of idolatry? I know not what to say; but if I thought my going would gain a single soul to the eternal truth, I would not scruple to hazard my life in the attempt.

I then called in Youwarkee, told her the whole affair of the prediction, which she had often heard, I found, and could have repeated. I told her that the king and states had pitched on me as the person intended by their perdiction, and that Nasgig was sent to fetch me over: And, indeed, says I, Youwee, if this be a true prediction, it seems very applicable to me as far as I can see.—Yes, truly, says she, so it does, now I consider it in the light you

say the ragan puts it.—Why, says I, prophecies and predictions are never so plain as to mention names; but yet, upon the solution, they become as intelligible as if they did, the circumstances tallying so exactly. But what would you have me do? Shall I, or shall I not, go?—Go! says she, how can you go?—O, says I, never fear that. If this is from above, means will soon be found; Providence never directs effects without means.

Youwarkee, whose head ran only on the dangers of the undertaking, had a violent conflict with herself; the love of me, of her children, and of her country, divided her so, she was not capable of advising. I pressed her opinion again, when she told me to follow the dictates of my own reason; And, but for the dread of losing you, and for my children's sakes, says she, I should have no choice to make when my country is at stake: but you know best.

I told Youwarkee that I really found the prediction the plainer the more I thought of it; and that, above all, the change of religion was the uppermost: for if I can reduce a state from the misery and bondage of idolatry, to a true sense of the Supreme Being, and seemingly by his own direction, shall I fear to risk my own life for it; or, will he suffer me to perish till somewhat at least is done towards it? And how do I know but the whole tendency of my life has been by impulse hither for this very purpose? My dear Youwee, says I, fear nothing, I will go.

I called Nasgig, and told him my resolution, and that he had nothing now to do but prepare a means of conveying me.—He said, he begged to refer that to me, for my own thoughts would suggest to me both the safest and easiest means.

I wanted to venture on the back of some strong glumm; when Nasgig told me, no one could endure my weight so long a flight. But what charmed me most was, the lovely Youwarkee offered to carry me herself if she could; And if I can't hold out, says she, my dear, we can but at last drop both together. I kissed the charming creature with tears in my eyes, but declined the experiment.

I told Nasgig I wanted to divide my weight between two or four glumms, which I believed I could easily do; and asked if each could hold out with a fourth part of my weight.—He told me there was no doubt of that; but he was afraid I should drop between their graundees, he imagining I intended to lie along on their backs, part of me on each of them, or should bear so much on them as to prevent their flight. I told him I did not purpose to dispose of myself in the manner he presumed, but if two or four could undoubtedly bear my weight so long a flight, I would order myself without any other inconvenience to my bearers than their burden. He made light of my weight between four, as a trifle, and said, he would be one with all his heart.—Nay, says I, if four cannot hold out, can eight?—He plainly told me, as he knew not what I meant, he could say nothing to it, nor could imagine how I could divide so small a body as mine into eight different weights, for it seemed impossible, he said, to him; but if I would show him my method, he would then give me his opinion.

I then, leaving him, took out my tools: I pitched upon a strong board my wife had sent me from the ship, about twelve feet long, and a foot and half broad; upon the middle of which I nailed down one of my chairs; then I took one cord of about thirty-four feet long, making hand-loops at each end, and nailed it down in the middle to the under-side of my board, as near as I could to the fore-end of it; and I took another cord of the same length and make, and this I nailed within three feet of the farther end of my board. I then took a cord of about twenty feet long, and nailed about three feet before the foremost, and a fourth of the same length, at the farther end of my board; by which means, the first and third ropes being the longest, and at such a distance from the short ropes, the glumms who held them, would fly so much higher and forwarder than the short rope ones, that they and their ropes would be quite out of the others way, which would not have happened if either the ropes had been all of one length, or nearer to or farther from one another: and then considering that if I should receive a sudden jerk or twitch, I might possibly be shook off my chair, I took a smaller rope to tie myself with fast to the chair, and then I was sure, if I fell into the sea, I should at least have the board and chair with me, which might possibly buoy me up till the glumms could descend to my assistance.

Having carried the machine down to the level with the help of two of Nasgig's men, he being out on a walk, and having never seen it, I ordered one of the men to sit upon the chair, and eight more to hold by the loops, and rise with him; but, as I found it difficult at their first rising, not being able to mount all equally, to carry the board up even, and the back part rising first, the front pitched against the ground, and threw the fellow out of the chair: I therefore bade them stop, and ordering eight others to me, said I, Hold each of you one of these ropes as high as you can over your heads; then, says I, to the eight bearers, mount on your graundees, and come round behind him in the chair gently, two and two, and take each of you a loop, and

hover with it till you are all ready, and then rise together, keeping your eye on the board that it rises neither higher at one end or one side than the other; and see you all feel your weight alike; then fly cross the lake and back again. They did so, and with as much ease, they told me, as if they had nothing in their hands; and the man rode with so much state and composure, he said, that I longed to try it myself; so, shifting places with the glumm, I mounted the chair, and tying myself round, I asked if any one knew which way Nasgig walked. One of them pointing to where he saw him just before in the wood, I ordered them to take me up as before, and go that way.

Upon coming to the place where I expected Nasgig was, I hallooed and called him; who, knowing my voice, ran to the skirt of the wood; and seeing me mounted in my flying chair, I jokingly told him I was going, if he had any commands; but he mounting immediately came up to me, and viewing me round, and seeing the pleasure the men seemed to carry me with, says he, Are you all sure you can carry him safe to Battringdrigg?—They all replied, Yes, with ease.—This, then, says he, is your doom: If you perform it not, every one shall be slit; but if you carry the deliverer safe, you are filgays every man of you! he verily thinking I was then going off; but I undeceived him, by ordering them to turn about and set me down where I was taken up.

Nasgig alighting, and viewing my contrivance, This, Peter, says he, is but a very plain thing.—It is so, says I, but it is as far as my ingenuity could reach.—Ah, Peter! says he, say not so, for if the greatest difficulties, as I and all my nation thought it would be to convey you to them, are so plain and easy to you, what must lesser things be? No, Peter, I did not call it plain because it might be easily done when it was seen, but in respect to the head that formed it; for the nearest way to attain one's end is always the best, and attended for the most part with fewest inconveniences; and I verily think, Peter, though we believe the rise or fall of our state wholly depends on you, you must have stayed at Graundevolet but for your own ingenuity. Well, and when shall we set out? says he.—I told him it would take up some time to settle the affairs of my family, and to consider what I had best take with me; and required at least three days, being as little as I could have told him for that purpose.

Nasgig, who as he was an honest man, and for making the best for his patrons, was sorry it was so long, though he, imagining at the same time it was short enough for one who was to go on such an enterprize, was glad it was no longer; and immediately dispatched a trumpet express with notice, that on the fourth day he should be at the height of Battrindrigg, and that having myself formed a machine for that purpose, I would accompany him.

I began next to consider what part I had to act at Doorpt Swangeanti, (for I neither could nor would call it by any other name when I came thither) and what it was they expected from me. I am, says I, to kill a traitor; good, that may be, but then I must take a gun and ammunition; and why not some pistols and cutlasses? If I cannot use them all, I can teach others who may: I will take several of them, and all my guns but two, and I will leave a pair of pistols; I may return and want them. I will take my two best suits of clothes, and other things suitable; for, if I am to perform things according to this prediction, it may be a long time before I get back again. Thinks I, Youwarkee shall stay here with the children, and if I like my settlement I can send for her at any time. I then began to see the necessity of making at least one more machine to carry my goods on: And, says I, as they will be very weighty, I must have more lasks to shift in carrying them, for I will retain sixteen for my own body-machine, in order to relieve each other; and as the distance is so great, I will not be stinted for want of fresh hands.

Being come to this resolution, I called Nasgig, and ordered eight fresh lasks to attend my baggage; these he soon singled out: so, having settled all matters with my wife, and taken leave of her and the children, I charged them not to stir out of the grotto till I was gone; and leaving them all in tears, I set out with a heavy heart for the level, where the whole convoy and my two machines waited for me.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Peter's Speech to the Soldiery—Offers them Freedom—His Journey—Is met by the King—The King sent back, and why—Peter alights in the King's Garden—His Audience—Description of his Supper and Bed.*

WHEN we came to the level, I desired Nasgig to draw all his men into a circle as near as they could stand; I then asked them who would undertake to carry me: when not a man but proffered his service, and desired to have the post of honour, as they called it. I told them my question was only in case of necessity to know whom I might depend upon, for my bearers were provided, saving accidents. But, my friends, says I, as you are

equally deserving for the offered service, as if you were accepted, are any of you desirous of being filgays? They all answering together, I, I, I!—Nasgig, says I, you and I must come to a capitulation before I go, and your honour must be pledged for performance of articles.

I began with telling them what an enemy I was to slavery; And, says I, to Nasgig, as I am about to undertake what no man upon earth ever did before: to quit my country, my family, my every conveniency of life, for I know not what, I know not where, and from whence I may never return; I must be indulged, if I am ever so fortunate as to arrive safe in your country, in the satisfaction of seeing all these my fellow travellers, as happy as myself: for which reason I must insist upon every man present alighting with me in safety, being made free the moment we touch the ground: and unless you will engage your honour for this, I will not stir a step farther.

Nasgig paused for an answer, for though my bearers were his own lasks, and he could dispose of them at pleasure, yet as the rest were the king's, he knew not how far he might venture to promise for them; but being desirous to get me over the rock, fearing I might still retract my purpose, he engaged to procure their freedom of the king. And this, I thought, would make the men more zealous in my service.

I then permitting them to take me up, we were over the rock as quick as thought: and when I had a little experienced the flight, I perceived I had nothing to fear; for they were so dextrous on the graundee, that I received not the least shock all the way, or scarce a wry position, though every quarter of an inch at hand made a considerable deflection from the perpendicular. We shifted but twice till we came to Battrindrigg; the manner of which I directed as I sat in my chair: for I ordered the new man to hover over him he was to relieve, and reaching down his hand to meet the others which were held up with a rope, the old bearer sunk beneath the chair, and the reliever took his course. This we did one by one, till all were changed; but there was one, a stout young fellow, at the first short rope on my right hand, who observing me to eye him more than the rest, in a bravado would not be relieved before we arrived at Battringdrigg arkoe; and I afterwards took him into my family.

As it was now somewhat advanced into the light season, I had hopes of a tolerable good prospect; but had it been quite light, I should have never been the better for it. I had been upon very high mountains in the inland parts of Africa; but was never too high to see what was below me before, though very much contracted; but here, in the highest of our flight, you could not distinguish the globe of the earth but by a sort of mist, for every way looked alike to me; then sometimes on a cue given, from an inexpressible height my bearers would dart as it were sloping like a shooting star, for an incredible distance, almost to the very surface of the sea, still keeping me as upright as a Spaniard on my seat. I asked them the reason of their so vast descent, when I perceived the labour they had afterwards to attain the same height again. They told me, they not only eased their graundees by this descent, but could fly half as far again in a day, as by a direct (they meant horizontal) flight; for though it seemed laborious to mount to excessive high, yet they went on at the same time at a great rate; but when they came to descend again, there was no comparison in their speed. And, on my conscience, I believe they spoke true, for in their descents I think no arrow could have reached us.

In about sixteen hours, for I took my watch with me, we alighted on the height of Battringdrigg: when I thought I had returned to my own arkoe, it was so like it, but much larger. Here we rested four hours; I opened my chest, and gave each of my bearers a dram of brandy. Nasgig and I also just wetted our mouths, and eat a piece of preserve to moisten us; the rest of the lasks sitting down, and feeding upon what they had brought with them in their colapets; for their method is, when they take long flights, to carry a number of hard round fruits, flat like my cream-cheeses, but much less, which containing a sort of flour they eat dry; then drinking, which swells, and fills them as much as a good meal of anything else would. Here we met with abundance of delightful pools of water on the vast flat of the rocks. They told me, in that arkoe the young glumms and gawreys came in vast flights separately, to divert themselves on the fine lakes of water, and from thence went sometimes as far as my arkoe, for that purpose; but that was but seldom.

When we had sufficiently rested, they slung their colapets, which sometimes hung down from their necks, and were sometimes swung round to their backs, and crossing the arkoe and another large sea, but nothing comparable to the first, we arrived in about six hours more to the height of the White Mountains, which Nasgig told me were the confines of Georigetti's territories; But, thinks I, it may belong to whom it will for the value of it; for nothing could be more barren than all the top of it was; but the inside of it made amends for that, by the prodigious tall and large trees it abounded with, full of the strangest kinds of fruits I had ever seen; and these trees most of them seemed to grow out of the very stone itself, not a peck of dirt being to be collected near them. Without-side of

these mountains, it was scarce darker than at my arkoe; for I made all the observation my time would allow me; when spying at a vast distance several lights, which were unusual things to me in that country, they told me, the largest was the burning mountain Alkoe: this I remembered to have heard the name of, upon some former occasion, though I could not recollect what; and that the rest were of the same sort, but smaller. I asked if they were in Georigetti's territories. They said no, they belonged to another king formerly, whose subjects were as fond of fire as Georigetti's were of avoiding it; and that many of them worked with it always before them, and made an insufferable noise by it.

At hearing the above relation, an impression struck my fancy, that they might be a sort of smiths or workers in iron, or other metals; and I wished myself with them, for I had a mighty notion of that work, having been frequently at a neighbouring forge when a boy, and knew all their tools, and resolved to get all the information I could of that country some other time; for our company drawing to their posts, and preparing to set forward again, I could have no more talk now, and you must know, I had observed so many idle rascals before I left England, who could neither strike a stroke, nor stir a foot, whilst you talked with them, that I feared if I asked questions by the way, they should in answering me neglect their duty, and let me drop.

When we came near our journey's end, Nasgig asked me where I would please to alight. I told him I thought at my father's; for though I came on a visit to the king, it would not show respect to go before him just off a journey. But I might have spared me the trouble of settling that point: for we were not gone far from the Black Mountain, it going by that name within side, though it is called the White without, before we heard the gripsacks, and a sort of squeaking or screaming music, very loud. Nasgig told me the king was in flight. I asked him, how he knew that, for I could see nobody. He knew it, he said, by the gripsack, and the other music, which never played but on that occasion; and, presently after, I thought the whole kingdom were on the graundee, and was going to order my bearers back to the mountain, for fear of the concourse. Thinks I, They will jostle me down out of civility, and I shall break my neck to gratify their curiosity. So I told Nasgig, if he did not somehow stop the multitude, I would turn back for the mountain, for I would never venture into that crowd of people.

Nasgig sprung away to the king, and informed him; but the king, fearing the people should be disgusted at his sending them back, gave orders for the whole body to file off to the right and left, and taking a vast sweep each way, to fall in behind me; but upon no account to come near me, for fear of mischief. This was no sooner said than done, and all spreading into two vast semicircles, met in a train just behind my chair.

Nasgig had also persuaded the king to retreat back to the palace, telling him it was not with me as with them, who could help themselves in case of accident: but as I was under the guidance of others, and on a foundation he should scarce, in my condition, have ventured upon, he was sure I should be better satisfied with his intended respect only, than to receive it there: But, says he, that your majesty may see his contrivance, I will cause him to alight in the palace garden, where you may have the pleasure of viewing him in his machine.

The king returning, ordered all the colambs, who waited my arrival, to assemble in council again, and as I went over the city, I was surprised to see all the rock of which it consisted quite covered with people, besides prodigious numbers in the air, all shouting out peals of welcome to me; and as we were then but little above their heads, every one had something to say of me; one wondering what I had got on; another swearing he saw hair on my face as long as his arm; and in general, every one calling on the image for my safety.

The king was present when I alighted in the garden; and himself taking me from my chair, I bent on one knee to kiss his hand: but he took me in his arms, called me his father, and told me he hoped I would make his days equal in glory to his great ancestor Begsurbeck. We complimented some time, before he took me into a small refectory in the garden, and gave me some of his sort of wine; which I found was loaded with rams-horn, and some dried and moist sweetmeats. He then told me, I had a piece of ceremony to go through, after which he hoped to have me to himself. I told him, whatever forms of state were customary, they become necessary, and I should obey him.

His majesty then called one of the persons in waiting and telling him he was going to the room of audience, ordered him to conduct me thither forthwith.

Following my guide, after a long walk through a sort of piazza, we entered under a stately arch, curiously carved, into a very spacious room, lighted with infinite numbers of globe-lamps; where he desired me to sit down on a round stone pedestal covered with leaves, and all round the sides were running folinges exquisitely wrought; on the walls were carved figures of glumms in several

actions, but chiefly in battle, or other warlike exercises, in alto-relievo, very bold; with other devices interspersed. I sat down, having first paid my submission to the throne, and to the several colambs who sat on the king's right and left, down the sides of the room.

The person then who introduced me, going into the middle of the room, spoke to this effect: Mighty king—and you honourable lords his colambs—here is present the glumm Peter of Graundevolet; I wait your commands where to dispose him.

Then the king and all the colambs arising, another person stepped forth, and looking at me, for I was standing, Glumm Peter of Graundevolet, says he, I am to signify to you that the mighty king Georigetti, and all his honourable colambs, congratulate your arrival in Normnbdsgrsutt, and have commanded me to give you rank according to your merit. Then the king and colambs sat down, and I was led to the king's right-hand, and placed on the same stone with, but at some small distance from, his majesty.

The king then told me the great pleasure I had done him and the colambs, in my so speedy arrival upon their message; but said, he would give me no farther trouble now, than to know how I chose to be served; and desired me to give orders to a bash he would send to me, for whatever I wanted; and then giving orders to a bash to show me my lodgings, I was permitted to retire to refresh myself.

I was then conducted to my apartment, up a sloping flight of stone, very long, with a vast arch over my head; I believed it might be fifty paces long at least, but being a very broad easy ascent, and smooth, it was not in the least fatiguing. All the way I went were the same sorts of globe lights as in the audience-room. The stair-case, if I may call it so, it answering the same purpose, was most beautifully carved, both sides and top: at length I came into a very large gallery, at least four-score paces long, and about twenty broad; on each side of which hung the same globes. At the farther end of this gallery I entered by an arch, very narrow, but most neatly wrought, into an oval room; in the middle of this room, on the right-hand, was another small neat arch-way; entering through which about ten paces, there were two smaller arches to the right and left, and within them, with an easy ascent of about three paces, you came to a flat trough of stone, six or seven feet long, and about the same width; these, I understood by my bash, were the beds to lie on. I asked him, if they were used to lie on the bare stone. He told me some did; but he had orders to lay me on doffee; and presently up came four fellows with great mats, as I took them for by my globe-light, full of something, which by their so easily carrying a great bulk, I perceived was very light. They pitched it down upon my stone bedstead, and first with great sticks, and then with small switches having beat it soundly, retired.

Whilst I was looking about at the oddity of the place, I found my bash was gone too. So, says I, all gone! I suppose they intend I shall now go to bed. I then went into my bed-chamber, for there were globe-lights there too, and observing my bed lay full four feet above the stone, and sloping higher to the sides and head, I went to feel what it was; but laying my hand upon it, it was so soft I could feel no resistance till I had pressed it some way; and it lay so light, that a fly must have sunk upon it.—Well, thinks I, what if I never lay thus before, I believe I have lain a bad!

I then took a turn into my oval room again, and observed the floor, sides, and all was stone, as smooth as possible, but not polished; and the walls and cieling, and in short every place, where they could be ornamental, were as well adorned with carvings as can be conceived.

Though nobody came near me yet, I did not care to be too inquisitive all at once, but I longed to know what they burnt in the globes, which gave so steady a light, and yet seemed to be enclosed quite round, top and sides, without any vent-hole for the smoke to evaporate. Surely, thinks I, they are a delish glass, for they hung almost above my touch, and must be exceeding hot with the fire so enclosed, and have some small vent hole, though I can't see it. Then standing on tip-toe to feel, it struck quite cold to my finger; but I could only reach to touch that, or any of the rest, being all of one height.

Whilst I was musing thus, I heard the sound of voices coming along the gallery; and presently came a train of servants with as much victuals as an hundred men could eat, and wines proportionable; they set it down at the upper end of the oval room, on a flat of stone, which on making the room had been left in the upper bend of the oval quite over it, about table high, for that purpose. The eatables, such as were liquid, or had sauces to them, were served up in a sort of grey stone bowls; but the dry were brought in neat wooden baskets of twig-work.

The servants all retiring into the gallery except my bash, I asked him, if any body was to eat with me: he told me, No.—I wonder, says I, they should send me so much, then. He replied, it was the allowance of my apartment by his majesty's orders; which silenced me.

I believe there were twenty different things

on the table; insomuch, that I did not know where to begin, and heartily wished for an excuse to get rid of my bash, who stood close at my elbow, that I might have smelt, and tasted before I helped myself to any thing; for I knew not what any one thing was.

In this perplexity, I asked my bash, what post he was in under his majesty. He said, one of the fifty bashes appointed to be near the king's favourites when at court.—And pray, said I, are you the person to attend me?—He was, he said, the principal to wait on my person; but there were at least sixty others, who had different offices in this apartment.—I would be glad, said I, to know your name, that I may the more readily speak to you. He told me his name was Quilly.—Then, pray, Quilly, says I, do you know what is become of my baggage and my chair? I found, though he guessed at my baggage, he was puzzled at the name of chair; My seat, says I.—O I understand you, says he.—Then, pray, will you go bring me word of them, and see them brought safe up into the gallery.—He tripped away on my errand. So, thinks I, now I am fairly rid of you! but I had scarce turned any of my viands over, before I found he had but stepped into the gallery, to send some of the idle fellows in waiting there; and this putting me to a nonplus, Quilly, says I, you know I am a stranger here; and as different countries have different ways and customs, as well of dressing their eatables as other things, and these dishes being dressed contrary to my custom, I shall be glad if you will name some of them to me, that I may know them when I see them again.

Quilly began with this, and run on to that, which was a fine dish; and the other few but the king have at their tables: And here, says he, is a dish of padsi; and there —— Hold, hold, says I, Quilly! let's try these first, before you proceed; for I remembered, at my grotto, they all eat my fish for padsi, and I cut a slice of it, (for I always carried my clasp-knife in my pocket, and they had no such thing there) and laying it on a round cake I took for my trencher, I tasted it, and found it so, to my apprehension, in the palate; but it did not look or flake like fish, as I observed by the slices they had cut it into; for all the victuals were in long slices ready to bite at. I asked him if these things were not all cut, and with what; (for I understood they had no knives, showing him mine:) he said the cook cut it with a sharp stone. I then asked him the names of several other things, and at last he came to crullmott; which having heard of before, I now tasted, and could have sworn it had been a hashed fowl. I asked him if crullmotts were very common; he told me Yes, towards the bottoms of the mountains there were abundance of crullmott-trees.—No, no, says I, not trees; I mean fowls, birds.—I don't know what they are, said he; but these crullmotts grow on very large trees.—Indeed, I did not know yet what I was at; But, says I, if your fowls do, sure your fish don't grow on trees too!—We have none of them, says he, in this country.—Why, says I, it is but this moment I tasted one.—I don't know, said he, where the cook got it.—Why, here, says I, what you call padsi I call fish.—Aye, padsi, says he, grows upon a bush in the same woods.—Well done, says I, this is the first country I was ever in where the fish and fowl grew on trees: it is ten to one but I meet with an ox growing on some tree by the tail before I leave you.

I had by this time, out of these two and some other pickings, made up a very good meal; and putting my knife into my pocket, desired something to drink. My bash asked me what I pleased to have; I told him, any thing to take a good draught of. Then he filled me a bott of wine, very well tasted, though too sweet for meals; but putting some water to it, it did very well.

My messengers being returned, and having set all my things in the gallery, I desired Quilly to let the victuals be taken away: upon which there came more servants than dishes, who took all at once, but some wine and water I desired might remain.

I told Quilly I saw there were two beds; Who are they for? says I.—One for you, and one for me, says he; for we bashes never leave the king's favourites.—Pray, Quilly, says I, what is the meaning that to the several rooms I have been in, there is never a door?—Door! says he, I don't know that.—What! says I, don't you shut your rooms at night?—No, no! shut at night! I never heard of that!—I believe, says I, Quilly, it is almost bed time, is it not?—No, no! says Quilly, the gripsack has not sounded.—How do you know, says I, in this country, when you shall lie down, and when arise? for my wife has told me you have no clocks.—No! no clocks! says he.—Then, says I, does every one rise and lie down when they please? or do you all lie down and all rise together about the same time?—O, says Quilly, you will hear the gripsack presently; there are several glumms who take it by turns to sound it for the rest, and then we know it is time to lie down; and when they sound it again, we know it is time to rise. And afterwards I found these people guessed the time (being twelve hours between sound and sound) so well, that there were but few minutes variation at any time between them and my watch; and I set my watch to go from their soundings at six o'clock.

I found myself pretty much fatigued after my journey; for though I had only to sit still, yet the excessive velocity of such an unusual motion strained every muscle as much as the hardest labour: for, you may imagine, I could not at first be without my fears upon ever so small a variation of my chair; which, though I could not possibly by my own inclination one way or other rectify, yet a natural propensity to a perpendicular station involuntarily biases one to incline this or that way in order to preserve it: and then, at first, my breath being ready to fail me in proportion to the celerity of the flight, and to my own apprehensions, and being upon that exercise near thirty hours, and without sleep for almost forty, you may judge I wanted rest: so I told Quilly I would lie down, and ordered him not to disturb me till I waked of myself.

I could not prevent the officiousness of my valet to put me to bed, and cover me with the down, or whatever it was; for having no sheets, I pulled off nothing but my coat, wig, and shoes, and putting on my flannel night-cap, I laid me down.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*The King's Apartments described—Is introduced to the King—A Moucherott called—His Discourse with the King about Religion.*

I HAVE known some travellers so peculiar in their taste, as not to be able to sleep in a strange lodging; but, thanks to my kind stars, that did not prove my case; for having looked on my watch when I went to bed, as I call it, and finding it was down, I wound it up, and observed it began to go at about three o'clock, whether day or night, matters not; and when I waked it was past nine, so that I know I had slept eighteen hours; and finding that a very reasonable refreshment, and myself very hungry, I called Quilly to get me my breakfast.

Quilly told me his majesty had been to visit me, but would not have me disturbed. I begging him to dispatch my breakfast as soon as possible, and let me have some water for my hands, he ordered the gallery-waiters, and every thing came immediately.

My breakfast was a brown liquid, with a sort of seeds or grain in it, very sweet and good; but the fear of the king's return before I was ready for him, prevented my inquiring into what it was: so having finished it, and washed my hands, Quilly presented me a towel, which looked like an unbleached coarse linen, but was very soft and spongy; and I found afterwards was made of threads of bark stripped from some tree. I put on my brown suit, sword, and long wig, and sent Quilly to know when it was his majesty's pleasure I should wait upon him.

I had been so much used to lamp-light in my grotto, that the lights of this gloomy mansion did not seem so unusual a thing to me as they would have done to a stranger. The king sent me word he would admit me immediately, and Quilly was my conductor to his majesty's apartment.

We passed through the gallery, at the farther end of which was a very beautiful arch even with the stair-case, through which Quilly led me into a large guard-room, wherein were above an hundred glumms posted in ranks, with their pikes in hand, some headed with sharp-pointed stone, others with multangular stone, and others with stone globes. Passing through these, we entered another gallery as long as that to my apartment; then under another arch we came into a small square room, carved exceeding fine; on the right and left of which were two other archways leading into most noble rooms; but we only saw them, passing quite cross the little room, through an arch that fronted us into a small gallery of prodigious height; at the farther end of which Quilly turning aside a mat, introduced and left me in the most beautiful place in the universe; where, neither seeing nor hearing any body stir, I employed myself in examining the magnificence of the place, and could, as I then thought, have feasted my eye with variety for a twelvemonth. I paced it over one hundred and thirty of my paces long, and ninety-six broad: there were arches in the middle of each side, and in the middle of each end; the arch ceiling could not be less than the breadth of the room, and covered with the most delightful carvings, from whence hung globe-lights innumerable, but seemingly without order, which I thought appeared the more beautiful on that account. In the centre of the room hung a prodigious cluster of the same lights, so disposed as to represent one vast light; and there were several rows of the same lights hung round the room, one row above another at proper distances: these lights represented to me the stars, with the moon in the middle of them; and after I came to be better acquainted with the country, I perceived the lights were to represent the southern constellations. The arch-ways were carved with the finest devices imaginable, gigantic glumms supporting on each side the pediments. At every ten paces, all along the sides and ends, arose columns, each upon a broad square base, admirably carved; these reached to the cornice or base of the arched cieling, quite round the room. On the pannels between each column were

carved the different battles and most remarkable achievements of Begsurbeck himself. Over the arch I entered at, was the statue of Begsurbeck, and over the opposite arch the old prophetic ragan. In the middle of the room stood a long stone table lengthwise, most exquisitely carved, almost the length of the room, except where it was divided in the middle about the breadth of the arch-ways, in order for a passage from one arch to the other. In short, to describe this one room particularly, would make a volume of itself.

I staid here a full hour and half, wondering why nobody came to me; at length turning myself about, I saw two glumms coming towards me, and having received their compliments, they desired me to walk in to the king. We passed through another middling room, and taking up a matt at the farther side of it, I was conducted in where his majesty was sitting with another glumm. They both arose at my entrance, and calling me their father, and leading me, one by each hand, obliged me to sit down between them.

After some compliments about my journey, and accommodation since, the king told me I had not waited so long without, but he had some urgent dispatches to make; and as he chose to have me in private with him, he imagined, he said, I would be able to divert myself in the boskee. I declared I had never seen any thing like it for grandeur and magnificence before; but the beauty of the sculpture, and disposition of the lights, were most exquisite.

All this while I felt the other glumm handling my long wig, and feeling whether it grew to my head, or what it was; for he had by this time got his finger under the caul, and was pulling my hair down: when I turning about my head, Glumm Peter, says the king, don't be uneasy, the ragan will do you no hurt, it is only to satisfy his curiosity; and I chose to have the ragan here, that we may more leisurely advise with you what course to take in the present exigences of my state. I have fully heard the story of your travels from my colambs, and we have returned thanks to the Great Image for bringing you, after so many hazards and deliverances, safe to my dominions for our defence.

The ragan desired to know whether all that hair (meaning my wig) grew upon my head or not. I told him no, it was a covering only, to put on occasionally; but that hair did grow on my head, and pulling off my wig I showed them. The ragan then asked me if I had hair of my own growing under that too, meaning my beard, which he then had in his hand, for their glumms have no beards;) but I told him that grew there of itself.—O parly Puly! says the ragan, rising up, and smiting his hands together, It is he! It is he!

Pray, says I, ragan, who is this Puly you speak of?—It is the image, says he, of the great Collwar.—Who is that? says I.—Why, he that made the world, says he.—And, pray, says I, what did his image make?—O, says he, we made the image.—And, pray, says I, can't you break it again?—Yes, says he, if we had a mind to be struck dead, we might: for that would be the immediate consequence of such an attempt; nay, of but holding up a finger against it in contempt.—Pray, says I, did ever any body die that way?—No, says he, no one ever durst presume to do it.—Then, perhaps, said I, upon trial, the punishment you speak of might not be the consequence of such an attempt. Pray, says I, what makes Collwar have so great a kindness for that image?—Because, says he, it is his very likeness, and he gives him all he asks for us; for we only ask him. Why, says he, it is the image that has brought you amongst us.

I did not then think it a proper time to advance the contrary to the person I then had to do with, as I was sure it would have done no good; for a priest is only to be convinced by the strongest party: so I deferred my argument on that head to a fitter opportunity.

Most admirable Peter, says the king, you are the glumm we depend upon to fulfil an ancient prediction delivered by a venerable ragan. If you will, Ragan I. O. shall repeat it to you, and therein you will be able to discern yourself plainly described, in not only similar, but the express words I myself, from your story, should describe you in.

In good earnest, I had from divers circumstances concluded that I might be the person; and resolved, as I thought I had the best handle in the world for it from the prediction, to do what I could in the affair of religion, by fair means or stratagem, (for I was sensible my own single force would not do it) before I began to show myself in their cause, or else to desert them; and having had a small hint from Nasgig of what the old ragan's design was in part, and which I approved of, I purposed to add what else was necessary as part of his design, if his proposals had been approved of.

I told the king I would excuse the ragan the repetition of the prediction, as I had partly been informed of it by Nasgig; and that conceiving myself, as he did, to be the person predicted of by the ragan, I had the more readily set out on this expedition, which nothing but the hopes of performing so great a good could have prevailed with me to undertake; and I did not doubt, with God's blessing, to accomplish it.

The king grew exceeding joyous at what I said, and told me he would call a moucheratt, at which all his colambs should attend, to have their advice, and then we would proceed to action; and ordered the ragan to let it be for the sixth day, and in the mean time that he and his brethren should, day and night, implore the image to guide their deliberations.

The ragan being gone, I told the king I had something to impart to him, in which it was my duty to obtain his majesty's sentiments before I appeared publicly at the moucheratt. He desired me to proceed: I told him I had been some time considering the old ragan's prediction, with the occasion of it; And, says I, it is plain to me that all these mischiefs have befallen you for neglect of the ragan's proposal concerning religion; as I understand your great ancestor would have come into it, and would have had his people done so too, but for the ragans, who hindered it.

You find, says I, by your traditional history, that Begsurbeck lived long, and reigned gloriously; and I would aim at making you as prosperous as he was, and infinitely more happy, not only in outward splendour here, but in great glory hereafter.

Perceiving that my discourse had quickened the king's attention, says I, I must let your majesty know it is the old ragan's plan I must proceed upon in every branch of it.—Why, says the king, he would have abolished our worship of the image.—And so would I, says I; nay, not only would, but must and will, before I engage myself in your deliverance; and then, with the only assistance of the great Collwar, whom I adore, and whom you must too, if you expect any service from me, I don't doubt to prevail.

Your majesty sees, says I, in few words, I have been very plain with you; and I desire you, in as concise and plain a manner, to answer me, what are your thoughts on this head? for I can say no more till I hear them.

The king seing me so peremptory; Glumm Peter, says he, looking about to see no one was near, I have too much sense to imagine our image can do either good or hurt; for if it could have done us good, why would it not in our greatest distress, now near two hundred years past? For my own part, I put no trust in it, nor did my famous ancestor the great Begsurbeck: but here is my difficulty, where to chuse another object of worship; for I perceive by myself, mankind must, through natural impulse, look to somewhat still above them, as a child does to his father, from whom he hopes for and expects succour in his difficulties; and though the father be not able to assist him, still he looks to him; and therefore, I say, we must have another before we can part with this, or the people, instead of the part who have been in the defection, will all desert me; for they are easy now in hopes of help from the image, and every little glimpse of success is attributed to it; but for the disadvantages we receive, the ragans charge them on the people's not praying, and paying sufficiently; which they, poor souls, knowing in their consciences to be true enough, are willing rather, as they are bid, to take the blame upon themselves, than to suffer the least to fall on the image.

All this, says the king, I am sensible of; but should I tell them so, my life must pay for it; for the ragans would bring some message from the image against me, to desert or murder me; and then happy would be the first man who could begin the mischief, which the rest would soon follow.

This so frank and unexpected declaration gave me great confidence in the king; and I told him, if that was his opinion, he might leave the rest to me. I would so manage it, that the thing should be brought about by my means; and I would then satisfy all his scruples, and make him a flourishing prince. But I could not help reflecting with myself, how nearly this distant prince, and his state, copied some of my neighbours in Europe.

## CHAP. XL.

*Peter's Reflections on what he was to perform—Settles the Method of it—His Advice to his Son and Daughter—Globe-lights long Creatures—Takes Maleck into his Service—Nasgig discovers to Peter a Plot at Court—Revolt of Guuingrunt.*

HAVING now fully entered into the spirit of the business with my own good liking, I was determined to push it vigorously, or perish in the attempt. Have I, says I, so long a field before me, now to manifest my Maker in to a whole nation, and under his own call, and to fulfil their own prediction too; and shall I shrink at the possible danger? Or was there not rather be no probability of danger in it? The nation is in distress, the reason therefore to try any remedy for help: their image has stood idle two hundred years; there has been an old prophecy, or at least not true, as firmly believed to be true, as if it was so; and this, in regard to the people, answers in all respects as well. But why should it not be true? It is better attested by the frequent repetition, from the original delivery to this time, than are many traditions I have heard of amongst us Christians, which have come out spick and span new from the repositories of the learned, of twelve or fif-

teen hundred years old, little the worse for lying by; though they are not pretended to have seen light all that time, and are undoubted verities the moment they receive the grand sanction. Then if any means but fraud or force can gain so large a territory to the truth, and I am the only person can introduce it, shall not I endeavour it? Yes, surely; but I am not excluded all advantages neither, for all the works of Providence are brought to pass by appointed means: and, indeed, were it otherwise, what could we call Providence? For a peremptory fiat, and it is over, may work a miracle, it is true, but will not exhibit the proceedings of Providence. Therefore let me consider, in a prudential way, how to proceed to the execution of what I am to set about—and guide me, Providence! I beseech you, to the end.

Upon the best deliberation I could take, I came to the following resolutions: First, to insist on the abolition of the image worship, and to introduce true religion by the fittest means I could find opportunity for.

Secondly, as the revolters had been one people with those I would serve, and had this prediction amongst them too, and were interested in it, in hopes of its distant accomplishment; so if they came properly to the knowledge, that the person predicted of had appeared, and was ready for execution of his purposes, it must stagger their fidelity to their new master; and, therefore, I would find means to let them know it.

Thirdly, that I would not march till I was in condition not easily to be repulsed; for that would break both the hopes and hearts of my party, and destroy my religious scheme; and, therefore, I would get some of my cannon.

Fourthly, that I would go to the war in my flying-chair, and train up a guard for my person with pistols and cutlasses.

These resolutions I kept to myself till the mouncheratt was over, to see first how matters would turn out there.

Whilst I waited for the approaching mouncheratt, my son Tommy, and daughter Hallycarnie, paid their duties to me. It is strange how soon young minds are tainted by bad company. I found them both very glad to see me, for every body, they said, told them I was to be their deliverer. They had both got the prophecy by heart, and mentioned the image with all the affection of natural subjects. The moment Tommy spoke of it to me; Hold, says I, young man, what's become of those good principles I took so much pains to ground you in? Has all my concern for your salvation been thrown away upon you? Are you become a reprobate? What! an apostate from the faith you inherited by birth-right? Is the God I have so often declared to you a wooden one? Answer me, or never see my face more.

The child was extremely confounded to see me look so severe, and hear me speak so harsh to him. Indeed, father, says he, I did not willingly offend, or design to show any particular regard to the image; for, thanks to you, I have none: but what I said was only the common discourse in every body's mouth; I meant neither good nor harm by it.

Tommy, says I, it is a great fault to run into an error, though in company of multitudes; and where a person's principle is sound at bottom, and founded upon reason, no numbers ought to shake it. You are young, therefore hearken to me; and you, Hallycarnie, whatever you shall see done by the people of this country, in the worship of this idol, don't you imitate it, don't you join in it. Keep the sound lessons I have preached to you in mind; and upon every attempt of the ragans, or any other, to draw you aside to their worship, or even to speak or act the least thing in praise of this idol, think of me and my words; pay your adoration to the Supreme Father of spirits only, and to no wooden, stone, or earthen deity whatever.

The children wept very heartily, and both promised me to remember and to do as I had taught them.

Being now in my oval chamber, and alone with my children, I had a mind to be informed of some things I was almost ashamed to ask Quilly. Tommy, says I, what sort of fire do they keep in these globes? and what are they made of?—Daddy, says he, yonder is the man shifting them, you may go and see.—Being very curious to see how he did it, I went to him. As I came near him, he seemed to have something all fire on his arm. What has the man got there? says I.—Only sweecoes, says Tommy.—By this time I came up to him; Friend, says I, what are you about?—Shifting the sweecoes, sir, says he, to feed them.—What oil do you feed with? says I.—Oil! says he, they won't eat oil; that would kill them all.—Why, says I, my lamp is fed with oil.

Tommy could scarce forbear laughing himself; but for fear the servant should do so too, pulled me by the sleeve, and desired me to say no more. So turning away with him; Daddy, says he, it is not oil that gives this light, but sweecoes, a living creature; he has got his basket full, and is taking the old ones out to feed them, and putting new ones in; they shift them every half day, and feed them.—What! says I, are all these infinite number of globes I see living creatures?—No, says he, the globes are only the transparent shell of a bott, like our calibashes; the light comes

from the sweecoe within.—Has that man, says I, got any of them?—Yes, says he, you may see them: the king, and the colambs, and, indeed, every man of note, has a place to breed and feed them in.—Pray, let us go see them, says I, for that is a curiosity indeed.

Tommy desired the man to show me the sweecoes; so he set down his basket, which was a very beautiful resemblance of a common higler's basket, with a handle in the middle, and a division under it, with flaps on each side to lift up and down. It was made of straw-coloured small twigs, neatly compacted, but so light as scarce to be of any weight. Opening one of the lids, I could make very little distinction of substances, the bottom seeming all over of a white colour. I looking surprised at the light, the man took out one, and would have put it into my hand, but perceiving me shy of it, he assured me it was one of the most innocent things in the world. I then took it, and surveying it, it felt to my touch as smooth and cold as a piece of ice. It was about as long as a large lobworm, but much thicker. The man seeing me admire the brightness of its colour, told me it had done its duty, and was going to be fed; but those which were going upon duty were much clearer: and then opening the other lid, those appeared far exceeding the others in brightness, and thickness too. I asked what he fed them with. He said, Leaves and fruit; but grass, when he could get it, which was not often, they were very fond of.

Having dismissed my children, I sent for Nasgig, to gain some intelligences I wanted to be informed of. The moment I saw him, it came into my mind to inquire after my new filgays. He said the king granted my request at the first word. I told him then he had saved his honour with me, and I was obliged to him: But, says I, you told me my bearers should be free too.—They are so, says he.—Then there is one thing I want, says I; and that is, to see the second bearer on my right hand, who came through without shifting. I have a fancy for that fellow, says I, to be about my person: I like him; and, if you can give him a good word, I should be glad to treat with him about it.

My friend Peter, says he, you are a man of penetration, though it ill becomes me to say so in regard of persons; but I can say that for him, if he likes you as well as you seem to like him, he is the trustiest fellow in the world: but as he knows his own worth, he would not be so to every body, I can tell you that.—I don't fear his disliking me, says I, for I make it my maxim to do as I would be done by; and if he is a man of honour, as you seem to say, he would do the same, and we shall be soon agreed.—But, says Nasgig, it being now the fourth day since he was freed, he may be gone home perhaps, for he is not of our country, but of Mount Alkoe. If Quilly can find him, he will come. So he ordered Quilly to send for Maleck of Mount Alkoe, with orders to come to me.

We descended from one discourse to another, and at length to King Georigetti's affairs; when Nasgig, giving a sigh, Ah, Peter! says he, we shall loiter away our time here till the enemy are upon our backs. There is venom in the grass; I wish my good master is not betrayed.—By whom? says I.—By those he little suspects, says he.—Why, says I, they tell me you are much in his favour; if so, why do you suffer it?—I believe, says Nasgig, I am in his favour, and may continue in it, if I will join in measures to ruin him; but else I shall soon be out of it.—You tell me riddles, says I.—These things, says he, a man talks with his head in his teeth. There is danger in these, Peter; there is danger!—You don't suspect me, says I, do you?—No, says he, I know your soul too well; but there are three persons in these dominions who will never let my master rest till out of his throne, or in horizo. I am but lately in favour, but have made as many observations, perhaps, as those who have been longer about the king.

Nasgig, says I, your concern proceeds from an honest heart; don't stifle what you have to say: if I can counsel you with safety, I'll do it; if not, I'll tell you so.

Peter, says he, Georigetti was the only son of a well-beloved father, and ascended his throne ten years ago on his decease; but Haslokin, the prince of the revolters, whose head is never idle, finding that whispers, and base stories spread about, did not hurt Georigetti, or withdraw his subjects affections, has tried a means to make him undo himself.—As how? says I.—Why, said he, by closely playing his game he has got one of his relations into the king's service, than whom he could never have chosen a fitter instrument. He, by degrees, feeding the king's humour, and promising mountains, has pushed into the best places in the kingdom: his name is Barbarsa, a most insolent man, who has had the assurance to corrupt the king's mistress, and has prevailed and brought her over to his interest.—O perfidy! says I, is it possible?—Yes, says he; and more than that, has drawn in, till now, an honest man called Nicor; and it has been agreed between them to protract this war, till by their stratagems in procuring the revolt of Gauingrunt, a very large and populous province, and now the barrier between us and the rebels, and two or three more places, they shall have persuaded Georigetti to fly; and then Barbarsa is to be king, and Yacombourse his queen. A union is then to be

struck between him and Harlokin, and peace made, by restoring some of the surrendered provinces: and upon the death of the first of them, or their issue, childless, the survivor, or his issue, is to take the whole. They laugh at your uniting the dominions, and the old prediction.

These, said I, Nasgig, are serious things, and, as you say, are not lightly to be talked of; but, Nasgig, know this, he that conceals them is a traitor. Can you prove this?—I have heard them say so, says Nasgig.—How! says I, and not discover it!—I am as anxious for that as you can be, says he; but for me to be cashiered, slit, and sent to Crashdoorpt, only for meaning well, without power to perfect my good intentions, where will be the benefit to my master or me?—When and where did you hear this? says I.—Several and several times, says he, in my own bed.—In your own bed, says I.—I'll tell you, says he; it so happens that when I rest at the palace, as I am bound to do when on duty, there is a particular bed for me: now, as the whole palace is cut out of one solid rock, though Yaccombourse's apartment at the entrance is at a prodigious distance from the entrance to mine, yet my bed and one in an inner apartment of hers, stand close together; the partition, indeed, is stone, but either from the thinness of it, or some flaw in it I have not yet discovered, I can plainly hear every word that is spoken. And there it is, in their hours of dalliance, when they use this bed, that I hear what I have now told you.—Say nothing of it, says I, but leave the issue to me.

By this time the messenger returned with Malock, and he and I soon agreeing, I took him into my service.

I went to bed as usual, but could get no rest, Nasgig's story engrossing my whole attention; I was resolved, however, to be better informed before I acquainted the king of it: but rising pretty early next morning, the king came into my chamber, leaning upon Barbarsa, to tell me that he had received an express that Gauingrunt had revolted. Peter, says he, behold a distressed monarch; nay, an undone monarch!—Great sir, says Barbarsa, you afflict yourself too much; here is Mr Peter come to assist you, and he will settle all your concerns, never fear.—I eyed the man, and (though prejudice may hang an honest person) found him a villain in his heart; for even while he was forcing a feeling tone of affliction, he was staring at my laced hat and feather that lay on the seat, by which I was sure nothing could be at a greater distance than his heart and tongue. His sham concern put me within a moment of seizing him in the king's presence; but his majesty, at that instant speaking, diverted me.

Before the king left me, I told him, having certain propositions to make to the moucheratt next day, it was possible they might require time to consider them; wherefore it would be proper, at this critical time, to let them meet every other day, business or none, till this affair was over. The king ordered Barbarsa to see it was so, and then we parted.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Holds a Moucheratt—Speeches of Ragans and Colambs—Peter settles Religion—Informs the King of a Plot—Sends Nasgig to the Ship for Cannon.*

ATTENDING at the moucheratt to-day, I happened to be seated within two paces of the idol. There was the most numerous assembly that had ever been seen; and when all was quiet, the king opened with signifying the revolt of Gauingrunt, the approach of the enemy, and no forces in the field to stop them. This he set forth in terms so moving, that the whole assembly were melted into sighs; till one of the colambs rising up, says he, His majesty has set forth the state of his affairs in such a manner, and I am satisfied a true one, that it becomes us all to be vigilant. We all seem to have, and I believe have, great faith in the remedy this day to be proposed to us, in answer to our ancient prediction: and as I doubt not but glumm Peter is the man, so I doubt not but through his management we shall still receive help; but let us consider if we might not have prevented these pressing evils, and especially this last, by speedier preparations against them. What province, or member of a state will not revolt to a numerous host just ready to devour them, if they can receive no assistance from their head? for, to my certain knowledge, his majesty had ordered this almost a year ago, and not a man gone yet. Can we expect Peter to go singly to fight an army? Did your prediction say he should go alone? No, he shall slay; that is, he and his army; what is done by them being always attributed to their general. Inquire, therefore, into your past conduct, send Peter your general, and trust to the Great Image.

His majesty then said, if there had been any remissness in executing his commands, he believed it was done with a view to his service; but a more proper opportunity might be found for an inquiry of that nature. As for the present moucheratt, it was called solely to propose to Peter the execution of the remaining part of the prediction; or at least such part of it as seems now, or never, to wait its accomplishment.

Here arose a ragan, and told the assembly, in the name of himself and brethren, that the prediction had never yet been applicable to any one person till glumm Peter arrived; and that his sagacity of itself was a sufficient recommendation of him to the guidance of the enterprize; and requested, that glumm Peter might forthwith be declared protector of the army, and set forward with it, that the state might receive safety, and the Great Image its proper honour.

I could now hold out no longer; but, standing up, made my speech in the following manner, or very near it: Mighty king—you, reverend ragans—and honourable colambs—with the good people of this august assembly—I am come hither, led by the force of your own prediction, at the request of his majesty and the states, at the peril of my life, to accomplish things said to be predicted of me glumm Peter. If then you have a prediction, if then your prediction describes me, and the circumstances of these times, it consisting of several parts, they ought seriously to be weighed, that I may know when and where I am to begin my operation, and when and where to leave off; for in predictions the whole is to be accomplished as much as any member of it.

It is said, I shall destroy the traitor of the west; I am ready to enter upon it, and settle the ancient limits of your monarchy. Are you willing, therefore, that should be done? yea, or nay? Then every one answered, Yea.—And by common consent establish what the old ragan would have taught you?—Here the king rose up; but Barbarsa giving him a touch, (for every one waited to be guided by the voice of the ragans) he sat down again; and no one answering Yea, I again put the same question, and told them, as it was their own concern, I would have an answer before I proceeded. One of the ragans then rose, and said, that part of the prediction was too loose to be relied on, for it was to settle what he would have taught: Now who knows, says he, what he would have taught. The assembly paused a considerable time, and just as I was opening my mouth to speak, an ancient and venerable ragan rose: says he, I am sorry, at my years, to find that truth wants an advocate; my age and infirmities might well have excused me from speaking in this assembly, so many of my brethern being present, younger and better qualified for that purpose than myself: but, as we are upon a sacred thing, and lest, as I find none of them care to declare the truth, I should also be thought to consent to its suppression if I sat silent and suffered it to be hid under a quibble, I must beg to be heard a few words. My brother who spoke last, says, the words are too loose which say, And by common consent establish what I would have taught: but I beg leave to think it far otherwise, for we all know what he would have taught, and the memory of that hath been as exactly kept as the prediction; for how could our ancestors have opposed his doctrine, but from hearing and disapproving it? And we all know, not only the prediction, but the doctrine, hath been punctually handed down to us; though, woe be to us! we have not proclaimed it as we have done the prediction: and let me tell you, when you, my brethern severally come to my years, and have but a single step farther to hoxino, you will wish you had taught it, as I do, who believe and approve it.

The poor old man, having spoke as long as his breath and spirits would permit him, sat down, and I again resumed the question, as I now thought, on a much better foundation than before, and was immediately told by another ragan, that there would be no end in the assembly, if we considered every point at once, for we might next go upon what countries we should conquer, and of whom to demand tribute; which would be debating about the fruit before the seed was sown. But his opinion was, to go on and quell the rebellion, and restore the monarchy, and then go upon the other points.

I told them, if they had made so light of the prediction as not to declare publicly, since they knew it, what the ragan would have taught, it ill became me to be more zealous in their own concerns than they were themselves; and I should imagine there was very little truth in any part of it, and would never hazard my life for their sakes, who would not speak the truth to save the kingdom; and desired leave of the states for my departure; for I was not a person, I told them, to be cajoled into any thing. I undertook it at first voluntarily; and no man could, or should, compel me to it: my life they might take, but my honour they should never stain, though I was assured I could easily, with their concurrence, complete all that related to them.

The senior colamb immediately rising, desired me to have a little patience, and not to leave the assembly (for I was going out) till I had heard him.

Here is, says he, this day a thing started, which, I think, every whit as much concerns us all, and the body, and every member of the people to know, as it does Peter; and I am surprised, unless the present ragans believe what their predecessor would have taught to be better than what they now teach, (for nothing else can make us consent to it) that they should scruple to let us know it, and keep us ignorant, who are worshippers as well as themselves, of any matter which so nearly concerns us to know. I am for obliging the

ragans to declare the truth. If this be a true prediction, all the relatives to it are true, and I insist that we hear it.

This speech emboldened several others; and all the populace siding with the colambs out of curiosity, cried out to know it.

Perceiving the ragans still hush, I rose; and beckoning the populace to silence, Mighty king—you, honourable colambs—and you, good people, says I—for it is to you I now speak, hear me with attention. You think, perhaps, that the suppression of the truth by your ragans, (charged to their teeth by the most reverend of their whole body, whose infirmities rendering him unable, though his will is good, to declare this secret to you) will prevent the knowledge of that truth your old ragan would have taught, but you are mistaken: and that you may know I don't come here at a venture to try if I can relieve you, but with an assurance of doing it if you consent, I must let you know, from me, what the ragan would have taught. The ragan would have demolished this trumpery piece of dirt, this grimalkin, set out with horrid face and colour to fright children: this, I say, he would have demolished, being assured it could neither do good nor hurt, give joy or grief to any man, or serve any other purpose whatsoever, but to procure a maintenance to a set of men who know much better than they dare to tell them. Can any of you believe this stupid piece of earth hears me?—Some of the ragans cried, Yes! And that he can revenge any affront I shall give him: Again, Yes to be sure!—Let him then, if he dare, says I, whipping out my cutlass, and with the backside of it striking his head off. This, says I, O glumms, is what the ragan knew, and what I defy them to deny. Now, says I, I will farther show you, to whom the old ragan would have taught you to make your petitions, and pay your adorations; and that is to the Supreme Being, Maker of heaven and earth, of us and all things; who provides for us meat and drink, and all things, by causing the earth, which he has made, to produce things necessary for our use. That Being, whom you have heard of by the name of Collwar, and are taught at present to be afraid to speak to. And I appeal to your own hearts, if many of you have ever thought of him. Again, says I, let any thing in the shape of man, that gives himself time to consider at all, only tell me, if what it can make, and does make, with his own hands, hath not more occasion to depend on him as its maker, than he on that? Why then, should not we depend upon and pray to our Maker?

You very greatly mistake me, O glumms, says I, if you imagine I would have all those reverend men turned out of employment as useless. No, I find they know too much of what is valuable; and therefore those who are willing to continue in the service of the mouch, and faithfully to teach you the old ragan's doctrine, and such farther lights of the great Being as they shall hereafter receive, let them continue your ragans still, and let others be chosen, and trained up in that doctrine.

Here the poor old man got up again with much difficulty. Mr Peter, says he, you are the man predicted of; you have declared the old ragan's mind, and all my brethren know it.

Finding I had the populace on my side, (for I did not doubt the king and the colambs) I put the question to the ragans: Reverend ragans, says I, you see your prediction this day about to be fulfilled: for if it is a true one, no force of man can withstand it. You see your image disgraced: you see, and I appeal to you all for the truth of it, that what the ragan would have taught, has, without your assistance, been disclosed. I therefore would have you the first to break the bondage of idolatry, and turn to the true Collwar, as it will be so much glory to you. Will you, and which of you, from henceforth serve Collwar, and no longer worship an idol? Such of you as will do so, let them continue in the mouch: if none of you will, it shall be my business to qualify a sufficient number of true ragans to form a succession for that purpose. The issue of this great affair depends upon your answers.—They waited some time for a spokesman to begin, and so soon as he was able to get up, the poor old ragan said, I will continue in it, and do all the little good I can: and blessed be the day this prediction is fulfilled, to succeeding generations! I have lived long enough, to have seen this.—Then the rest of the ragans, one by one, followed his example. And thus, with prodigious acclamations, both the ragans and people ended the great affair of religion.

I now more and more believed the truth of the prediction: and told them I should have occasion for seven hundred men before I set out against the rebels; and desired that they might be commanded by Nasgig. This was readily granted. I then told them, as I purposed to act nothing without their concurrence, I desired the colambs would remain in the city till I set out, that they might be readily called together.

I then desired I might be quite private from company till I departed.

I took Nasgig home with me; and, when we came there, My dear friend, says he, what have you done to-day! You have crushed a power hitherto immoveable; and I shall never more think any thing too difficult for you to attempt.

—Nasgig, says I, I am glad it is over. And now, says I, you must enter on a new employ: but, first, can you provide me fifty honest, faithful glumms, for a particular expedition? they must be sensible, close, and temporizing. He said he would, and come to me again.

I then desired a private audience with the king; who, on seeing me, began upon my success at the moucheratt. I told his majesty, if I alone, and a stranger, could gain such influence there, I might have had much more if he had joined me, especially as he had told me he gave no credit to the image; and that I expected he would have appeared on my side.—Ah, Peter! says he, monarchs neither see, hear, nor perceive, with their own eyes, ears, or understandings. I would willingly have done it; but Barbarsa prevented me, by assuring me it would be my ruin; and as he is my bosom friend, what reproaches must I have suffered if it had gone amiss! Nay, I will tell you, that he and Nicor are of opinion that your coming hither, which is looked upon by us all as such a blessing, will one day undo me: For, say they, though he may perform what you expect from him, it is not to be supposed he should suffer it to redound to you. No, say they, if he can do these great things, he can soon set you aside. Thus, though I have no doubt of you, is my spirit wasting within me through perpetual fears and jealousies; and I cannot get these men, who, knowing all my secrets, are feared by me, into my own way of thinking.

Mighty sir, says I, don't think I came hither to possess, but redress a kingdom. I lived far more to my ease in my grotto, than I can in this palace; but I now desire you, drawing my sword and putting it into his hand, to pierce this heart's blood, and make yourself easy in my death, rather than, suffering me to survive, live in distrust of me No, great king, says I, it is not I that would injure you; but, though I have been so short a time in your dominions, I find there are those who would, and will too, unless you exert the monarch, and shake off those harpies, which, lying always at your ear, are ever buzzing disquiet and mischief to you.—Peter, says he, what do you mean? sure I have no more traitors in my state!—Your majesty has, says I. —How can you prove it? says he. But pray inform me who they are?—I came not hither, great king, says I, to turn informer, but reformer; and so far as that is necessary in order to this, I will give you satisfaction. I only desire you will wholly guide yourself by my direction for three days, and you shall be able to help yourself to all the information you can require, without my telling you. In the mean time, appear no more thoughtful than usual, or in any other way alter your accustomed habits.

Nasgig having sent me the fifty men, I asked them if they were to be trusted, and if they could carefully and artfully execute a commission I had to charge them with. They assuring me they would, I told them I would let them into my design, which would be the best instructions I could give them, and left the management alone to them.

My confidence in them made them twice as diligent as all the particular directions in the world would have done; so I only told them I had a mind the revolted towns, and also the enemy's army, should know that the person so long ago predicted of was now at Brandleguarp, and had, as the first step towards reducing them, and killing the traitor Harlokin, already altered their religion to the old ragan's plan; and that they had nothing now to expect but destruction to themselves as soon as I appeared against them with my unknown fire and smoke, which I always had with me; and that the thing was looked upon to be as good as done already at Brandleguarp; and then to slip away again unperceived. They all promised me exact performance, and went off.

Nasgig then coming in, I told him he was now under my command, and must take six hundred glumms with him to Graundevolc; tell Youwarkee to show him my ship, and then he must bring me the things I had described to her by the name of cannon; he must bring them by ropes, as I was brought; and bring powder, which she would direct him to, and the heavy balls, which lay in the room with the powder. I told him if he thought he should not have men enough, he must take more; and must be as expeditious as was consistent with safety. I desired him to tell Youwarkee I hoped in a short time to send for her, and all the family, over to me. And now Nasgig, says I, my orders are finished; but, says I, the king! I must assist that good man. I therefore want to know the particular times Barbarsa and Yaccombourse usually meet.—That, says he, is every night when she is not with the king; for he is excessively fond of her, and seldom lies without her; but whenever he does, Barbarsa is admitted to her.—And how can I know, says I, when she will or will not lie with the king?—When she is to lie with him, says he, the king never sups without her.—Now, says I, you must show me your lodging, that I may find it in your absence; and give orders to the guard to let me, and whoever comes with me, enter at any time. He then took me to his chamber; but I passed through so many rooms, galleries, and passages, that I was sure I should never find it again, so I asked him if Malel

knew the way; and he assuring me he did, I took my leave of him, and he set out for Graundevolet.

## CHAP. XLII.

*The King hears Barbarsa and Yaccombourse Discourse on the Plot—They are impeached by Peter at a Moucheratt—Condemned and executed—Nicor submits, and is released.*

I HAD now several important irons in the fire, and all to be struck whilst hot; there was the securing religion, sowing sedition amongst the enemy, tripping up the heels of two ministers, and a she-favourite, and transporting artillery in the air some hundred leagues; either of which failing might have been of exceeding bad consequence: but as the affair of the ministers now lay next at hand, I entered upon that in the following manner.

The king coming to me the next day, as by appointment, and having assured me he had hinted nothing to any one, no, not to Barbarsa or Yaccombourse, told me that Barbarsa had given orders for stopping Nasgig and his men; and had persuaded him not to be in such haste in suffering me to do as I pleased, but to show his authority, and keep me under. Says I, Your majesty's safety is so near my heart, that even want of confidence in me shall not make me decline my endeavours to serve you. But have you suffered him to stop Nasgig?—No, says he, Nasgig was gone some time before he sent.—O sir! says I, you do not half know the worth of that man! but you shall hereafter, and will reward him accordingly. But now, sir, says I, to what we next upon; if you will, as I told you, but comply with me for three days, without asking questions, I will show you the greatest traitors in your dominions, and put them into your power too. He promised me again he would. Then, sir, says I, you must not send to Yaccombourse to sup with you to-night.—Nor lie with me?—No, says I.—Pray, what hurt can arise to my affairs from her? says he.—Sir, says I, you promised me to ask no questions.—Agreed, agreed! says he.—Then, says I, please to meet me at Nasgig's lodgings without being perceived, if you can; at least without notice taken.—Good, says he.—And when you are there, see or hear what you will, you must not say a word till you are retired again. All which the king engaging to perform, we parted till evening.

I called Maleck, and asked if he knew the way to Nasgig's lodging. He told me, very well: and, the time being come, he conducted me thither, where I had not waited long before the king came, most of the court being in bed. I desired the king to stay in the outer room till I went into the bedchamber two or three times, and I thought we must have put it off till another night: but listening once again, I found they were come, so I called the king, and led him to the place, entreating him, whatever he heard, to keep his patience, or he would ruin all. We first heard much amorous discourse between Barbarsa and Yaccombourse, and then the ensuing dialogue.

*Yac.* My dearest Barbarsa, what was all that uproar at the moucheratt the other day?

*Bar.* Nothing, my love, but that mad fellow Peter, who sets up for a conjuror, and wants us all to dance to his pipe.

*Yac.* I heard he overcame the ragans at an argument about the image.

*Bar.* Why I don't know how that was, but it was the doating old ragan did their business; and truly the king's fingers itched to be on Peter's side, but I gave him a judicious nod, and you know he durst not displease so dear a friend as I am; ha, ha, ha! Am not I a sad fellow, my love, to talk so of my king?

*Yac.* He that wants but one step to a throne, is almost a king's fellow.

*Bar.* And that but a short one too, my dear Yaccee; but I must get rid of that Nasgig, though I think I have almost spoiled him with the king, too. I don't love your thinking rascals; that fellow thinks more than I do, Yaccee.

*Yac.* He'll never think to so good purpose, I believe. But how goes cousin Harlokin on? I find Gauingrunt is gone over.

*Bar.* And so shall Bazin, Istell, Pezele, and Ginkatt too, my dear; for I am at work there. And then good night, my poor king Georigetti; thou shalt be advised to fly, and I'll keep the throne warm for thee.—I don't see but King Barbarsa and Queen Yaccombourse sound much better than Georigetti. Well, my dear, whenever we come to sovereignty, which now cannot be long, if Nicor has but played his part well, for I have not had an account of his success yet; I say, when we come into power, never let us be above minding our own affairs, or suffer ourselves to be led by the nose, as this poor insignificant king does. For, in short, he may as well be a king of matts, as a king of flesh, if he will not use his faculties, but suffer me to make a fool of him thus; and I should be a fool indeed to neglect it, when he thinks it the greatest piece of service I can do him.

*Yac.* Come, come, my dear! let us enjoy ourselves like king and queen till we come to the dignity.

Finding a pause, the king, who had admi-

rably kept his temper, even beyond imagination, stole into the outer room. Peter, says he, I thank you, you have shown me myself. What fools are we kings! In endeavouring to make others happy, how miserable do we make ourselves! How easily are we deceived by the designing flattery of those below us! —Ungrateful villain!—Degenerate strumpet! —I hate you both.—Peter, says he, give me your sword; I'll destroy them both immediately.

Hold, sir, says I, your majesty has heard sufficient to found a true judgment upon; but kings should not be executioners, or act by passion and revenge; but as you would punish that in others, so carefully avoid it yourself. You, who are in so exalted a station, as always to have it in your power to punish a known crime in individuals, have not that necessity to prompt you to a violent act, that private persons have, to whom it may be difficult to obtain justice. Therefore, my advice is, that you summon the colambs to-morrow, when Barbarsa and Nicor cannot fail to attend; and I would also desire Yaccombourse to be there, you having great proposals to make to the states which you shall want her to hear. I will in the mean time prepare the servants under Quilly, and order Maleck with another posse to attend, as by your command, to execute your orders given by me, and I myself will impeach those bad persons in public; and Nicor, if he will not ingennously confess what commission he was charged with from Barbarsa, shall be put to the torture I direct, till he discovers it.

The king was very well pleased with this method; so I ordered Quilly, as from the king, to bring all my servants to the assembly, appointing him his place, and Maleck to select me fifty stout persons, and to wait to execute my orders on a signal given. So soon as the assembly met, I told them, since I had concerned myself in their affairs, I had made it my business to search into the cause of their calamities; and finding some of the traitors were now approached, not only near to, but even into, the capital city, his majesty had therefore ordered me to ask their advice, what punishment was adequate, in their judgments, to the crime of conspiring against him and the state, and holding treasonable correspondence with his enemies, under the show of his greatest friends.

I stopped, and looked at Barbarsa; he turned as pale as ashes, and was rising to speak, when the senior colamb declared, if any such thing could be made appear, the common punishment of Crashdoorpt was too trivial; but they deserved to be dropt alive either to hoximo or Mount Alkoe. The several colambs all declaring the same to be their judgment, and even those to be too mild for their deserts, I then stepped up to Barbarsa, who sat at the king's left hand, as did Yaccombourse at his right, and telling them and Nicor they were all prisoners of state, I delivered Barbarsa and Yaccombourse in custody to Quilly and his men, and Nicor to Maleck and his men, ordering them into separate apartments, with strict command that neither should speak to the other upon pain of the last pronounced judgment.

Barbarsa would have spoke, and called out to the king, begging him not to desert so faithful a servant for the insinuations of a vile a man as Peter; but the king only told him the vile man could be made appear presently, and he hoped he would meet his deserts.

I then stood up, and told the assembly the whole of what we heard, how it first came to be discovered, and that the king himself had been an ear-witness of it, which the king confirming, the whole assembly rang with confusion, and revenge and indignation appeared in every face.

I then proposed, as we yet knew not what that secret commission was which Nicor was charged with, having enough against the rest, that Nicor might be brought forth; and, upon refusal to answer, be put to the torture.

Nicor appearing before the assembly, I told him I was commanded by the king to ask him what commission he was charged with by Barbarsa, and to whom. I told him the safest way for his life, his honour, and his country, was to make a true confession at first, or I had authority to put him to the torture; for, as for slitting and banishment, as they were too slight to atone for this offence, he might rest satisfied his would be of another sort, if he hesitated at delivering the thing in its full truth.

My prelude terrifying him, he openly confessed that his last commission was to several towns, as from the king, and with his privy sack, to order their submission to Harlokin, the king not being in any condition to relieve them; and that as soon as they had submitted, Harlokin would be let into this city, which could not stand against him.

He also declared, that it had been agreed, and the boundaries settled, how far Barbarsa, who was to be declared king, and marry Yaccombourse, should govern, and how far Harlokin; that Barbarsa was to be styled King of the East, and Harlokin King of the West; and that either of them, on the other's dying childless, was to inherit the whole monarchy.

The king declaring this to be all true, and that by my procurement he heard it all mentioned but the last night between Barbarsa and Yaccombourse, as they were walking

themselves in bed, the whole assembly ordered them to be brought out, carried with cords about their necks, and precipitated into Mount Alkoe.

I then begged they might be suffered to speak for themselves before execution; and, acquainting them severally with the evidence, I first asked Barbarsa what he had to say against his sentence. He declared, his ambition, and the easiness of his master's temper, had instigated him to attempt what had been charged upon him; having, as he thought, a fair opportunity of so doing.—I then asked Yaccombourse the same question; she answered me, her ambition had been her sole governor from a child, and I had done my worst in preventing the progress of that; and whatever else I could do was not worth her notice: But to have reigned, says she, with some emotion, was worth the lives of millions, and overbalanced every thing!

I pleaded hard for Nicor, as I perceived him to be only the favourite's favourite, and not in the scrape for his own views, more than what he might merit from his new master; and as he had declared the truth, and I believed I might make farther use of him, I obtained that he might be only committed to me, and that I might have liberty of pardoning or slitting as I saw fit; and, as I expected, he afterwards proved very useful to me and my designs, and I pardoned him.

Before the assembly rose, a party of the natives of Mount Alkoe were ordered to convey Yaccombourse and Barbarsa to the mountain, slip their graundees, and drop them there; and thus ended the lives of these two aspiring persons.

When I came home, I called Nicor before me. You know, says I, Nicor, you are obliged to me for this moment of your life; but I don't remind you of it for any return I want to myself; but as you are sensible my endeavours are to serve this state, I offer you life and freedom upon condition you employ your utmost diligence to repair your past conduct, by a free declaration of every thing in your power that may be for the benefit of the kingdom; as you know the springs by which all these bad movements have been set at work; and I desire your opinion how best to counteract the schemes formed, and redress the evils.

Nicor being fully convinced of his error, and having lost his patron, was very submissive; and declared he believed none of the provinces would have gone over to Harlokin, unless they had thought it was the king's order Barbarsa had acted by, which, by bearing his gripsack, they made no doubt of. He advised to send expresses with the king's gripsack to such places as had lately submitted, and to such as were about it, to put a stop to them. I told him I had done that: But not by the gripsack, says he; and unless they see and hear that, they will give no credit to the message. He then gave me some particular hints in other affairs of no mean consequence; and seeing him truly under concern, and, to my thinking, sincere in what he said, I told him I was an absolute enemy to confinement, and if any person of repute would engage he should be forthcoming upon all occasions, that I might have recourse to him, I would let him have his liberty.

Poor Nicor, as it commonly happens to great men in disgrace, finding himself abandoned by all his friends, after trying every body, dropping some tears, told me next morning he was highly sensible of what a dye his offences had been, for that not one amongst all his former friends would even look upon him in his present circumstances, wherefore he must submit to fate.

Nicor having borne a good character before seduced by Barbarsa, and knowing that an obliged enemy often becomes the sincerest friend, I pressed him again to try his friends. He told me every body was shy of engaging in such an affair; and that he had rather suffer himself, than meanly to entreat any one into an unwilling compliance.—Come, Nicor, says I, will you be your own security to me? May I take your own word?—He said he could not expect that; for as the terror of slitting lay over him, and in my hands too, he could not answer but he might deceive me in case he should conceive I had a design against him; which I myself, too, might have from a mistaken motive.

Why, then, Nicor, says I, you are free; now use your own discretion. I think you will never cause my judgment to be impeached for what I have done; but if you do, I can't condemn myself for it, and hope I shall have no reason to repent it.

Nicor fell at my feet, embraced them, and was so overcome with my generosity to him, that I could with difficulty prevail on him to rise again; saying he was now, more than ever, ashamed to see my face. I told him I had not done with him, but would use him henceforth as my friend, and ordered him to call upon me daily, for I might have several occasions for him; and, truly, next to Nasgig, he proved the usefullest man in the kingdom.

## CHAP. XLIII.

*Nasgig returns with the Cannon—Peter informs him of the Execution—Appoints him a Guard—Settles the Order of his March*

*against Harlokin—Combat between Nasgig and the Rebel General—The Battle—Peter returning with Harlokin's Head, is met by a Sweecoan—A public Festival—Slavery abolished.*

THE tenth day Nasgig arrived, whilst I happened to be in the king's garden; and hearing the trumpet coming before, I called out to him to give Nasgig notice where I was, and to desire him to alight there.

After ceremonies past, and I had inquired after my wife and children, and his answers had informed me of their healths, Well, says Nasgig, my friend, am I to live or die?—Explain yourself, says I.—Nay, I only mean, says he, have you discovered me to the king?—Pardon me, says I, dear Nasgig, I must own the truth; I have.—Then, says he, I suppose his majesty has no more commands for me?—No, says I, it is not so bad as that neither.—But, pray, says he, what says Barbarsa to it?—O nothing at all! says I; quite quiet.—Nor Yaccombourse? Did you discover her baseness to the king?—Yes, says I, and the king behaved like a king upon the occasion.—And where are they now? says he.—Only in Mount Alkoe, says I.—Mount Alkoe! replies he, what do you mean by that? How can they be in Mount Alkoe? Did they go of their own accords?—They fled off, I suppose, with ropes about their necks, says I, as your criminals go to Crashdoorpt.—Are they slit too? says he.—No, says I, but slipt, I'll assure you. Come, my good friend, I'll let you into the history of it. And then I told all that had happened, and the king's satisfaction at the judgment of the moucheratt. And now, says I, Nasgig, you may call yourself the favourite, I promise you, for his majesty enjoys himself but to greet you on your return; but have a care of power, most grow giddy with it, and the next thing to that is a fall.—Pray, says he, what is become of Nicor? Is he under the same condemnation?—No, says I, Nicor is now by my means absolutely free, and no two greater than he and I. I told him then my proceedings with him: he was glad of it; for, he said, Nicor he believed was honest at bottom.

By this time up came the cannon; and, truly, had my countrymen but the graundee to convey their cannon at so easy an expence from place to place, the whole world would not stand before us. They brought me five cannon, and three swivel guns, and a larger quantity of ammunition than I had spoken for.

I introduced Nasgig to the king upon his return, as the person to whose conduct the safe arrival of my cannon was owing. His majesty embracing him, told him the service he had done him was so great in the affair of Barbarsa, and his management of it so prudent, he should from thenceforth take him into his peculiar confidence and esteem.

Nasgig thanked his majesty for his acceptance of that act of his duty, and desired to know when he pleased the operations for the campaign should begin.—Ask my father, says the king: do you conduct the war, and let him conduct you.

Then Nasgig desired to know what number of troops would be requisite. I asked him what number the enemy had: he said, about thirty thousand.—Then, says I, take you six only, besides the bearers of me and the artillery; and pick me out fifty of the best men you have, as a guard for my person, and send them to me.

I showed these men my cutlasses and pistols, and showed them the use and management of them: And, says I, as our enemies fight with pikes, keep you at a distance first, and when you would assault, toss by the pike with your hand, and closing in, have at the graundee; and this edge, (showing them the sharpness of it) will strip it down from shoulder to heel; you need strike but once for it, but be sure come near enough; or, says I, if you find it difficult to turn aside the pike, give it one smart stroke with this, it will cut it in two, and then the point being gone, it will be useless.

These instructions, says I, if rightly observed, will make us conquerors.

The next thing was to settle the order of my march, which I did in the following manner; and, taking leave of the king, I set out.

First, Ten companies of one hundred men, including officers, with each a gripsack, in ten double lines, fifty abreast.

Secondly, Four hundred bearers of the cannon, with two hundred to the right, the like to the left, as relays.

Thirdly, Two hundred men with the ammunition, stores, hatchets, and other implements.

Fourthly, Fifty body-guards, in two lines.

Fifthly, Myself, borne by eight, with twelve on the right, and as many on the left, for relays.

Sixthly, Two thousand men in columns, on each side the cannon and me, fifty in a line, double lines.

Seventhly, One thousand men in the rear, fifty in a line, double lines.

I consulted with Nasgig, how Harlokin's army lay, that I might avoid the revolted towns, rather chusing to take them in my return; for my design was to encounter Har-

lokin first, and I did not doubt if I conquered him, but the towns would surrender of course.

When we arrived within a small flight of his army, I caused a halt at a proper place for my cannon, and having pitched them, which I did by several flat stones, one on another to a proper elevation, I loaded them, and also my small arms, consisting of six muskets, and three brace of pistols and placing my army, two thousand just behind me, two thousand to my right, and the same number to my left; I gave a strict command for none of them to stir forwards without orders, which Nasgig, who stood just behind me, was to give. I then sent a defiance to Harlokin by a gripsack, who sent me word he fought for a kingdom, and would accept it; and, as I heard afterwards, he was glad I did; for since the intelligence I had scattered in his army, they had in great numbers deserted him, and he was afraid it would have proved general. I then putting the end of a match into a pistol pan with a little powder, by flashing, lighted it; and this I put under my chair, for I sat in that, with my muskets three on each side, a pistol in my right hand, and five more in my girdle. In this manner I waited Harlokin's coming, and in about an hour we saw the van of his army, consisting of about five thousand men, who flew in five layers, one over another. I had not loaded my cannon with ball, but small sized stones, about sixty in each; and seeing the length of their line, I spread my cannons mouths somewhat wider than their breeches, and then taking my observation by a bright star, for there was a clear dawn all round the horizon, I observed, as I retired to my chair, how that star answered to the elevation of my cannon; and when the foremost ranks, who, not seeing my men stir, were approaching almost over me to fall on them, and had come to my pitch, I fired two pieces of my ordnance at once, and so mauled them, that there dropped about ninety upon the first discharge, together with their commander; the rest, being in flight, and so close together, not being able to turn fast enough to fly, being stopped by those behind them, not only hindered those behind from turning about, but clogged up their own passage. Seeing them in such a prodigious cluster, I so successfully fired two more pieces, that I brought down double the number of the first shot; and then giving the word to fall on, my cutlass-guard and the pikemen did prodigious execution. But fearing the main body should advance before we had got in order again, I commanded them to fall back to their former stations, and to let the remainder of the enemy go off.

This did me more good in the event, than if I had killed twice as many; for they not only never returned themselves, but flying some to the right, some to the left, and passing by the two wings of their own army, consisting of six thousand men each, they severally reported, that they were all that was left of the whole van of the army; and that the prediction would certainly be fulfilled, for that their companions had died by fire and smoke. This report struck such terror into each wing, that every one shifted for himself, and never appeared more.

The main battle, consisting of about ten thousand men, knowing nothing of what had happened to the wings, (for Harlokin had ordered the wings to take a great compass round to enclose us) hearing we were but a handful, advanced boldly; and as I had ordered my men not to mount too high, the enemy sunk to their pitch. When they came nearer, I asked Nasgig who led them, if it was Harlokin. He told me no, his general, but that he was behind; and Nasgig, begging me to let him try his skill with the general, I consented, they not being yet come to the pitch of my cannon. Nasgig immediately took the graundee, and advancing singly with one of my cutlasses in his hand, challenged the general in single combat. He, like a man of honour, accepting it, ordered a halt, and to it they went, each emulous of glory, and of taking all the advantage he could, so that they suddenly did not strike or push; but sometimes one, then the other, was uppermost, and whirling expeditiously round, met almost breast to breast; when the general, who had not a pike, but a pike staff, headed with a large stone, gave Nasgig such a stroke on his head, that he reeled and sunk considerably; and I began to be in pain for him, the general lowering after him. But Nasgig springing forward beneath him, and rising light as air behind the general, had gained his height again before the general could turn about to discern him, and then plunging forward, and receiving a stroke across his left arm, at the same time he gave the general such a blow near the outside of the shoulder, as slit the graundee almost down to his hip, and took away part of the flesh of the left arm, upon which the general fell fluttering down in vast pain very near me; but not before Nasgig, in his fall, descending, had taken another severe cut at him.

Immediately upon this defeat, Nasgig again took his place behind me, our army shouting to the skies; but no sooner had the general dropt, but on came Harlokin, with majesty and terror mixt in his looks; and seeming to disdain the air he rode on, waved his men to the attack with his hand. When he came near enough to hear me, I called him vile

traitor, to oppose the army of his lawful sovereign, telling him, if he would submit, he should be received to mercy.—Base creeping insect! says Harlokin, if thou hast aught to say to me worth hearing, meet me in the air. This hand shall show thee soon who'll most want mercy: and though I scorn to stoop to thee myself, this messenger shall satisfy the world thou art an impostor, and send thee lifeless back to the fond king that sent thee hither.—With that he hurled a javelin pointed with flint, sharp as a needle, at me; but I avoiding it, This, then, says I, if words will not do, shall justify the truth of our prediction. And then levelling a musket at him, I shot him through the very heart, that he fell dead within twenty paces of me; but perceiving another to take his room, notwithstanding the confusion my musket made amongst them, I ran to my match, and giving fire to two more pieces of ordnance at the same time, they fell so thick about me, that I had enough to do to escape being crushed to death by them; and the living remainder separating, fled quite away, and put an end to the war. I waited in the field three days, to see if they would make head again; but they were so far from it, that before I could return, as I found afterwards, most of the revolting provinces had sent their deputies, who themselves carried the first news of the defeat, to beg to be received into mercy; all of whom were detained there till my return with Harlokin's head.

At my return to Brandleguarp, I was met by the king, the colambs, and almost the whole body of the people; every man, woman, and child, with two sweecoe lights in their hands; which unusual sight in the air gave me great alarm, till I inquired of Nasgig what it meant, who told me it must certainly be a sweecoan, or he knew not what it was. I asking again what he meant by that, he told me it was a particular method of rejoicing he had heard of, but never seen; wherein, if the king goes in triumph, all the people of Brandleguarp, from fifteen to sixty, are obliged to attend him with sweecoes. He said, it was reported amongst them, that in Begsurbeck's time there were two of them, but there had been none since.

When we met them, I perceived they had opened into two lines or ranks of a prodigious length; at the farther end of which was the king with innumerable lights about him; the whole looking like a prodigious avenue or vista of lights, bounded at the farther end, where the king was, with a pyramid light. This had the most solemn and magnificent effect on the eye, that any thing of light could possibly have; but as we passed through the ranks, each of the spectators having two lights, one was given to each soldier of the whole army. And then to look backward, as well as forward, the beauty of the scene was inexpressible. We marched all the way amidst the shouts of people, and the sounds of the grigsacks, going very slowly between the ranks; and at length arriving at the pyramid, where the king was, I heard abundance of sweet voices, chaunting my actions in triumphal songs: but I could take little notice of these, or of my son with his flagelet amongst them, for the extravagant appearance of the pyramid, which seemed to reach the very sky. For, first, there was a long line of a full half mile, which hovered at even height with the two side ranks; in the centre of that, and over it, was the king single; over him, another line, shorter than the first, and again over that, shorter and shorter lines; till, at a prodigious height, it ended in one single light. These all hovering, kept their stations; while the king darted a little space forward to meet me, and congratulate my success; then turning, and preceding me, the whole pyramid turned, and marched before us, singing all the way, to the city; the pyramid changing several times into divers forms, as into square, half-moons, with the horns sometimes erect, and again reversed, and various other figures; and yet amongst this infinite number of globes, there was not the least glaring or offensive light; but only what was agreeable to the people themselves. As the rear of the army entered the lines, they closed upon it, and followed us into Brandleguarp. While we passed the city to the palace, the whole body of people kept hovering, till the king and myself were alighted; and then every one alighted where he best could. All the streets and avenues to the palace were blocked up with people, crowding to receive the king's beneficence; for he had proclaimed a feast, and open house-keeping to the people for six days. The king, the colambs, ragos, and great officers of state, with myself, had a magnificent entertainment prepared us in Begsurbeck's great room; and his majesty, after supper, being very impatient to know how the battle went, I told him, the only valorous exploit was performed by my friend Nasgig, who opened the way to victory, by the slaughter of Harlokin's general. Nasgig then rose, desiring only that so much might be attributed to him, as fortune had accidentally thrown into his scale; for it might have been equally his fate, as the general's, to have fallen: But except that skirmish, says he, and some flying cuts at the van, we have had no engagement at all, nor have we lost a single man; Peter only sitting in his chair, and commanding victory: he spake aloud but thrice, and whispered once to them; but so powerfully, that

having at the two first words laid above three hundred of the enemy at their lengths, and brought Harlokin to his feet, with a whisper, at the third word he concluded the war. The whole time, from the first sight of the enemy to their total defeat, took not up more space than one might fairly spend in traversing his majesty's garden. In short, sir, says Nasgig, your majesty needs no other defence against public or private enemies, as I can see, than Peter; and my profession, whilst he is with us, can be of little use to the state.

After these compliments from Nasgig, and separate ones from the king, and the rest, I told them, it was the highest felicity to me to be made an instrument by the great Collwar, in freeing so mighty a kingdom and considerable a people from the misery of a tyrannical power. You live, says I, so happily, under the mild government of Georigetti, that it is shocking but to think into what a distressed state you must have fallen under the power of an usurper, who, claiming all as his own by way of conquest, would have reduced you to a miserable servitude. But, says I, there is, and I am sorry to see it, still amongst you, an evil that you great ones feel not, and yet it cries for redress. Are we not all, from the king to the meanest wretch amongst us, formed with the same members? Do we not all breathe the same air? inhabit the same earth? Are we not all subject to the same disorders? and do we not all feel pain and oppression alike? Have we not all the same senses, the same faculties? and, in short, are we not all equally creatures of, and servants to, the same master, the great Collwar? Would not the king have been a slave, but for the accident of being begotten by one who was a king? and would not the poorest creature amongst us have been the king had he been so begotten? Did you great men, by any superior merit before your births, procure a title to the high stations in which you are placed? No, you did not. Therefore give me leave to tell you what I would have done. As every man has equal right to the protection of Collwar, why, when you have no enemy to distress you, will you distress one another? Consider, you great ones, and act upon this disinterested principle; do to another, what you, in his place, would have him do to you: dismiss your slaves, let all men be what Collwar made them, free. But if this unequal distinction amongst you, of man and man, is still retained, though you are at present free from the late disaster, it shall be succeeded with more, and heavier. And now, that you may know I would not have every man a lord, nor every one a beggar, remember, I would only have every serving-man at liberty to chuse his own master, and every master his own man: for he that has property and benefits to bestow, will never want dependants, for the sake of those benefits to serve him, as he that has them not must serve for the sake of obtaining them. But then let it be done with free-will; he that then serves you will have an interest in it, and do it, for his own sake, with a willing mind; and you, who are served, will be tenderer and kinder to a good servant, as knowing by a contrary usage you shall lose him. I desire this may now be declared to be so, or your reasons, if any there are, against it.

One of the ragans said, he thought I spoke what was very just, and would be highly acceptable to Collwar.

Then two of the colambs rose to speak together, and after a short compliment who should begin, they both declared they only arose to testify their consents.

The king referring it to me, and the colambs consenting, I ordered freedom to be proclaimed through the city; so that every one appeared at their usual duties, to serve their own masters for a month, and then to be at liberty to come to a fresh agreement with them, or who else they pleased.

This, sir, says I, to the king, will now be a day of joy indeed, to those poor hearts who would have been in no fear of losing before, let who would have reigned; for can any man believe a slave cares who is uppermost? he is but a slave still. But now, says I, those who were so before, may by industry gain property; and then their own interest engages them to defend the state.

There is but one thing more I will trouble you with now—and that, says I to the ragans, is, that we all meet at the mouch to-morrow, to render Collwar thanks for the late, and implore future, favour. And this passed without any contradiction.

When we met, the poor ragans were at a great loss for want of their image, not knowing what to do or say: for their practice had been to prostrate themselves on the ground, making several odd gestures; but whether they prayed, or only seemed to do so, no one knew.

While the people were gathering, I called to a ragan, seeing him out of character. Suppose, said I, (for I see you want your image) you and your brethren had received a favour of the king, and you was deputed by them to thank him, you would scarce be at a loss to express your gratitude to him, and tell him how highly you all esteemed his benefits, hoping you should retain a just sense of them, and behave yourselves as dutiful subjects for the future; and then desire him to keep you still in his protection. And this, says I, as you believe in such a Being as Collwar, who un-

derstands what you say, you may with equal courage do to him, keeping but your mind intent upon him, as if you saw him present.—Indeed, says he, I believe you are right; we may so: but it is a new thing, and you must excuse us if we do it not so well at first.

I found I had a very apt scholar, for after he had began, he made a most extraordinary prayer in regular order, the people standing very attentive. It was not long, but he justly observed the points I hinted to him.

When he had done, another and another went on, till we had heard ten of them, and in every one something new, and very *a-propos*; and several of them afterwards confessed, they never had the like satisfaction in their lives, for they had new hearts and new thoughts, they said.

We spent the sixth day feast in every gaiety imaginable, and especially in dancing, of which they were very fond, in their way; but it was not so agreeable to me as my own country way, there being too much antic in it. New deputies daily arrived from the revolted towns; and several little republics, not claimed by Georigetti before, begged to be taken under his protection; so that in one week, the king saw himself, not only released from the dread of being driven from his throne, but courted by some, submitted to by others, and almost at the summit of glory a sovereign can attain to.

## CHAP. XLIV.

*A Visitation of the revolted Provinces proposed by Peter—His new Name of the Country received—Religion settled in the West—Slavery abolished there—Lasmeel returns with Peter—Peter teaches him Letters—The King surprised at written Correspondence—Peter describes the Make of a Beast to the King.*

The festival being over, the colambs begged leave to depart; but the king, who now did nothing without me, consulted with me, if it was yet proper. I told him, as things had so long been in confusion in the west, that though the provinces had made their submission, yet the necessity of their circumstances, and the general terror, might have caused them only to dissemble till their affairs were composed again; and that as it was more than probable some relations of the deceased Harlokin, or other popular person, might engage them again in another revolt, I thought it would not be improper to advise with his colambs about the establishment of the present tranquillity, and not, by too great a security, give way to future commotions; and as all the colambs were then present, it might be proper to summon them once more.

When they were met, the king declared the more particular satisfaction he took in that meeting than he had heretofore done, when they had been put to it for means to secure their lives and properties: For now, says he, our deliberations must turn upon securing our new acquisitions, and on settling those provinces which, till now, have never fallen under my power. But, says he, I shall refer it to Peter to propose to you what at present seems most necessary for you to consider of; and, that adjusted, shall dismiss you.

I told them, that as the too sudden healing of wounds in the body natural, before the bottom was clean and uncorrupt, made them liable to break out again with greater malignity, so wounds in the body political, if skinned over only, without probing and cleansing the source and spring from whence they arose, would rankle and fret within, till a proper opportunity, and then burst forth again with redoubled violence. I would therefore propose a visitation of the several provinces; an inquiry into their conduct; an examination into the lives and principles of the colambs, the inferior officers, and magistrates; and either to retain the old, or appoint new, as there should be occasion. This visitation I would have performed by his majesty—and so many of you, the honourable colambs, as I, as he shall see fit should attend him in royal state, that his new subjects may see his majesty, and hear his most gracious words; and being sensible of his good disposition towards them, may be won, by his equity and justice, to a zealous submission to his government, which nothing but the perception of their own senses can establish in the heart. This, I don't doubt, will answer the end I propose, and consolidate the peace and happiness of Norm—Normns—I must say Doorpt Swangeanti.

Hearing me hesitate at the word Normdbsgrsutt, and call it Doorpt Swangeanti, the whole assembly rang with Doorpt Swangeanti! and, at last, came to a resolution that the west being now again united to the east, the whole dominions should be called for Doorpt Swangeanti, or the Great Flight Land.

They approved the visitation, and all offered to go with the king, but insisted I should be of the party; which agreeing to do, I drew me out two of the most knowing natives, to teach the new religion amongst them; for in every project I had my view to advance religion.

Some were for having the deputies released, and dispatched with notice of the king's intentions; but I objecting, that they might

durelish their confinement, and possibly raise reports prejudicial to our proceedings, it was thought better to take them with us, and go ourselves as soon as possible.

We set out with a prodigious retinue, first to the right, in order to sweep round the whole country, and take all the towns in our way, and occasionally enter the middle parts, as the towns lay commodious.

We were met by the magistrates and chief officers of each district, at some distance from each city, with strings about their necks, and the crasbee instrument borne before them in much humility. His majesty said but little to them on the way, but ordered them to precede him to the city, and conduct him to the colamb's house; when he was commanded to surrender his employment to his majesty, as did all the other officers who held posts under him. Then an examination was taken of their lives, characters, and behaviour in their stations; and finding most of them had behaved well to the government they had lived under, (for their plea was, they had found things under an usurpation, and being so, that government was natural to them, having singly no power to alter it;) upon their perfect submission to the king, and solemn engagement to advance and maintain his right, they received their commissions anew from his majesty's own mouth. But where any one had been cruel or oppressive to the subjects, or committed any notorious crime, or breach of trust, (for the meanest persons had liberty to complain) he was rejected, and for the most part sent to Crashdoorpt, to prevent the ill effects of his disgrace.

We having displaced but five colambs, and a few inferior officers, the moderation and justice of our proceedings gave the utmost satisfaction both to the magistrates and people.

Having observed at Brandleguarp abundance of the small images my wife had spoken of, and thinking this a proper opportunity to show my resentment against them, I ordered several of the ragans of the west before me, and asked what small images they had amongst them. One, who spoke for the rest, told me, very few, he believed; for he had scarce had any brought to him to be blessed.—Where, says I, is your Great Image? He told me, At Youk.—And have not the people here many small ones?—Very few, says he; for they have not been forced upon us long.—How, forced upon you! says I; don't the people worship them?—A small number now do, says he.—Pray speak out, says I. When might you not worship them?—Never, that I know of, says he, in our state, till about ten years ago, when Harlokin obliged us to it.—What, did you not worship them before? says I.—No, says he, never since it has been a separate kingdom; for we would follow the old ragan's advice of worshipping Collwar, which they not admitting of, the state was divided between us who would, and them who would not, come into the ragan's doctrine: and though Harlokin was a zealous image-worshipper, yet all he could do, would not bring the people heartily into it, for Collwar never wanted a great majority. This pleased me prodigiously, being what was never hinted to me before; and I resolved not to let my scheme be a loser by it.

As we were to visit Youk in about eight days, I summoned the ragans and people to meet at the mouch; there recounting the great things done by Collwar in all nations. This I could make appear, says I, by many examples; but as you have one even at your own towns, I need go no farther.

I must begin in ancient times, when, I presume, you all worshipped an idol; have you any tradition before this?—They said, No.—This image, says I, was worshipped in Begsurbeck's days, when an old ragan, whose mind Collwar had enlightened with the truth, would have withdrawn your reverence from the image, to the original Collwar himself; you would not consent; he threatens you, but promises success to Begsurbeck, who did consent; and he had it to an old age. Then those who would also consent, were so far encouraged as to be able to form an independent kingdom. Could nobody yet see the cause? was it not apparent Collwar was angry with the east, that would not follow the old ragan, and cherished the west, who would? But, to be short, let us apply the present instance, and sure it will convince us who is right, who wrong.

So long as the west followed Collwar, they flourished, and the east declined; but no sooner had the west degenerated under the command of Harlokin, and the east by my means had embraced Collwar, but the tables were turned: the east is found weighty, and the west kicks the beam. These things whoso sees not, is blind indeed: therefore let publication be made, for the destruction of all small images, and let the harbourers of them, contrary to this order, be slit; and for myself, I will destroy this mother-monster. Take you, holy ragans, care to destroy the brood. And having said this, I hacked the new idol to pieces.

I ordered proclamation for abolishing slavery, under the restrictions used at Brandleguarp: and thus having composed the west, and given a general satisfaction, we returned, almost the whole west accompanying us, till

the east received us; and never was so happy an union, or more present to testify it, since the creation, I believe.

I ordered several of the principal men's sons to court, in order for employments, and to furnish our future colambs; and this I did, as knowing each country would rather approve of a member of their own body for their head, than a stranger; and, in my opinion, it is the most natural union. And then breeding them under the eye of the king eight or ten years, or more, they are, as it were, naturalized to him too, and in better capacity to serve both king and country.

As my head was constantly at work for the good of this people, I turned the most trifling incidents into some use or other; and made the narrowest prospects extend to the vastest distances. I shall here instance in one only. There was at Youk a private man's son, whom by mere accident I happened to ask some slight question of; and he giving me, with a profound respect and graceful assurance, a most pertinent answer; that, and the manner of its delivery, gave me a pleasure, which upon farther discourse with him, was, contrary to custom, very much increased; for I found in him an extensive genius, and a desire for my conversation. I desired his father to put him under my care, which the old man, as I was then in so great repute, readily agreed to; and his son desiring nothing more, I took him with me to Brandleguarp. I soon procured him a pretty post but of small duty, for I had purposed other employment for him, but of sufficient significancy to procure him respect. I took great delight in talking with him on different subjects, and observed by his questions upon them, which often puzzled me, or his answers to them, he had a most pregnant fancy and surprizing solidity, joined to a continual and unwearied application. I frequently mentioning books, writing, and letters to him, and telling him what great things might be attained that way; his inquisitive temper, and the schemes he had formed thereon, put me upon thinking of several things I should never have hit upon without him. I considered all the ways I could contrive to teach him letters; and letting him into my design, he asked me how I did to make a letter. I described a pen to him, and told him I put a black liquor into it, and as I drew that along upon a flat white thing we made use of, called paper, it would make marks which way ever I drew it, into what shape I pleased.—Why then, says he, any thing that will make a mark upon another thing as I please, will do.—True, says I, but what shall we get that will make a black mark?—We were entering farther into this debate; but the king sending for me, I left him unsatisfied. I stayed late with the king that night, so did not see Lasmeel (for that was his name) till next night, wondering what was become of him. I asked him then where he had been all the day. He told me he had been looking for a pen and paper. I laughed, and asked him if he had found them.—Yes, says he, or something that will do as well: so he opened one side of his grandee, and showed me a large flat leaf, smooth and pulpy, very long and wide, and about a quarter of an inch thick, almost like an Indian fig-leaf.—And what am I to do with this? says I.—To mark it, says he, and see what you mark.—With what? says I.—With this, says he, putting his hand again into his grandee, and taking out three or four strong sharp prickles. I looked at them both; and, clapping him on the head, Lasmeel, says I, if you and I were in England, you should be made a privy-counsellor.—What, won't it do then? says he.—I told him we would try.—I thought, says he, it would have done very well; for I marked one all about, and though I could not see much at first, by that time I had made an end, that I did first was quite of a different colour from the leaf, and I could see it as plain as could be. I told him, as he was of an age to comprehend what I meant, I would take another method with him than with a child; so I reasoned from sentences backwards to words, and from them to syllables, and so on to letters. I then made out the vowel A, told him its sound, and added a consonant to it, and told him that part of the sound of each distinct letter put together, as the two letters themselves were, made another sound, which I called a syllable; and that joining two or more of them together, made a word, by putting the same letters together as made the sounds of those syllables which made that word. Then setting him a copy of letters, which with very little difficulty were to be drawn upon the leaf, and telling him their sounds, I left him to himself; and when he had done, though I named them but twice over, his memory was so strong as to retain the sounds, as he called them, of every one but F, L, and Q.

In two months time I made him master of any thing I wrote to him; and, as he delighted in it, he wrote a great deal himself; so that we kept an epistolary correspondence, and he would set down all the common occurences of the day, as what he heard and saw, with his remarks on divers things.

One day, as the king and I were walking in the gardens, and talking of the customs of my country, and about our wars, telling him how our soldiers fought on horseback, the king could not conceive what I meant by a horse. I told him my wife had said there

were neither beasts nor fishes in the country; which I was very much surprised at, considering how we abounded with both; And therefore, says I, to tell your majesty that an horse is a creature with four legs, you must naturally believe it to be somewhat like a man with four legs.—Why, truly, says he, I believe it is; but has it the graundee? I could not forbear smiling, even at his majesty, and wanted to find some similitude to compare it to, to carry the king's mind that way; for else he would sooner, I thought, conceive it like a tree or a mountain, than what it really was; and as I was musing, it came into my head I had given Lasmeel a small print of an horse, which I found in one of the captain's pockets at Graundevolet, and believing it to be the stamp of a tobacco-paper, had kept it to please the children with: so I told the king I believed I could show him the figure of an horse. He told me it would much oblige him.

Seeing several of the guards waiting at the garden-arch, I looked, and at last found one of Lasmeel's leaves in the garden, and cutting one of them up with my knife, I took the point of that, and wrote to Lasmeel to send me by the bearer the picture of an horse I gave him, that I might show it the king. And calling one of the guards, Carry that to Lasmeel, says I; he is, I believe, in my apartment, and bring me an answer directly. Then falling into discourse again with the king, and presently turning at the end of the walk, I saw the same guard again. Says I, You cannot have brought me an answer already.—You have not told me, says he, what to bring you an answer to.—Nor shall I, says I, do as you are bid; for I perceived then what the fellow stuck at. He walked off with the leaf, but very discontentedly. The king said he wondered how I could act such a contradiction. This, father, says he, is not what I expected from you; to order a man to bring an answer, without giving him a message. I desired his patience only till the man came back. Presently, says the king, here he comes!—Well, says he, what answer?—Sir, says the fellow, I have only had the walk for my pains; for he sent it back again, and a little white thing with it.—Ha, ha! says the king, I thought so.—Come, father, own you have once been in the wrong; for I am sure you intended to give him a message, but having forgot it, would not submit to be told of your mistake by a guard.—I looked very grave, reading what Lasmeel had wrote; which was to tell me he had obeyed my orders by sending the horse, for he was just then drawing it out upon a leaf.

Come, come, says the king, give the man his message, father, and let him go again.—Sir, says I, there is no need of that, he has punctually obeyed me; and Lasmeel was then at the table in my oval chamber with a leaf, and this picture in my hand, before him.

The king was ready to sink when I said so, and showed the print. Truly, father, says he, I have been to blame to question you; for though these things are above my comprehension, I am not to think any thing beyond your skill. I made no reply to it; but showing the king the picture, the guard sneaked off, and glad he was, I believe, he could do so.

I went then upon the explanation of my horse; and, answering fifty questions about him, at last he asked what his inside was; exactly the same as your majesty's, said I.—And can he eat and breathe too? says he.—Just as you can, says I.—Well, says he, I would never have believed there had been such a creature: what would I give for one of them!—I set forth the divers other uses we put them to, besides the wars; and by the picture, with some supposed alterations, I described a cow, a sheep, and numberless other quadrupeds; my account of which gave him great pleasure.

## CHAP. XLV.

*Peter sends for his Family—A rising of former Slaves on that account—Takes a View of the City—Description of it, and of the Country—Hot and cold Springs.*

HAVING now some leisure time on my hands to consider over my own affairs, I had thoughts of transporting my family, with all my effects, to Sass Doorpt Swangeanti; but yet had no mind to relinquish all thought of my ship and cargo; for the greatest part of this was still remaining, I having had but the pickings through the gulph. I once had a mind to have gone myself; but considering the immense distance over sea, though I had once come safe, I thought I ought not to tempt Providence, where my presence was not absolutely necessary.

Nasgig, to whose care and conduct any enterprize might be trusted, offered his service to go and execute any commands I should give him. His only difficulty, he said, was, that it would be impossible for him to remember the different names of many things, which he had no idea of, to convey the knowledge of them to his mind when he saw them; but barring that, he doubted not to give me satisfaction. I told him I would send an assistant with him, who could remember whatever I once told him; and that I might not burden his memory with names only, Lasmeel

should carry his memory with him; and that he, Nasgig, should only have the executive part.

Lasmeel, who had sat waiting an opportunity to put in for a share in the adventure, having a longing desire to see the ship, told Nasgig he had a peculiar art of memory, so as to remember whatever he would as long as he pleased; and that if he carried that with him, they need fear no mistakes.

The king having granted me as many of his guards as I pleased, for the carriage of my things, we appointed them to be ready on the fourth day; when Nasgig and Lasmeel set out with them.

I ordered Lasmeel, however, to be with me the next morning, that we might set down proper instructions; which I told him would be very long, and that he must bring a good number of leaves with him.

When Lasmeel entered my chamber next morning, he informed me that the whole city was in an uproar, especially those who had been freed by me. What! says I, have they so soon forgot their subjection, to misapply their liberty already? But step and bring me word what's the matter, and order some of the ringleaders hither to me.

Lasmeel upon inquiry found, that it had been given out I was going to leave the country, and they all said, wherever I went they were determined to go and settle with me; for if I left them, they should be reduced to slavery again. However, he brought some of them to me, and upon my telling them I thanked them for their affection to me, but blamed them for showing it in so tumultuous a manner, and that I was so far from intending to leave them, that I was sending for my family and effects, in order to settle amongst them, they rejoiced very much, and told me they would carry the good news to their companions, and disperse immediately; but I was now in more perplexity than before, for they having signified my designs to the rest, they rushed into the gallery in such numbers, that they forced up to my very chamber. I told them this was an unprecedented manner of using a person they pretended a kindness for, and told them, if they made use of such risings to express their gratitude to me, it would be the direct means to oblige me to leave them: For, says I, do you think I can be safe in a kingdom where greater deference is paid to me, than to the crown? They begged my pardon, they said, and would obey me in any thing; but the present trouble was only to offer their services to fetch my family and goods, or to do any thing else I should want them for; and if I would favour them in that, they would retire directly. I told them, when I had considered of it they shall hear from me; and this again quieted them.

This disturbance not only took up much of my time, which I could have better employed, but put me to a non-plus, how to come off with them; till I sent Maleck to tell them, though I set a great value upon their esteem, yet after what had passed, it would be the most unadvisable thing in nature for me to accept their kindness; for having before requested a body of men of the king, as he had graciously granted them, it would be preferring them to the king, should I now relinquish his grant, and make use of their offer; and after this I heard no more of it.

I had scarce met with a more difficult task than to fix exact rules for the conduct of my present undertaking, there being so many things to be expressed, wherein the least perplexity arising, might have caused both delay and damage; for I was not only timed to set down the things I would have brought, but the manner and method of packing and securing them; but as Lasmeel could read my writing to Pedro at home, and Yourkee on board, it would be a means, though far from an expeditious one, of bringing matters into some order; and after I had done, as I thought, I could have enumerated many more things, and was obliged to add an *cætera* to the end of my catalogue; and when they were ready for flight, I added divers other particulars and circumstances. For when they were even upon the grounds, I recollected the most material thing of all, for my greatest concern was, having locked up so many of my chests, to find packing for the things; I say, even so late as that, I thought me of the several great waterbutts I had on board, that would hold an infinite number of small things, and would be filled easily; so I stopped them, and set about that; and they were no sooner out of sight and hearing, but remembering twenty more, I was then forced to trust them to my *cætera*.

I had sent my own flying-chair to bring the boys who had not the grandees, with orders for Pedro to sit tied in the chair, with Jacky tied in his arms; Jemmy to sit tied on a board before the chair, and David behind; so I hoped they would come safe enough, and then my wife and Sally were able to fly themselves.

Having dispatched my caravan, and being all alone, I called Quilly the next morning, and telling him I had thoughts of viewing the country, I bade him prepare to go with me.

I had now been here above six months, and yet upon coming to walk gravely about the city, I found myself as much a stranger to

knowledge of the place as if that had been the first day of my arrival, though I had been over it several times in my chair.

This city is not only one of, but actually the most curious piece of work in the world, and consists of one immense entire stone of a considerable height, and it may be seven miles in length, and near as broad as it is long. The streets, and habitable part of it, are scooped, as it were, out of the solid stone, to the level with the rest of the country, very flat and smooth at bottom, the rock rising perpendicular from the streets on each side. The figure of the city is a direct square; each side about six miles long, with a large open circle in the centre of the square, about a mile in diameter; and from each of the sides of the outer streets to the opposite side runs another street, cutting the centre of the circle.

Along the whole face of the rock, bounding the streets and the circle, there are archways; those in the circle, and the four cross streets, for the gentry and better people; and those in the outer streets, for the meaner; and it is as easy to know as by a sign, where a great man lives, by the grandeur of his entrance, and lavish distribution of the pillars, carving, and statues, about his portico, within and without: for as they have no doors, you may look in, and are not forbid entrance; and though it should look odd to an English reader, that an Englishman should speak with pleasure of a land of darkness, as that almost was, yet I am satisfied, whoever shall see it after me, will be persuaded, that for the real grandeur of their entrances, and for the magnificence of the apartments and sculpture, no part of the universe can produce the like; and though within doors there is no other manner of light than the sweecoes, yet that, when you are once used to it, is so agreeable and free from all noisome savour, that I never once regretted the loss of the sun within doors, though I often have when abroad; but then that would be injurious to the proper inhabitants, though they can no more see in total darkness than myself.

I have been over some of these private houses, which contain, it may be, thirty rooms, great and small, some higher, some lower, full of sweecoe-lights, and extremely well proportioned and beautiful.

The king's palace, with all the apartments, stands in, and takes up, one full fourth-part of the square of the whole city; and is, indeed, of itself a perfect city.

There is no great man's house without two or more long galleries, for the ladies to divert themselves at divers sports in; particularly at one like our bowls on a bowling green, and at somewhat like nine-holes, at which they play for wines, and drink a great deal, for none of them will intoxicate.

In my walk and survey of the city, one of the columbs being making a house to reside in when at Brandleguarp, I had the curiosity to go in. I saw there abundance of botts stand filled with a greenish liquor, and asked Quilly what that was. He said, it was what the stone-men used in making the houses. I proceeded farther in, where I saw several men at work, and stayed a good while to observe them. Each man had a bott of this liquor in his left-hand, and stood before a large bank of stone, it may be thirty feet high, reaching forward up to the cieling of the place, and ascending by steps from bottom to top; the workmen standing some on one step, some on another, pouring on this liquor with their left hands, and with their right holding a wooden tool, shaped like a little spade: I observed wherever they poured on this water, a smoke arose for a little space of time, and then the place turned white, which was scraped off like fine powder with the spade-handle; and then pouring new liquor, he scraped again, working all the while by sweecoe-lights.

Having my watch in my pocket, I measured a spot of a yard long, about a foot high, and a foot and a half on the upper flat, to see how long he would be fetching down that piece; and he got it away in little above two hours. By this means I came to know how they made their houses; for I had neither seen any tool I thought proper, nor even iron itself, except my own, since I came into the country. Upon inquiry, I found that the scrapings of this stone, and a portion of common earth, mixed with a water they have, will cement like plaster; and they use it in the small ornamental work of their buildings. I then went farther into this house, where I saw one making the figure of a glumm by the same method; but it standing upright in the solid rock against the wall, the workman held his liquor in an open shell, and dipping such stuff as my bed was made of bound up in short rolls, some larger, some less, into the liquor, he touched the figure, and then scraped till he had reduced it into a perfect piece.

It is impossible to imagine how this work rids away; for in ten months time after I saw it, this house was completed, having a great number of fine, large, and lofty rooms in it, exquisitely carved to all appearance.

My wonder ceased as to the palace, when I saw how easily this work was done; but sure there is no other such room in the world as Begsurbeck's, that I described above.

The palace, as I said before, taking up one quarter of the city, opens into four streets by

four different arches; and before one of the sides, which I call the front, is a large triangle, formed by the entrance out of one of the cross streets, and the two ends of the front of the palace. Along the lower front of it, all the way runs a piazza of considerable height, supported by vast round columns, which seemed to bear up the whole front of the rock; over which was a gallery of equal length, with balustrades along it, supported with pillars of a yet finer make; and over that a pediment with divers figures, and other work, to the top of the rock; which being there quite even for its whole length, was enclosed with balustrades between pedestals all the way, on which stood the statues of their ancient kings, so large as to appear equal to the life. The other two sides of the triangle were dwellings for divers officers belonging to the palace. Under the middle arch of the piazza, was the way into the palace, through a long, spacious arched passage, whose farther end opened into a large square: on each side of this passage were large stair-cases, if I may so call them, by which you ascend gradually, and without steps, into the upper apartments.

The next morning we took another walk, for I told Quilly I had a mind to take a prospect of the country; we then went out at the back arch of the palace, as we had the day before at one of the sides, there being a like passage through the rock from that we went out at, to an opposite arch leading into the garden. I say, we went out at the back arch, and after passing a large quadrangle with lodgings all round it, we ascended through a cut in the rock to a large flat, where we plainly saw the Black Mountain with its top in the very sky, the sides of which afforded numberless trees, though the ground within view afforded very little verdure, or even shrubs. But the most beautiful sight from the rock was, to see the people come home loaded from the mountain, and from the woods, with, it may be, forty pound weight each on their backs; and mounting over the rock, to see them dart along the streets to their several dwellings, over the heads of thousands of others walking in all parts of the streets, while others were flying other ways. It was very pleasant to see a man walking gravely in one street, and as quick as thought to see him over the rock, settled in another, perhaps two miles distant.

The near view of the country seeming so barren, naturally led me to ask Quilly from whence they got provision for so many people as the city contained, which, to be sure, could not be less than three hundred thousand. He told me, that they had nothing but what came from the Great Forest on the skirts of the mountain.—But for the grain of it, and some few outward marks, says I, I could have sworn I had eaten some of my country beef the other day at the king's table.—I don't know what your beef, as you call it, is; but I am sure we have nothing but the fruit of some tree or shrub, that ever I heard of.—I wonder, says I, Quilly, how your cooks dress their victuals. I have seen many things boiled, and otherwise dressed hot, but have seen no rivers, or seas, since I came into this country, except for drinking, or washing my hands; and I don't know where that comes from. And another thing, says I, surprises me, though I see as much sun as we have to warm the air, you are very temperate in the town, and it is seldom cold here; but I neither see fire nor smoke.—We have, says Quilly, several very good springs under the palace, both of hot water and cold; and I don't know what we should do with fires, we see the dread of them sufficiently at Mount Alkoe. Our cooks dress their victuals at the hot springs.—That is a fancy, said I; they cannot boil them there.—I am sure we have no other dressing, says he.—Well, Quilly, says I, we will go home the way you took me of, and to-morrow you shall show me the springs: but, pray, how come you to be so much afraid of Mount Alkoe; I suppose your eyes won't bear the light; is not that all?—No, no, says Quilly, that is the country of bad men; some of us have flown over them accidentally, when the mountain has been cool, as it is sometimes for a good while together, and have heard such noises as would frighten any honest man out of his senses, for there they beat and punish bad men. I could not make much of his story, nor did I inquire farther; for I had before determined, if possible, to get over thither. As we were now come into the garden, I ordered Quilly to get ready my dinner, and I would come presently.

We went next morning to view the springs, and, indeed, it was a sight well worth considering: we were in divers offices under the rock (Quilly carrying two globe-lights before us) in which were springs of very clear water, some of hot, and some of cold, rising within two or three inches of the surface of the floor. We then went into the kitchen, which was bigger than I ever saw one of our churches, and where were a great number of the springs, the hot all boiling full speed day and night, and smoking like a caldron, the water rising through very small chinks in the rock into basons, some bigger, some less; and they had several deep stone jars to [illegible] to boil in. But what was the most [illegible] was, you should see a spring of very cold water within a few feet of one of hot, and they never rise higher or sink lower than they do

I talked with the master cook, an ingenious man, about them; and he told me they lie in this manner all over the rocky part of the country, and that the first thing any one does is looking out for an house, is to see for the water, whether both hot and cold may be found within the compass he designs to make use of; and, finding that, he goes on, or else searches another place. And, he told me, where this convenience was not in great plenty, the people did not inhabit, which made the towns all so very populous. He said, too, that those warm springs made the air more wholesome about the towns than in other parts where there were none of them. I thanked him for his information, which finished my search for that time.

## CHAP. XLVI.

*Peter sends for his Family—Pendlehamby gives a fabulous Account of the Peopling of that Country—Their Policy and Government—Peter's Discourse on Trade—Yowarkee arrives—Invites the King and Nobles to a Treat—Sends to Graundevolet for Fowls.*

The days hanging heavy on my hands till the arrival of my family, I sent Pendlehamby word, that, as I had sent for my family and effects, in order to settle in this country, and expected them very soon, I should be glad of his, my brother, and sister's company, to welcome them on their arrival.

My father came alone, which gave me an opportunity of informing myself in the rise and policy of the state, as I purposed to take several farther steps in their affairs, if they might prove agreeable and consistent: for hitherto, having had only slight sketches or hints of things, I could form no just idea of the whole of their laws, customs, and government. Explaining myself, therefore, to him, I begged his instruction in those particulars.

Son Peter, says my father, you have already done too much in a short time to leave any room to think you can do no more; and as you have hitherto directed your own proceedings with such incredible success, neither the king nor colambs will interpose against your inclination, but give you all the advices in our powers; and I shall esteem your seeking me for that purpose no small honour.

Know, then, that this state, by the tradition of our ragans, has subsisted eleven thousand years; for, before that time, the great mountain Emina, then not far from the Black Mountain, but now fallen and sunk in the sea, roaring and raging in its own bowels for many ages, at last burst asunder with great violence, and threw up numberless unformed fleshy masses to the very stars; two of which happening in their passage to touch the side of the Black Mountain, (for all the rest fell into the sea and were lost) lodged there, and lying close together as they grew, united to each other till they were joined in one; and in process of time, by the dews of Heaven, became a glumm and a gawrey; but being so linked together by the adhesion of their flesh, they were obliged both to move which way either would: living thus a long time in great love and fondness for each other, they had but one inclination, lest both should be sufferers upon the least disagreement.

In process of time they grew tired of each other's constant society, and one willing to go here, and the other there, bred perpetual disorders between them; for prevention whereof, for the future, they agreed to cut themselves asunder with sharp stones. The pain, indeed, was intolerable during the operation; but, however, they effected it, and the wounds each received were very dangerous, and a long time before they were perfectly healed: but at length, sometimes agreeing, sometimes not, they begat a son, whom they called Perigen, and a daughter they called Philella. These two, as they grew up, despising their parents, who lived on the top of the mountain, ventured to descend into the plains, and living upon the fruits they found there, sheltered themselves in this very rock. Mean time, the old glumm and gawrey, having lived to a great age, were so infirm, that neither of them was able to walk for a long time; till one day, being near each other, and trying to rise by the assistance of each other, they both got up, and leaning upon and supporting each other, they also walked commodiously: this mutual assistance kept them in good-humour a great while; till, one day, passing along near hoximo, they both fell in.

Perigen and Philella had several children in the plains; who, as they grew up, increasing, spread into remote parts, and peopled the country: at last, one of them being a very passionate man, at the instigation of his wife, became the first murderer, by slaying his father. This so enraged the people, that the murderer and his wife, in abhorrence of the fact, were conveyed to Mount Alkoe, where was then only a very narrow deep pit, into which they were both thrown headlong; but the persons who carried them thither, had scarce retired from the mouth of the pit, when it burst out with fire, raging prodigiously, and has kept burning ever since. Arco and Telamine (the murderer and his wife) lived seven thousand years in the flames; till having with their teeth wrought a passage through the side of the mountain, they begat a new gene-

ration about the foot of the mountain; and having brought fire with them, resolved to keep it burning ever after in memory of their escape; and power being given them over bad men, they and their progeny are now wholly employed in beating and tormenting them.

A great while after Arco and Telamine were thus disposed of, the people of this country multiplying, it happened one year, that all the fruits were so dry, that the people, not able to live any longer upon the moisture of them only, as they had always done before, and fearing all to be consumed with drought, one of their ragans praying very much, and promising to make an image to Collwar, and preserve it for ever, if he would send them but moisture, in one night's time the earth cast up such a flood, that they were forced to mount on the rocks for fear of drowning: but the next day it all sunk away again, except several little bubbles which remained in many places for a long time, and the people lived only on the moisture they sucked from the stone where those bubbles settled for many years; for they found that the water arose to the height of the surface, and no higher; and where they found most of those chinks and bubbles, they settled, and formed cities, living altogether in holes of the rock; till one Lallio, having found out the art of crumbling the rock to dust by a liquor he got from the trees, and working himself a noble house in the rock, in the place where our palace now stands, he told them, if they would make him their king, they should each have such an house as his own. To this they agreed, and then he discovered the secret to them.

This Lallio directed the cutting out this whole city, divided the people into colonies where the waters were most plenty; and while half the people worked at the streets and houses, the other half brought them provisions. In short, he grew so powerful, that no one durst dispute his commands; all which authority he transmitted to his successors, who finding by the increase of the people, and the many divisions of them, that they grew insolent and ungovernable, they appointed a colamb in every province, as a vice-king, with absolute authority over all causes, except murder and treason, which are referred to the king and colambs in moucheratt.

As we had no want but of victuals and habitations, the king, when he gave a colambat, gave also the lands and the fruits thereof, together with all the hot and cold springs, to the colamb, who again distributed parcels to the great officers under him, and they part of theirs to the meaner officers under them, for their subsistence, with such a number of the common people as was necessary in respect to the dignity of the post each enjoyed, who for their services are fed by their masters.

In all cases of war, the king lays before the moucheratt the number of his own troops he designs to send; when each colamb's quota being settled at such a proportion of the whole, he forthwith sends his number from out of his own lasks, and also from the several officers under him: so that every man, let the number be ever so great, can be at the rendezvous in a very few days.

We have but three professions, besides the ragans and soldiery, amongst us, and those are cooks, house-makers, and pike-makers, of which every colamb has several among his lasks; and these, upon the new regulation, will be the only gainers, as they may work where they please, and according to their skill will be their provision; but how the poor labourers will be the better for it, I cannot see.

Dear sir, says I, there are, you see, among lasks, some of such parts, that it is great pity they should be confined from showing them; and my meaning in giving liberty is in order for what is to follow; that is, for the introduction of arts amongst you. Now, every man who has natural parts will exert them, when any art is laid before him; and he will find so much delight in making new discoveries, that, did no profit attend it, the satisfaction of the discovery to a prying genius would compensate the pains: but I propose a profit also to the artificer.—Why, what profit, says my father, can arise but food, and perhaps a servant of their own to provide it for them?

Sir, says I, the man who has nothing to hope, loses the use of one of his faculties; and, if I guess right, and you live ten years longer, you shall see this state as much altered as the difference has been between a lask and a tree he feeds on. You shall all be possessed of that which will bring you home from the woods without a lask to feed you. Those who were before your slaves, shall then take it as an honour to be employed by you, and at the same time shall employ you dependent on them; so as the great and small shall be under mutual obligations to each other, and both to the truly industrious artificer; and yet every one content only with what he merits.

Dear son, says my father, these will be glorious days indeed! But, come, come, you have played a good part already; don't by attempting what you can't master, eclipse the glory so justly due to you.—No, sir, says I, nothing shall be attempted by me unto dishonour; for I shall ever remember my friend Glanlipze. Sir, says I, see here, (showing him my watch.)—Why, this, says he, [illegible] by my daughter's side at Graandevolo.—

did so, says I; and, pray, what did you take it for?—A bott, says he.—I thought so, says I; but as you asked no questions, I did not then force the knowledge of it upon you. Then put it to your ear: he did so.—What noise is that? says he. Is it alive?—No, says I, it is not; but it is as significant. If I ask it what time of the day it is, or how long I have been going from this place to that, I look but in its face, and it tells me presently.

My father looking upon it a good while, and perceiving that the minute hand had got further than it was at first, was just dropping it out of his hand, had I not caught it. Why it is alive, says he; it moves!—Sir, says I, if you had dropped it, you had done me an inexpressible injury.—O ho, says he, I find now how you do your wonders; it is something you have shut up here that assists you; it is an evil spirit!—I laughing heartily, he was sorry for what he had said, believing he had shown some ignorance. No, sir, says I, it is no spirit, good or evil, but a machine made by some of my countrymen, to measure time with.—I have heard, says he, of measuring with a stick, or the ground, or a rock; but never yet heard of measuring time.—Why, sir, says I, don't you say three days hence I will do so; or such a one is three years old? Is not that a measuring of time by so many days or years?—Truly, says he, in one sense I think it is.—Now, sir, says I, how do you measure a day?—Why, by rising and lying down, says he.—But suppose I say I will go now and come again, and have a particular time in my head when I will return, how shall I do to make you know that time?—Why, that will be afterwards, another time, says he; or I can think how long it will be.—But, says I, how can you make me know when you think it will be.—You must think too, says he.—But then, says I, we may deceive each other, by thinking differently. Now this will set us to rights: then I described the figures to him, telling him, how many parts they divided the day into, and that by looking on it, I could tell how many of such parts were passed; and that if he went from me, and said he would come one, or two, or three parts hence, I should know when to expect him. I then showed him the wheels, and explained where the force lay, and why it went no faster or slower, as well as I could; and, from my desire of teaching, insensibly perfected myself more and more in it. So that beginning to have a little idea of it, he wished he had one. And, says he, will you teach all our people to make such things?—Then they would be disregarded, sir, says I.—It is impossible, says he.—I'll tell you, sir, how I mean, said I. I can hereafter show you an hundred things as useful as this; now, if every body was to make these, how would other things be made? Besides, if every body made them, nobody would want them; and then what would any body get by them, besides the pleasing their own fancy? But if only twenty men make them in one town, all the rest must come to them; and they who make these, must go to one of twenty others, who make another thing that these men want, and so on; by which means, every man wanting something he does not make, it will be the better for every maker of every thing.

Son, says my father, excuse me; I am really ashamed, now you have better informed me, I asked so foolish a question.—I told him, we had a saying in my country, that every thing is easy when it is known.—I think, says he, a man might find every thing in your country.

Two days after, my wife and daughter Sally came very early; but sure no joy could be greater than ours at sight of each other. I embraced them both over and over, as did my father, especially Sally, who was a charming child. They told me, I might expect every thing that evening, for they left them alighting at the height of Battringdrigg; for though they came out the last, yet the body of the people with their baggage could not come so fast as they did. And little Sally said, We staid and rested ourselves, purely, daddy, at Battringdrigg, before the crowd came; but as soon as mammy had seen all my brothers safe, who came before the rest, and kissed Dicky, we set out again.

About seven hours after, arrived the second convoy from abroad, that ever entered that country. I had too much to do with my wife and children that night, to spare a thought to my cargo; so I only set a guard over them: for though I had now been married about sixteen years, Youwarkee was ever new to me.

I was now obliged to the king again, for some additional conveniences to my former apartment; and the young ones were mightily pleased to have so much more room than we had at home, and to see the sweecoes; but finding themselves waited upon in so elegant a manner, and by so many servants, (for with our new rooms, we had all the servants belonging to them) they thought themselves in a paradise to the grotto, where all we wanted we were forced to help ourselves to.

The next day Tommy came to see us, the king having given him a very pretty post, since the death of Yaccombourse; and Hallycarnie, with the Princess Jahamel her mistress, who was mightily pleased to see Youwarkee in her English dress, and invited her and the children to her apartment.

It was but a few months since my wife saw the children; yet she scarce knew them, they

were so altered; for the two courtiers behaved with so much politeness, that their brothers and Sally looked but with an ill eye upon them, finding all the fault, and dropping as many little invidious expressions on them as possible. But I sharply rebuked them: We were all made chiefly, I told them, to please our Maker, and that could be done only by the goodness of the heart; and if their hearts were more pure, they were the best children; but if they liked their brother's and sister's outward behaviour better than their own, they might so far imitate them.

When we were settled in our new apartment, I unpacked my chairs and tables, and set out my side-board, and made such a figure as had never before been seen in that part of the world. I wanted now some shoes for Pedro, his own being almost past wear, for the young ones never had worn any, but could find none; till applying to Lasmeel, and showing him what I wanted, he pointed to one of the great water-casks; but as there were eleven of them, big and little, I knew not where to begin; till, having invited the king and several of the ministers to dine with me, I was forced to look over my goods for several other things I should want.

In my search, I found half a ream of paper, a leather ink-bottle, but no ink in it, some quills, and books of accounts, and several other things relative to writing. The prize gave me courage to attempt the other casks; but I found little more that I immediately wanted. In the last cask were several books, two of them romances, six volumes of English plays, two of devotion, the next were either Spanish or Portuguese, and the last looked like a Bible; but just opening it, and taking it to be of the same language, I put them all in again, thinking to divert myself with them some other time. I here found some more paper, and so many shoes, as, when I had fellowed them, served me as long as I staid in the country.

Having, as I said before, invited the king to eat with me, I was sorry I had not ordered my fowls to be brought; and Youwarkee said, she thought to have done it, but I had not wrote for them. I told her, I would send Maleck for some of them, I was resolved; for I should pique myself on giving the king a dish he had never before tasted. So I called Maleck, telling him, he must take thirty men with him to Graundevolet; And carry six empty chests with you, says I, and put eight of my fowls in each chest, and bring them with all expedition.—Where do they lie, sir? says he.—You will find them at roost, says I, when it is dark.—I never was there, says he, and don't know the way.—What, says I, never at Graundevolet!—Yes, says he, but not at roost.—I laughed, saying, Maleck, did not you see fowls when you was there?—He said, he did not know, what were they like?—They are a bird, says I.—And what sort of a thing is that? says he.—Youwee hearing us in this debate, Maleck, says she, did not you see me toss down little nuts to something that you stared at; you saw them eat the nuts.—O dear, says he, I knew it very well, with two legs and no arms.—The same, says I, Maleck; do you go look for a little house almost by my grotto, and at night you will find these things stand on sticks in that house. Take them down gently, and come away with them in the chests. Maleck performed his business to a hair, but instead of forty-eight, brought me sixty, telling me, he found the chests would hold them very well; and I kept them afterwards in the king's garden.

## CHAP. XLVII.

*Peter goes to his Father's—Traverses the Black Mountain—Takes a Flight to Mount Alkoc—Gains the Miners—Overcomes the Governor's Troops—Proclaims Georgiti King—Seizes the Governor—Returns to the Government—Peter makes Laws with the consent of the People, and returns to Brandteguarp with Deputies.*

No farther project being ripe for execution, I took a journey home with my father to Arndrumnstake, and he would take all the children with him. Youwarkee and I stayed about six weeks, leaving all the children with my father.

Upon my return, I frequently talked with Maleck about his country; who they originally were, and how long it had been inhabited, and what other countries bordered thereon, and how they lay. He told me, his countrymen looked upon themselves to be very ancient, but they were not very numerous; for the old stock was almost worn out by the hardships they had undergone; that about three hundred years before, he said, as he had it from good report, there were a people from beyond the sea, or as they called themselves from the Little Lands, had strangely over-ran them; and he had heard say, they would have over-run this country too, but they thought it would not answer. He said, when those people first came, they began to turn up the earth to a prodigious depth: And now, says he, bringing some nasty hard earth of several sorts, they put it into great jars till it runs about like water, and then beat it about with great heavy things into several shapes; and some of it, sir, says he, looks just

like that stuff that lay at the bottom of your ship, and some almost white, and some red; for when I was a boy I was to have been sent to work amongst them, as my father did; but it having killed him, I came hither, as many more have done, to avoid it.—And what do they do with it, says I, when they have beat it about as you say?—Then, says he, they carry it a long way to the sea.—What then? says I.—Why then the Little-landers take it, and swim over the sea with it.—And what do they do with it? says I.—Why, says he, there are other people who take it from them, and go away with it.—Why do they let them take it? says I.—Because, says he, they give them clothes for it.—Do they want clothes, says I, more than you? He told me they had no graundee.—And what other countries have you here about?—There is one country, says he, north of Alkoe, where they say there is just such another people as the Little-landers, and they get some of the things from Mount Alkoe.—What do they do with them? says I.—I don't know, says he; they fetch a great deal; but they wont let any body come into their country.—Is there nobody inhabits between the Mountain Alkoe and the sea? He told me no, the Little-landers would not let them.

Having got what information I could from Maleck, and also from a countryman or two of his he had brought to me, I considered it all over; And, thinks I, if I could but get Mount Alkoe to submit, (for they had told me they were only governed by a deputy from the Little Lands) to see the work done, I might, by intercepting the trade to the sea, turn the profit of the country my own way, and make it pass through our hands.

I next inquired of those who brought the fruits from the Great Forest, what sort of land they had there, and found, by their description, it was a light mould, and in many places well covered with grass and herbs; and, by all the report I could hear, must be a fruitful country, well managed; and being a flat country and not encompassed on that side with the Black Mountain, was much higher than Doorpt Swangeanti. This news put me upon searching the truth of it; and I made the tour of the Black Mountain and the Great Forest, alighting often to make my observations. The forest is a little world of wood without end, with here and there a fine lawn very grassy; and indeed the wood-grounds bear it very well, the trees not standing in crowds, but at a healthy distance from each other. I went abundantly farther than any one had before been, but saw no varintion in the woody scene; and coming round westward home, I had a view of hoxino; which is nothing but a narrow cleft in the earth, on the top of the Black Mountain, of a most extraordinary depth; for, upon dropping a stone down, you shall hear it strike and hum for a long time before all is quiet again; and laying my ear over the cleft, whilst I ordered one of my attendants to throw a large stone down, after the usual thumps and humming, I imagined I heard it dash in water, so that it is not impossible it may reach to the sea; which is at least six or seven miles below it. Into this hole all dead bodies are precipitated, from the king to the beggar; for four glumms holding by the ancles and wrists of the deceased, fly with them to hoxino, and throw them down, whilst the air is filled with the lamentations of the relations of the deceased, and of such others as are induced to follow the corpse for the sake of the wines, on such occasions plentifully distributed to all comers by the gentry, and in the best proportion they are able by even the meanest amongst them.

After a stay of about fourteen days at home, I fixed my next trip for Mount Alkoe; and having told Maleck my design, he said he would go with me with all his heart, but feared I should get no Brandleguarpine to bear me; for he told me they had an old tradition, that Mindrack lived there, and would not go for all the world; which has been the greatest security that country has had, for this would have devoured them else, says he.

I spoke to the king, to Nasgig, and the ragans; and found them all unanimous, that the mountain Alkoe was the habitation of Mindrack, and that the noises which had been heard there, were his servants beating bad men. Says I to myself, Here is one of the usefullest projects upon earth spoiled, by an unaccountable prepossession: what must be done to overcome this prejudice?

I told Maleck I found what he said to be too true, as to the people of Brandleguarp; But, says I, are there not enough of your countrymen here to carry me thither? He believing there were, I ordered him to contract with them; but it vexed me very much to be obliged to take these men. However, though I resolved to go, yet I chose to reason the ragans into the project, if I could; thinking they would soon bring the people over.

I called several of the ragans together, and said: Because you are a wiser and more thinking people than the vulgar, I have applied myself to your judgments in the affair of Mount Alkoe. Now, consider with yourselves whether you have any real reason beyond a prepossession, for thinking these people fiends, or devil's servants, as you call them, without further examination; for, according to my comprehension, they only understanding the nature of several sorts of earth, re-

duce them by labour and fire to solid substances for the use of mankind; and the want of these things is the reason of your living as you do, without an hundredth part of the benefits of life. These sort of people, these noises, and these operations, which you hear and see carried on at Alkoe, are to be heard and seen in my country; and we deal and traffic with their labours, from one end of the world to the other; and we who are with them the happiest, without them should be the most miserable of people. Did not some of you see, at my entertainment, what I called my knives and forks, and spoons, my pistols, cutlasses, and silver cup? All these, and infinitely more, are the produce of these poor men's industry. Now, says I, if we settle a communication with these people, your dues will be all paid in these curious things; you will have your people employed in working them, and have strangers applying to you to serve them with what they want; who, in return, will give you what you want; and you will find yourselves known and respected in the world. Finding some of these arguments, applied to the men had staggered them a little, I applied to their senses. Says I, It still appears to me that you have your prejudices hanging on you: but what will you say if I go thither and return safe; will you be afraid to follow me another time? They persuaded me from it, as a dangerous experiment; but said, if I did return, they would not think there was so much in it as they suspected.

Maleck having chose me out fourscore of his countrymen, in about a month's time I trained them up to the knowledge of my pistols and cutlasses, and the management of them; and taking a chest with me for the arms and other necessaries, we sallied up to the Black Mountain. I rested there; and there Nasgig and Lasmeel overtook me, saying, that when they found me obstinate to go, they could not in their hearts leave me, happen what would. This put new spirits into me, and we consulted how the noises lay, and agreed to engage first upon the skirts of them, where the smokes were most straggling. I charged six guns, and all my pistols, which I kept in my chest, and ordered them to alight with me about an hundred paces from the first smoke they saw; then ordered three of them to carry my guns after me, and twelve of them to take pistols and follow me; but not to fire till I gave orders. The remainder I left with the baggage.

We marched up to the smoke, which issued out of a low arch-way just at the foot of the mountain. It was very light there with the flames of the volcano; and, entering the arch, a fellow ran at me with a red-hot iron-bar, him I shot dead; and seeing two men and a woman there, who stood with their faces to the wall of the hut or room, as unwilling to be seen, I ordered Maleck to speak to them in a known tongue, and tell them we were no enemies, nor intended them any hurt; and that their companion's fate was owing to his own rashness in running first at me with the hot bar; and that if they would show themselves good-natured and civil to us, we would be so to them; but if they offered to resist openly, or use any manner of treachery towards us, they might depend upon the same fate their companion had just suffered.

Upon hearing this, they approached us; and showing great tokens of submission, I delivered my gun to Maleck, and bade them go on with their work, ordering all the guns out of the shop, for fear of a spark. I then perceived they were direct forges, but made after another manner from ours, their wind being made by a great wheel, like a wheel of a water-mill, which worked with the fans or wings in a large trough, and caused a prodigious issue of air through a small hole in the back of the fire-place. They were then drawing out iron-bars.

I gave each of these men, and also to the woman, a dram of brandy; which they swallowed down very greedily, and looked for more, and seemed very pleasant. I then inquired into the trade; by whom, and how it was carried on; and they told me just as Maleck had done. I then asked where the mine lay; and one of them looking full at me said, Then you know what we are about.—Yes, says I, very well.—He told me the mine was (in his language as Maleck interpreted it) about a quarter of a mile off, and directed me to it. I ordered them to go on with their work, telling them, though I left a guard over them, it was only that they might not raise their neighbours to disturb me; though if they did, I should serve them all as I had done their companion; and left four men with pistols at the arch-way.

I proceeded to the iron mine, but supposed the men were all within, for I saw nobody; but there were many large heaps of ore lying, which I felt of; and, being very heavy, I supposed it might be rich in metal.

I returned to my men at the arch, and asked them what other mines there might be in that country, and of what other metals; but Maleck not knowing the metals themselves, was not able to interpret the names they called them by. I then shewed them an English halfpenny, a Portugueze piece of silver-money, and my gold watch; and asking if they had any of those, they pointed to the halfpenny

and silver-piece, but shook their heads at the watch. I then showed them a musket-ball, and they said they had a great deal of that.

I desired them to show me the way to the copper-mine, (pointing my finger to the half-penny) and told them if they would go with me, they should have some more, (pointing to my brandy;) and they readily agreed, if I would stand by them for leaving their work. I believe it might be two miles farther on the right to the copper mine; and as these men had the graundee, I expected they would have flown by me; but I found they had a light chain round their graundee, which prevented them; so I walked too; and having made them my friends by being familiar with them, I desired they would go in, and let the head-man of the works know that a stranger desired to speak with him, and view his works, and to inform him how peaceable I was if he used me civilly; but that I could strike him dead at once if he did not.

I do not know how they managed, or what report they made; but the man came to me very courteously, and I bade Maleck ask if he came in friendship, as I did to him; and he giving me that assurance, I went in with him, taking Nasgig and Maleck with me, and leaving our fire-arms without. I ordered them both, as I did myself, to carry their cutlasses, sheathed in their hands, for fear of a surprise. We saw a great quantity of copper-ore, and several melting-vats, being just at the mouth of the mine, the mine running horizontally into the side of the mountain, and, as they said, was very rich. I gave the head-man a little brandy, and two or three more of them, who had been industrious in showing and explaining things to me.

I desired the foreman to walk out with me; and, asking how long he had been in that employ, he told me he was a native of the Born Isles, and was brought thither young, where he first wrought in the iron, then in the silver, and now in this mine: that he had been there twenty years, and never expected to be delivered from his miserable slavery; but as he was now overseer of that work, he did pretty well, though nothing like freedom. He told me they expected several new slaves quickly; for the mines killed those they did not agree with so fast, they were very thinly wrought at present, and that the governor was gone to the isles to get more men. I was glad to hear this: And, pray, says I, where does the governor reside? He (pointing to the place) told me. And what guard, says I, may he keep?—About four hundred men; but nobody durst molest him, says he; for he tortures them in such a manner, never killing them, that not the least thing can be done against his will.

After we had talked a good while on the misery of slavery, and finding him a man fit for my purpose, I asked him if he would go with me to Brandleguarp; For, said I, there are certainly good mines in those mountains; and if you will overlook them, you shall be free, and have whatever you desire. He shook his head, saying, how could he expect to be free where all the rest were slaves; And, besides, says he, they are in such commotions among themselves, that it is said the state will be torn to pieces.—You are mistaken, says I, very much; I myself have settled peace amongst them, and killed the usurper.—Is it possible! says he; and are you the man it was said they expected to come out of the sea?—The very same, says I: and as to slavery, there is not a slave in the kingdom; nor shall be here, if you will hearken to me.—That would be a good time indeed, says he.—Well, says I, my friend, I promise you it shall be so; only observe this, that when I come to reduce the governor, do none of you miners assist him. He promised he would let the other miners secretly know it, and all should be as I wished; but desired me to be expeditious, for the governor was expected every day.

I went from him to the other mines, and my guides with me; who seeing me so well received at the copper-mine, and reporting it to the others, it caused my proceedings to go on smoothly, and my offers to be readily embraced wherever I came.

Having prepared matters thus, I set Maleck and his countrymen upon the natives, to treat with them about submission to Georigetti, on promise of freedom; who being assured of what I had done at Brandleguarp, and in hopes of like liberty, readily came into it: so that the only thing remaining was, before the governor's return, to attack the soldiery. Having, therefore, renewed my engagements with the miners, and believing myself upon as good terms with the natives as I could wish, I was advised by Nasgig and Lasmeel to return for cannon and a large army, before I attacked the soldiery: but I, who had all my life rode upon the spur, having considered that an opportunity once lost is never to be regained; and though I could have wished for some cannon, I valued the men but for show: I therefore formed my resolves to march with the force I had next morning, and pitch upon a plain just by the governor's garrison, in order, if I could, to draw his men out. I did so, and it answered; for, upon the first news of my coming, they appeared with a sort of heavy-headed weapons, which hurling round, they threw upwards aslope, in order to light upon the backs of their enemies in flight, and beat

them down; but they could not throw them above thirty paces.

I sat still in my chair, with a gun in my hand, and Maleck with another at my elbow, with four more lying by me, ready to be presented; Lasmeel standing by to charge again as fast as we fired. I ordered a party of twenty of my men, with cutlasses, to attack the van of the enemy, by rushing impetuously upon them, they coming but thin against me; for I was not willing to employ my pieces till I could do more execution. They began the attack about an hundred yards before me, not very high in the air; and my cutlass-men having avoided the first flight of their weapons, fell upon them with such fury, that chopping here a limb, and there a graundee, which disabling their flight, was equally pernicious, they fell by scores before me: but I seeing those in the rear, which made a body of near three hundred, coming very swift and close in treble ranks, one above the other, hoping to bear down my handful of men with their numbers, I ordered my men all to retire behind me, and not, till the enemy were passed over my head, to fall on them. Maleck and I, as they came near, each firing a piece together, and whipping up another, and then another, in an instant, they fell round us, roaring and making a horrid yell. This the rest seeing, went over our men's heads, not without many falling from the cuts of my men; and those who escaped were never heard of more.

The miners, who from their several stations had beheld the action, came singing and dancing, from every quarter, round me; and if I had not drawn my men close in a circle about me, would probably, out of affection, have done me more hurt than two of the governor's armies; for against these common gratitude denied the use of force; and they crowding every one but to touch me, they, said, for fear of being pressed to death myself, as some of them almost were, I ordered them to be let in through my men, at one side of the ring, and, passing by and touching me, to be let out on the other side; and this quieted them, but kept me in penance a long time.

We then marched in a body all into the town, where we were going to proclaim Georigetti King of Mount Alkoe; when a surly fellow, much wiser than the rest, as he thought, being about to harangue the people against being too hasty in it, was knocked down, and trod to death for his pains; and we went on with the proclamation, giving general liberty to all persons without exception.

The next thing to be considered was, how to oppose the governor when he came; and for that purpose I inquired into the manner of his coming, the road he came, and his attendants; and being informed that an hundred of his guards, who had not the graundee, waited for him at the sea-side, and that he had got no other guard, except a few friends and the slaves he went for, and that the slaves always came first, six in a rank tied together, under convoy of a few of his guards, I went in person to view the rout he came, and seeing a very convenient post in a thick wood through which they were to pass, from whence we might see them before they came near us, I posted a watch on the sea side of the wood, and myself and men lay on the other side of it, just where the governor's party must come out of it again: so that my watch giving notice of their approach, we might be ready to fall on at their coming out of our side of the wood.

When we had waited three days, our watch brought word they were coming; so we kept as close as possible, letting the slaves and guards march on, who came by about two hours march before the governor: but as soon as he approached, I drew up my men on the plain within the wood in ranks, ordering them to lie close on their bellies till they saw me rise, and then to rise, follow me, and obey orders.

Several of the first ranks having passed the wood, just as the governor had entered the open country, I rose, and bade Maleck call aloud, that if any of them stirred or lifted up a weapon, he was a dead man; and then seeing one of the foremost running, I fetched him down with a musket-shot, bidding Maleck tell the rest, that if they submitted and laid down their weapons, they were safe; but if they refused, I would serve them all as I had done him who fled. This speech, with the terror of the gun, fixed every man to his place like a statue.

I then went forward to the governor, and by Maleck, my interpreter, asked him who they all were with him: he told me his slaves. I then made him call every man before him, and give him freedom; which, finding no way to avoid, (for I looked very stern) he did, and I had enough to do to quiet my new freemen, who, I thought, would have devoured me for joy. I asked whither he was going; he said, to his government.—Under whom do you hold it? says I.—Under the zaps of the isles, says he.—I then told him, that whoever held that government for the future, must receive it from the hands of Georigetti, the king of that country, to whom all the natives and miners had already engaged their fidelity. I told him both natives and foreigners had been all declared free.

The governor seemed much dejected, and told me he hoped I would not use him or his

company ill. I told him that depended entirely on his own and their good behaviour. I asked him who his friends were that were with him; he said, they were some of the raps' relations, who were come to see the method of the government, and inspect the mines.

Ordering all the governor's guards and friends to go before, and all my own, but Malek, to keep backwards some paces, I entered into discourse with him about the state of the isles, and the country of Alkoe; and finding him a judicious person, and not a native of the isles, I thought, with some management, he might prove a useful person to me, but did not like the character I had heard of his severity: so I plainly told him, that only one thing prevented my making him a greater man than ever he was; which was, I had been informed he had a roughness in his nature which drove him to extremities with the poor slaves, which I could not bear.—Sir, says he, whatever a man is in his natural temper, where slavery abounds it is necessary to act, or at least be thought to do so, in a merciless manner. I am intrusted with the government of a land of only slaves; who have no more love, nor are they capable of any, for me, than the herbs of the ground have. I am to render an account to my masters of their labours; they work by force, and would not stir a step without it, or the fear of correction; for which reason the rod must be ever held over them; and though I seldom let it fall, when I do, the suffering of one is too long remembered to permit others quickly to subject themselves to the like punishment: and this method I judged to be the most mild, as the death or sufferings of one but seldom, must, though ever so severe, be milder than the frequent execution of numbers. And as to my appearing severe to them, my post required it; for mercy to slaves being interpreted into fear, arms them with violence against you.

I could not gainsay this, especially as he told me he was glad I had freed them all; For no man, says he, but if he were to chuse, would rather reign by love (which he may in a free country, but it is impracticable in one of slaves) than by fear, which alone will keep the latter in subjection.

I asked him whether, as he knew the nature of the country, and the business of the governor, he could become faithful to my master Georigetti: he told me he had ever been faithful to his masters the raps, and would till he was sure (without suspecting in the least my veracity) all was true that I was pleased to tell him; for nothing could satisfy his conscience but being an eye-witness of it, and then being discharged from any farther capacity of serving them in an open way, he should be free to chuse his own master; of all whom, Georigetti should to him be most preferable; but begged me not to interpret his desire of retaining fidelity to his old masters till he could no longer serve them, into an implication of assisting them, by either open or concealed practices; for, wherever he engaged, he would be true to the utmost.

At the end of six days (for I travelled on foot with them) we arrived at the governor's palace, which we found without a guard, and all the slaves he had sent before him at liberty; so I ordered my men to supply the usual guard, and took my lodging in the governor's apartment.

As Gadsi (for that was the governor's name) was not confined, or any of his friends, he came into my apartment, and told me, since he had found all things answered my report, if I pleased, he would quit the palace to me, and every thing belonging to the government. I told him he said well. He did so, taking with him only some few things, his own property. So soon as he was without the territory of the palace, I sent for him and his friends back again: he could not help being dejected at his return, fearing some mischief. Gadsi, says I, this palace and this country, which I now hold for my master Georigetti, I deliver in custody to you as his governor; and now charge you to make acknowledgment of your fidelity to him. Then taking it from him in terms of my own proposing, I delivered him the regalia of his government, charging him to maintain freedom: But, says I, let no man eat who will not work, as the country and the produce are the king's.

I then summoned an assembly of the people, and sent notice to all the miners to attend me. I told them, all that the king desired of them was to make themselves happy; And as the mines at present, says I, are the only employment of this country, I would have it agreed by your own consent; for I will force nothing upon you, that every man amongst you, from sixteen to sixty, shall work every third week at the mines, and other duties of the government; and two weeks out of three shall be your own to provide in for your families: and if I live to come back again, you shall each man have so much land of his own, as shall be sufficient for his family; and I will make it my business to see for seeds to improve it with. And this week's work in three, and if afterwards it can be done with less, in four, shall be an acknowledgment to the king for his bounty to you. Do you agree to this? They all, with one voice, cried out, We do!—Then, says I, agree amongst yourselves, and part into proper divisions for carrying on the work; that is, in-

to four parts, one for each sort of metal; and then again, each of those four into three parts; and on every seventh day in the morning, let those who are to begin meet those who are leaving off work; so that there be clear six days work, and one of going and returning. Do you all agree to this?—All cried, We do!—Then, says I, whoever neglects his duty, unless through sickness, or by leave of the governor, shall work a double week. Do you agree to this?—We do!—Then all matters of difference between you shall be decided by the governor; and in case of any injury or injustice, or wrong judgment in the governor, by Georigetti. Do you agree?—We do!—Then, says I, agree upon ten men, two for the natives, and two for each mineral work, to send with me to Brandleguarp, to petition Georigetti to confirm these laws, till you shall make others yourselves, and to acknowledge his sovereignty. Do you agree?—We do!

I then told them, that as those who had been slaves were now free, they might, if they pleased, return home; but, as I should make it my endeavour to provide so well for them in all the comforts of life, I believed most of them would be of opinion their interest would keep them where they were. And, above all things, recommending a hearty union between the new freemen and the natives, and to marry amongst each other, and to continue in love amongst themselves, and duty to the king and his governor; and promising speedily to return and settle what was wanting, I dismissed the assembly, and set out for Brandleguarp with the ten deputies: but I left Lasmeel behind with the governor, and two servants with him, to give me immediate notice in case any disturbance should happen in my absence.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

*Peter arrives with the Deputies—Presents them to the King—They return—A Colony decreed to be sent thither—Nasgig made Governor—Manner of choosing the Colony—A Flight-race, and the intent of it—Walsi wins the Prize, and is found to be a Gawrey.*

As we alighted at the palace late at night, I kept the deputies with me till next morning, when I went to the king, desiring them to stay in my apartment till I had received his majesty's orders for their admission.

His majesty was but just up when I came in; and seeing me, embraced me, saying, Dear father, I am glad to meet you again alive; your absence has given me the utmost perplexity; and could I have prevailed with any of my servants to have followed you, I had sent before this time to have known what was become of you.

I told his majesty, the greatest pleasure of my life consisted in the knowledge of his majesty's esteem for me; and he might depend upon it, I would take care of myself from a double motive whilst I was in his dominions; the one, from the natural obligation of my own preservation, and the other, equally compulsive, of continuing serviceable to his majesty, till I had made him more famous than his ancestor, the great Begsurbeck.

I told his majesty, as a small token of my duty and affection to him, I was come to make him a tender of the additional title of King of Mount Alkoe.—Father, says he, we shall never be able to get a sufficient number of my subjects to go thither; for though your safe return may be some encouragement, yet, whilst their old apprehensions subsist, (and I know not what will alter them) we can do no good; and, indeed, were they free to go, and under no suspicion of danger, it would cost abundance of men to conquer Mount Alkoe.

Great sir, said I, you mistake me: I told you I came to make you a tender of it; I have proclaimed you king there, and freedom to the people; I have held an assembly of the kingdom, placed a governor, taken the engagement of himself and subjects to you, settled laws amongst them for your benefit, the full third part of all their labour; have brought ten deputies, two from each denomination of people among them; and they only wait your command to be admitted, to beg your acceptance of their submission, and pray your royal protection.

Father, says the king, you amaze me! but, as it is your doing, let them come in.

The deputies being received, and heard by Maleck, their interpreter, very graciously, the king told them, in a very favourable speech, that whatever his father had done, or should do, they might accept as done by himself; and commanded them to remind the governor, for whom he had the highest esteem, to observe the laws, without the least deviation, till his father should make such farther additions as were consistent with his own honour and their future freedom; and having feasted them in a most magnificent manner, they returned, highly satisfied with the honours they had received.

This transaction being immediately noised abroad, all the colambs came themselves; and the great cities, by their deputies, sent his majesty their compliments upon the occasion; and there was nothing but mirth and rejoicing throughout the whole kingdom. And those who had refused going with me, as Ma-

leck told me, hung their heads for shame and sorrow, that they had missed the opportunity of bearing a part in the expedition.

I demonstrated to the king, that the only way to preserve that kingdom was to settle a large colony on the plains, between the mountain and the sea, to intercept clandestine trade, and make a stand against any force that might be sent from the Little Lands to recover the mines. And I promised to be present at the settlement, and an assistant in it.

Most of the colambs, as I said, being at court upon this complimentary affair, the king summoned them for their advice on my proposals, and told them he had ordered me to lay before them my thoughts on the affairs of that kingdom; and, after many compliments and encomiums had passed on me, I told them the necessity of the colony, the commodity that would arise from it, how I intended to manage it, and what prospect I had of introducing amongst them several extraordinary conveniences they had never before had.

The colambs, who, for want of practice this way, knew but little of the matter, thinking, nevertheless, that in the general turn of things, they must somehow come in for a share, approved of all I said. I desired them then to settle, out of what part of the people, and how to be nominated, such choice of the colony as should be made for the new settlement; but found them much at a loss to fix on any method of doing it. So I told them, I believed it would be the best way to issue an order for such as would willingly go, to repair to a particular rendezvous; and in case sufficient should not appear voluntarily, to issue another order, that the colambs, out of their several districts, should complete the number, so as to make a body of twelve thousand men of arms, besides women and children; and that such a territory should be allotted to each, with so much wood-grounds, in common to all, as would suffice for their subsistence; all which passed the vote.

I then told them, that this large people must have an head, or governor, to keep them to their duties, and to determine matters of property, and all disputes amongst them. Here they one and all nominated me; but I told them, I apprehended I could be more useful other ways, having too many things in my head for the general good, to confine myself to any particular province; but if they would excuse me in presuming to recommend a person, it should be Nasgig. And immediately Nasgig being sent for, and accepting it, they conferred it upon him.

All things, as I judged, went on in so smooth a way, in reference to the new colony, that I was preparing, with the assistance of the proper officer, expresses to be sent with the king's gripsacks into the several provinces, with notice of these orders, and an appointment for a rendezvous. But while this was doing, abundance of people came crowding about me, to be informed, whether I thought it safe for them to go; and I believe I had fully satisfied all their scruples, when by some management of the ragans, who, having so long declared Mount Alkoe to be inhabited by Mindrac, did not care the people should all of a sudden find out they had deceived them, there was a report ran current, that though I and my bearers, who were all Mount Alkoe men, returned safe, yet if any of the Brandleguarpines had gone, they would never have come back again. This rumour coming to my ears, and fearing whitherto it might grow, I had no small prospect of a disappointment, and I thereupon stopped issuing the orders till I had considered what farther to do in the affair; at length, being persuaded I had already satisfied abundance of their scruples, and in order to dissipate the doubts of others, and to familiarize them in some measure to the country and people of Mount Alkoe, I proposed a prize to be flown for, and gave notice of it for six days all about the country, both to those of Mount Alkoe, and those of Sass Doorpt Swangenti, that whoever, except those who were with me in the late expedition, should make the most speedy flight to the governor's of Mount Alkoe, to carry a message, and bring me an answer from Lasmeel, should have one of my pistols, with a quantity of powder, and so many balls; and the person who should be second, should have a cutlass and belt. The time being fixed, very few had entered in the first two or three days; but on the third day came several over from Alkoe to enter, which the Brandleguarpines seeing, and having equal inclination to the prize, after half a dozen of them had entered on the fourth morning, before noon on the fifth, I had near sixty of them on my list, besides the Alkoe men, making in all about one hundred.

The time of starting was fixed for the sixth morning, from off the rock, on the back-side of the palace, upon my firing a pistol.

This unusual diversion occasioned a prodigious confluence of spectators; for scarce a person in Brandleguarp, except those who were either too young or too old for flight, but were upon one or other of the rocks: even the king himself and all his court were there, with infinite numbers from all distant parts.

I had dispatched a letter by one of my old bearers, to Lasmeel some days before, to inform him of it, that he might get two letters ready wrote, one to deliver to the first, and

another to the second messenger; but not to take farther notice of the rest. Now, my flight-race being for the equal benefit of both the kingdoms, it happened, as I was in hopes it would, that so many of the Mount Alkoans coming over to me to be entered, and staying with me till the flight began; and such vast numbers of persons meeting of both nations upon the Black Mountain, to see them go and return, and several of the Swangeantines going, out of bravado, quite through with the flyers; the intercourse of the two nations was that day so great, and the discourse they had with the natives and miners, so stripped the Swangeantines of their old apprehensions of danger from Mount Alkoe, that in three days after the whole dread of the place was vanished, and he would then have been thought mad who had attempted to revive it.

The time being come, I set my flyers in a row on the outer edge of the rock; and having given notice that no one should presume to rise till the flyers were on the graundee, and at such a distance, I then let the flyers know I should soon give fire; which I had no sooner done but down they all dropped as one man, as it were, headlong from the edge of the mountain; and presently the whole field were after them. They skimmed with incredible swiftness cross the face of the plain, between the rock and the mountain; the force of which descent swung them as it were up the mountain's side in an almost upright posture; till seeming to sweep the edge of the mountain with their bellies, they slid over its surface till they were lost in the body of the Swangean, our rocks echoing the shouts of the mountaineers. I fired my pistol, by my watch, at nine o'clock in the morning, but had no occasion to inquire when it was thought they would return, for every one was passing his opinion upon it. Some said, it could not be till midnight, or very near it; and others, that it would be almost next morning. However, we went to dinner, and coming again about six o'clock by my watch, I was told by the people on the rock, as the general opinion, (for it was then topfull) that they could not yet be expected a long time; and the major part concluded they could not be half way home yet; when, on a sudden, we heard a prodigious shout from the mountain, which growing nearer and nearer to us, and louder and louder, in a few moments came a slim young fellow, and nimbly alighting on the rock, tripped briskly forward, as not able to stop himself at once, from the violence of the force he came with, and delivered me a letter from Lasmeel as I was sitting in my chair. I gave him joy of the prize, and ordered him to come to my apartment so soon as I got home, and he should have it. I then asked him where he left the other flyers: he told me, he knew nothing of them since he came past the forges in his return; for there he met them going to Lasmeel.—Why that, says I, must be a great way on this side the governor's. He told me, about half an hour's flight. I then told him, as he must be strained with so hard a flight, it would be better if he laid down, and called on me in the morning. He thanked me; and after he had told me his name was Walsi, he said he would take my advice; and springing up as light as air, went off, the rock being quite thronged with those who had followed from the mountain to see the victor.

When Walsi came in, it was just seven o'clock by my watch; so that, according to the best computation by miles I could make from their descriptions of things, I judged he had flown at little more or less than at the rate of a mile a minute.

I stayed till near nine o'clock upon the rock, where it being cold, and the time tedious, I was taking Quilly home with me, and designed that Maleck should wait for the coming of the second; but hearing again a shout from the mountain, I resolved to see the second come in myself. The noise increasing, I presently saw the whole air full of people very near me, for I had retired near two hundred paces from the edge of the rock to give room to the flyers to alight, and expected nothing less than to be borne down by them; when I spied two competitors, one just over the back of the other, the uppermost bearing down upon the other's graundee, their heads being just equal; so that the under man perceiving it impossible to sink lower for the rock, or to mount higher for the man above him, and as darting side-ways would lose time, and fearing to brush his belly against the rock, he slackened, just to job up his head in his antagonist's stomach; which giving the upper man a smart check with the pain, and the under one striking, at that instant, one bold stroke with his graundee, he fell just with his head at my feet, and the other man upon him, with his head in the under man's neck.

Thus they lay, for a considerable time, breathless and motionless, save the working of their lungs, and heaving of their breasts; when each asked me if he was not the first, and the under man giving me a letter; I told them, No, Walsi had been in almost two hours ago. They both said, it was impossible; they were sure no glumm in the Doorpt could outfly either of them. I ordered them both to call on me in the morning, and I would see they should have right done to their pretensions. The under man had but just told me his name was Naggitt, when another arrived, who, seeing Naggitt before him, told me he was sure he was second; but on seeing the other also, he gave it up.

I would stay no longer, it being now so late; but the next morning I was informed, that all the rest had stopped at the mountain but two, who were obliged to give out before, being over strained, and unable to hold it.

The next morning, Walsi was the first at my apartment, when I happened to be with the king; and, speaking of his business to Quilly, he ordered him to stay in my gallery till I came back: and Quilly presently after seeing Youwarkee, told her the victor at the flight-race was waiting for me in the gallery. Youwarkee, who had great curiosity to see him, having heard how long he came in before the rest, stepped into the gallery, and taking a turn or two there, fell into discourse with him about his flight. And, as women are very inquisitive, she distinguished, by the flyer's answers, speech, shape, and manner of address, that it was certainly a gawrey she was talking with; though she had endeavoured to disguise herself, by rolling in her hair, and tying it round her head with a broad chaplet, like a man; and by the thinness of her body, and flatness of her breasts, might fairly enough have passed for one, to a less penetrating eye than Youwarkee's. But Youwarkee putting some questions to her, and saying she was more like a gawrey than a glumm, she put the poor girl (for so it was) to the blush, and at last she confessed the deceit; but, upon her knees, begged Youwarkee not to mention it, for it would be her undoing.

This confession gave Youwarkee a fair opportunity of asking how she came to be an adventurer for this sort of prize. The girl, finding there was no remedy, frankly confessed, she had a strong affection for a glummbee, who was a very stout glumm, she said, but somewhat too corpulent for speedy flight; who, ever since the prize had been proposed, could rest neither night nor day, to think he was not so well qualified to put in for it as others; especially one Naggitt, who he well knew made his addresses to her, and also was an adventurer. Had it been a matter of strength, valour, or manhood, says he, I had had the best of chances for it; but to be under a natural incapacity of obtaining so glorious a prize, as even the king himself is not master of such another, I cannot bear it!—She then said, he had told her he was resolved to give in his name and do his utmost, though he died in the flight. What! said he, shall I see Naggitt run away with it, and, perhaps, with you too, when he has that to lay at your feet which no glumm else can boast of? No, I'll overcome, or never come home without it.—I must confess, madam, says Walsi, as I knew his high spirit could never bear to be vanquished, I was afraid he would be as good as his word, and come to some unlucky end; and told him, that though he need not have feared being conqueror in any thing else, had it been proposed, yet in flight, there were so many, half glumms as they were, who from their effeminate make and size, and little value for any thing else, would certainly be in before him; that it was unworthy of a thorough glumm to contend with them, for what could be obtained only by those who had no right to, or share in any thing more excellent; and that he must therefore not think of more than his fatigue for his pains. But as he had set his heart so much upon it, I would enter, and try to get it for him; as, from my size and make, I believed few would have a better chance for it than myself. And, thanks to Collwar, madam, says she, I hope to make him easy in it, if you will but please to conceal your knowledge of who and what I am.

Youwarkee was mightily pleased with her story, and promised she would; but engaged her to come again to her apartment, so soon as she was possessed of the prize.

When I returned, hearing Walsi waited for me, I called him in, read the letter he brought, and finding it Lasmeel's, I looked over my list for Walsi's name, for I set them all down as they entered; and finding it the very last name of all, and that it was entered but on the morning the race was flown, So, says I, Walsi, I find the last at entering is the first at returning; but I see you have been there, by what Lasmeel has sent me; though there were some last night who questioned it, by your so speedy return. Here, says I, take the prize, and see they are only used in the service of your country: and then I dismissed her.

My two competitors appeared next for the cutlass; and had each of them many arguments to prevail with me in favour of him; but I told them, I must do justice, and that, though the difference was so small between them, yet certainly Naggitt was the nearest me at the time they both ceased flight, his face lying on my foot; so that as they both complained of foul play, and were therefore equal in that respect, Naggitt in justice must have it. And I gave it him with these words, however: Take it, Naggitt, as certainly yours by the law of the race, but with a diffidence in myself who best deserves it.

I own I pitied the other man's case very much, as I should Naggitt's, had the other won it; but seeing the other turning away, and hearing him say, But by half a head! when I had strove so hard! as in a sort of dejection, I told them, they were both brave glumms, and of intrepid resolution; and gave him also one, with the like instruction as to Walsi.

Walsi went from me, as she had promised,

to Youwarkee, who wanted more discourse with her; for in an affair of love, her gentle heart could have dwelt all day upon the repetition of any circumstances which would create delight in the enamoured. Walsi sat on thorns, wanting to be gone; but Youwarkee asking question upon question, Walsi got up, and begged she would excuse her, she would come and stay at any other time But, says she, madam, when the man one loves is in pain, (for I am sure he is on the rack for fear of a discovery, till he sees me) if you ever loved yourself, you cannot blame me for pressing to relieve him.

When she was gone, Youwarkee finding me alone, was so full of Walsi's adventure she could not be silent; but, after twenty round-about speeches, and promises that I was to make, not to be angry with any body, or undo any thing I had done that day, and I know not what, out came the story. I was prodigiously pleased with it, and wished I had taken more notice of her. Says Youwarkee, I endeavoured to keep her till you had done, that you might have seen her.—And why did not you? says I.—My dear, says Youwarkee, had you seen the poor creature's uneasiness till she got off with it, yourself could not have had the heart to have deferred that pleasure you would have perceived she expected when she came home; nor could you in conscience have detained her.

## CHAP. XLIX.

*The Race reconciles the two Kingdoms—The Colony proceeds—Build a City—Peter views the Country at a distance—Hears of a Prophecy of the King of Norbon's Daughter Stygee—Goes thither—Kills the King's Nephew—Fulfils the Prophecy, by engaging Stygee to Georigetti—Returns.*

THIS race, notwithstanding all that the ragans could say to keep up their credit, and to prevent the people's perceiving what fools they had made of them, had so good and sudden an effect on the people's prejudices, that upon issuing the first proclamation, there was no occasion for the second; for at least twenty-five thousand men appeared voluntarily at the rendezvous, of the old slaves, whose masters, though they were declared free, had used divers devices to oppress them, and render even their freedom a sort of slavery, besides women and children: so that we had now only to pick and chuse those who would be likeliest to be of service to the new colony.

Nasgig and I differed now about the choice of persons; he, as a soldier, was for taking mostly single young men, and I for taking whole families, though some were either too old or too young for war; and, upon farther consideration, he agreed with me, for I told him, young men would leave a father, mother, or mistress, behind them, which would either cause a hankering after home, and consequently the bad example of desertion, or else create an uneasy spirit, and perhaps a general distaste to the settlement. So we chose those whole families, where they offered, which had the most young men in them, first; then others, in like order; after that, man by man, asking them, severally, if any woman they liked would go with them, and if so, we took her, till we had about thirteen thousand fighting men, besides old men, women, and children; and then, marching by the palace, the king ordered ten days stores for every mouth, and with this we took our flight: but as I was always fearful of a concourse in the air, Nasgig led them, and I brought up the rear.

Besides the above number of people, I believe we could not have less than ten thousand volunteers to the Black Mountain; some to take leave of their friends, and others out of curiosity to see our flight. I took three pieces of cannon with me, and proper stores.

Our first stage, after a short halt on the Black Mountain, was to the governor's palace, where Gadsi received us with great respect. I told him my errand, which he approved; For, says he, countryman, it is now as much my interest to keep my old masters out, as ever it was to serve them when in; and you have taken the only method in the world to do it effectually.—I consulted him where I should fix my colony; and, by his advice, fixed it on this side the wood, with some scattering habitations behind the wood, as watch houses, to give notice of an enemy, having the wood for shelter, before they could reach the town, and, at the worst, the town for a retreat.

I found, by Gadsi, that the ships from the Little Lands were soon expected, for that, he said, the zaps knew nothing yet of the change of government, nor could, till the ships returned: he asked me, as there was now a good lading, whether I thought fit to let them have it upon proper terms. I told him, I would not hinder their having the metals, or endeavour to stop their trade in the least, but should be glad to treat with them about it myself.

I gave the forge-men descriptions for making shovels, spades, pick-axes, hammers, and abundance of other iron implements I should want in the building the new town; all which we got ready, and carried with us. We then took flight, and alighted on the spot of our intended city; and, having viewed the ground some miles each way, we drew the outlines,

set a great number of hands to cutting down trees, digging holes, and making trenches for the foundations. In short, we were all hands at it, and the women fetched the provisions; but I was obliged to show them every single step they were to take, towards the new erections; and, I must say, it was with great pleasure I did it, they seldom wanting to be told twice, having as quick an apprehension of what they heard or saw, as any people I had ever met with.

The whole city, according to our plan, was to consist of several long straight streets, parallel to each other, with gardens backwards each way, and traverse-passages at proper distances, to cross each street, from one to the other, quite through the whole city.

While this work was in hand, I took a progress to view the other country Maleck had told me of. We had not taken a very long flight, before we saw at a distance several persons of that country travelling to Mount Alkoe for metals. I had a great mind to have some talk with them about their kingdom, and ordered my bearers to go to them; they told me, they durst not, for one of them would kill ten men. I did not chuse to force them to it, for fear of some mischief; but observing which way they came, and that they came in several small bodies, of six or eight together, and that there was a little wood and some bushes between me and them, I ordered my bearers to sink beneath the trees out of their sight, and to ground me just at the foot of the wood; for I resolved to know something more of them before we parted.

I lay perdue, till they arrived within sixty paces of me; then asking Maleck if he knew their language, and he telling me he did, having often conversed with them at the mines, I bid him greet them, and tell them I was a friend, and be sure to stand by me. There were seven of them, and many more at different distances. I showed myself, and Maleck spoke to them, when two or three of the hindermost ran quite away; one stood and looked very surly, but the rest, who had stood with him, turning to run, I bid Maleck tell him, if he did not call them back, I would kill them. He that stood then called to them, but they mending their pace upon it, I let fly, and shot one in the shoulder, who dropping, I was afraid I had killed him. I then went up to the other, who had not stirred even at the report of the gun, seeming quite terrified. I took him by the hand, and kissed it, which made him recover himself a little, and he took mine and kissed it.

I bid Maleck tell him I was a great traveller, and only wanted to talk with him; but seeing the man I had shot stir, I went to him, and told him I was sorry I had hurt him, which I should not have attempted, had he not shown a mistrust of me by running away, for I could not bear that: this I said to keep the other with me. I saw I had hurt his shoulder, but, being at a great distance, the ball had not entered the blade-bone, but, stopping there, had fallen out; so tying my handkerchief over it, I told him I hoped it would soon be well.

I inquired into their country, its name, the intent of their journey this way, their trades, the fruits, birds, and beasts of the country.

The man I had shot, I found, was in pain, which gave me no little concern; so I chiefly applied myself to the other, who told me the name of his country was Norbon, a large kingdom, and very populous, he said, in some parts of it, and was governed by Oniwheske, an old and good king. He has only one daughter, says he, named Stygee; so that I am afraid, when he dies, it will go to a good-for-nothing nephew of his, a desperate debauched man, who will probably ruin us, and destroy that kingdom, which has been in the Oniwheske family these fifteen hundred years.—Won't his daughter have the kingdom, says I, after his death, or her children?—Children, says he, no, that's the pity; all would be well if she had but children, and the state continue fifteen hundred years longer in the same good family.—How is it possible for any one to know that? says I. You may know how long it has, but how long it will last, is mere guess-work. —No, says he, this very time, and the present circumstances of our kingdom, were foretold at the birth of the first king we ever had, who was of the present royal family.—How so? says I.—Why, says he, before we had any king, we had a very good old man, who lived retired in a cave by the sea; and to him every body under their difficulties repaired for advice. This old man happening to be very ill, every body was under great affliction for fear they should lose him; when flocking to his assistance, he told them, they need not fear his death till the birth of a king, who should reign fifteen hundred years. At hearing this, all persons then present apprehended that his disorder had turned his brain; but he persisted in it, and recovered.

After a few years, a great number of persons being about him, he told them he must now depart, for that their king was born, and pointed to a sucking child a poor woman had then in her arms. It caused a great wonder in his audience, at the thoughts of that poor child's ever becoming a king; but he told them it was so decreed, and farther, that as he was to die the next day, if they would gather all together, he would let them know what was to come in future times.

When they were met, the woman and child being amongst them, he told them, that child

was their king; and that his loins should produce them a race of kings for fifteen hundred years, during which time they should be happily governed: but then a female inhabitant of the skies should claim the dominion, and, together with the kingdom, be utterly destroyed, unless a messenger from above, with a crown in each hand, should procure her a male of her own kind; and then the kingdom should remain for the like number of years to her posterity. Now, says he, the time will expire very soon, and as no one has been, or it is believed will ever come, with two such crowns, the princess Stygee, though she undoubtedly will try for it, has little hopes of succeeding her father; for her cousin Felbamko pretends, as no woman ever reigned with us, he is the right heir, and will have the kingdom.—Pray, says I, what do you mean by an inhabitant of the air?—O, says he, she flies.—And do most of your country folks fly? says I; for I perceive you don't.—No, says he, no one but the princess Stygee.—How comes that about? says I.—Her mother, when she was with child with her, says he, being one day in a wood near the palace, and having straggled from her company, was attacked by a man with a graundee, who, not knowing her, clasped her within his graundee, and would have debauched her; but perceiving her cries had brought some of her servants to her assistance, he quitted her, and went off: this accident threw her into such a fright, that it was a long time before she recovered; and then was delivered of a daughter with a graundee.—My friend, says I, your meeting with me will be a very happy affair for your kingdom. I am the man the princess expects: go back to the princess and let her and her father know, I will be with them in six days, and establish his dominions in the princess.

The fellow looked at me, thinking I joked, but never offered to stir a foot. Why don't you go? says I. And for the good news you bear to the princess, I'll see you shall be made one of the greatest men in Norbon. The man smiled still, but could not conceive I was in earnest: I asked him then how long he should be in going to the palace; he said, Three days at soonest.—Deliver but your message right, says I, and I'll assure you it shall be the better for you.—The man seeing me look serious, did at length believe me, and promised he would obey me punctually: but he had not seen how I came to the place he met me at, for I had ordered my bearers into the wood with my chair, before I showed myself.

He arrived, as I afterwards found, at the palace, the fourth morning very early; and passing the guard in a great heat, with much ado was introduced to the king, and discharged himself of my message. His majesty, giving no credit to him, thought he had been mad; but he affirming it to be true, and telling the king at what a distance I had knocked down his companion, and made a great hole in his back, only holding up a thing I had in my hand, which made a great noise, Oniwhaia ordered his daughter to come before him, who having herself heard the man's report, and being very willing to believe it, with the king's leave, desired that the messenger might be detained till the appointed day, and taken care of; and that preparation should be made for the reception of the stranger, in case it should be true.

The noise of my coming, and my errand, excited every one's curiosity to see me arrive; and the day being come, I hovered over the city a considerable time, to be sure of grounding right. The king and his daughter, on the rumour of my appearing, came forth to view me, and receive me at my alighting. The people were collected into a large square, on one side of the palace, and standing in several clusters, at different places, I judged where the king might seem most likely to be, and ordered my bearers to alight there; but I happened upon the most unlucky post, as it might have proved, and at the same time the most lucky I could have found there; for I had scarce raised myself from my chair, but Felbamko pushing up to me through the throng, and lifting up a large club he had in his hand, had certainly dispatched me, if I had not at the instant drawn a pistol from my girdle, and shot him dead upon the spot; insomuch that the club, which was then over my head, fell gently down on my shoulder.

I did not then know who it was I had killed; but, for fear of a fresh attempt, I drew out another pistol and my cutlass, and inquiring at which part of the square the king was, I walked directly up to him, he not as yet knowing what had happened. His majesty and his daughter met me, and welcomed me into his dominions. I fell at the king's feet, telling him I brought a message, which I hoped would excuse my entering his majesty's dominions without the formality of obtaining leave.

When we came to the palace, the king ordered some refreshments to be given me and my servants; and then that I should be conducted to the room of audience.

The report of Felbâmko's death had reached the palace before us, and that it was by my hand: this greatly surprised the whole court, but proved agreeable news to Stygee.

At my entrance into the room of audience the king was sitting at the farther end of it against the wall, with his daughter on his right hand; and a seat was placed for me

his left, but nearer to the middle of the room side-ways, on which I was ordered to sit down: there were abundance of the courtiers present, and above me with a seat ordered for one of them, who I found afterwards was one of the religious.

His majesty asked me aloud how it happened, that the first moment of my entering his dominions I should dip my hands in blood, and that, too, of one of his nearest relations. I then got up to make my answer; but his majesty ordering me to my seat again, I told him, that as it was most certain I knew no one person in his kingdom, so it could not be supposed I could have an ill design against any one, especially against that royal blood, into whose hands I then came to render myself; but the truth was, that what I had done was in preservation of my own life; for that the person slain had rushed through the crowd upon me with a great club, intending to murder me; and that whilst the blow was over my head, I killed him in such position, that by his fall the club rested on my shoulder, but was then too weak to hurt me.

The king asking if that was the real case, several from the lower end of the room said they were informed it was; and one in particular said he saw the transaction, and I had declared it faithfully: Then, says the king, you are acquitted: and, now, what brings you hither? relate your business.

Great sir, says I, it is my peculiar happiness to be appointed by Providence as the proposer of a marriage for the princess Stygee your daughter, with a potent neighbouring monarch; having already been enabled to perform things past belief for his honour. Know then, great sir, I am a native of the north, and, through infinite perils and hardships, at last arrived in the dominions of Georigetti, where I have given peace to his state by the death of the usurper Harlokin. I have also just conquered the kingdom of Mount Alkoe for my master, and am here come to make your daughter an offer of both crowns, and also of all that is my master's, with his person in marriage.

The old priest then rose, and said, May it please your majesty, we are almost right: but what has always staggered me, is, how the person should come; for the messenger to us on this errand is to come from above. Now this person has not the graundee, and therefore could not come from thence: as for the rest, I understand the prince from whom he brings this offer to your daughter has the graundee, and so is a male of her own kind; and I understand the two kingdoms in his possession to be the two crowns in the messenger's hands; but, I say, what I stick at is his coming from above.

What, says Stygee, did not you see him come?— No, says he.—O, says she, he came in the air, and was a long time over the city before he descended.—That's impossible, says the old priest; for he is smooth, like us.—Indeed, sir, says she, I saw him, and so did most of the court. The king and nobles then attesting this truth, Sir, says the priest to the king, it is completed, and your majesty must do the rest.

I little expected, says the king, to see this day—and now, daughter, as this message was designed for you, you only can answer it; but still I must say it surpasses my comprehension, that in the decree of Providence it should be so ordered, that the very hand which brings the accomplishment of what has been so long since foretold us, should, without design, have first destroyed all that could have rendered the marriage state uncomfortable to you.

Stygee then declared she submitted to fate and her father's will.

I staid here a week to view the country and the sea, which I heard was not far off. Here were many useful beasts for food and burden, fowls also in plenty, and fish near the sea-coasts, and the people eat flesh; so that I thought myself amongst mankind again. I made all the remarks the shortness of the time would allow, and then, taking my leave, departed.

I returned to the colony, where I heard that the Little-landers had been on the coast; but I not being there, or any lading ready, they were gone away again: however, they had detained two of them. I was pleased with that, but sorry they were returned empty.

I examined the prisoners; and, by giving them liberty and good usage, they settled amongst us; and the next fleet that came, the sailors to a man were all my own the moment they could get to shore: this, though I thought it would have spoiled our trade at first, brought the islanders and me to the following compromise, and upon this occasion. Their ships having laid on our coasts one whole season for want of hands to carry them back, I came to an agreement with their commanders, (for they were all willing to return) that such a number of them should be left as hostages with me till the return of a number of my own men, which I should lend them to navigate their ships home: and I sent word to the zaps, that as it might be beneficial to us both to keep the trade still on foot, to prevent the like inconveniences for the future, I would buy their shipping, paying for them in metals, and agree to furnish them yearly with such a quantity of my goods at a stated price, and would send them by my own people; which they approving, the trade went on in a very agreeable and profitable manner;

and we in time built several new vessels of our own, and employed abundance of hands in the trade, and had plenty of handicraftsmen of different occupations, each of whom I obliged to keep three natives under him, to be trained up in his business.

## CHAP. I.

*A Discourse on Marriage between Peter and Georigetti—Peter proposes Stygee—The King accepts it—Relates his Transactions at Norbon—The Marriage is consummated—Account of the Marriage-ceremony—Peter goes to Norbon—Opens a free Trade to Mount Alkoe—Gets Traders to settle at Norbon—Convoys Cattle to Mount Alkoe.*

At my return to Sass Doorpt Swangeanti, I went directly to the king, and giving him an account of the settlement, and my proceedings thereon, he told me, his whole kingdom would not be an equivalent for the services I had done him. I begged of him to look on them in no other light than as flowing from my duty; but if, when I should be no more, he or his children would be gracious to my family, it was all I desired.

This, father, says the king, I can undertake for myself; but who's to come after me, nobody knows, for I shall never marry. No! Yaccombourse has given me a surfeit of woman-kind; and unless the states will settle the kingdom on you, to which I will consent, it will probably be torn to pieces again by different competitors, for I am the last of the line of Begsurbeck, and of all the blood-royals; and, indeed, who is so proper to maintain it flourishing, as he who has brought it to the present perfection?

Great sir, says I, my ambition rises no higher than to abound in good deeds whilst I live, and to perfect my children in the same principle; and this, I hope, will entitle them to a support when I am gone. But, says I, why is your majesty so averse from marriage, merely on account of a woman you could not expect to be true to you?—Not expect it! says he; what stronger tie upon earth could she have had to be true, than my affection, and all that my kingdom could afford her?—Weak things all, sir, says I.—Why, what could she have had? says he, in some warmth.—Honour, sir, says I, and virtue, both which she abandoned to become yours; and those once lost, how could you expect her to be true?—You are too hard for me, father, says he: but they are all alike, and I don't believe there's a grain of honour in any of them.—In any of them like Yaccombourse, I admit, sir, says I; but think not so of others, for no part of our species abounds more with it, or is more tender of it, than a good woman; and, take my word for it, sir, there is more real sincerity in an ordinary wife than in the most extraordinary mistress. We are all biassed naturally by interest; and as there can be but one real interest between the man and wife, so the interest of a mistress is, and ever will be, only to accommodate herself; for 'tis all one to her with whom she engages, so she can raise but the market by a change. Now, if your majesty could find an agreeable and virtuous wife, one deserving of your royal person and bed, and perhaps with a kingdom for her dowry, a partner fit to share your cares as well as glory, would it not be a great pleasure to you to be possessed of such a mate, and to see heirs arising under your joint tuition, to convey down your royal blood to the latest posterity? Would not this, I say, be a grateful reflection to you in your declining years?

Truly, father, says the king, as you have painted it, the prospect could not fail to please; and under the circumstances you have put it, it would meet my approbation: but where is such a thing as a woman of this character to be found? I fear only in the imagination.

Sir, says I, after a seeming muse for some time, what should you think of Omwhaka, the king of Norbon's daughter? he has but that one child, I hear.—Dear father, have done, says his majesty; to what purpose should you mention her? We but barely know that there is such a state, we have never had any intercourse; and, besides, as you say he has but one child, can you suppose she will ever marry, to leave so fine a kingdom, and live here?—But, sir, says I, now we are supposing, suppose she should, with her father's consent, be willing to marry you, would you have her for your queen?—To make any doubt of that, father, says he, is almost to suppose me a fool.—Then, sir, says I, her father has consented, and she too; and if I durst have presumed so far, or had known your mind sooner, she would, I believe, have ventured with me to have become yours; but you might have slighted her, and crowned heads are not to be trifled with: but, sir, if you are pleased to show your approbation of it, I can assure you, sir, her person will yield to none in your majesty's dominions; for, sir, I have been there, and have seen her, and she is your own, and her kingdom too, upon demand.

Father, says the king, looking earnestly at me; I have been frequently, since I knew you first, in doubt of my own existence; and life seems a dream to me: for if existence

to be judged of by one's faculties only, I have been in such a delusion of them ever since, that as I find myself unable to judge with certainty of any other thing, so I am subject to doubt whether I really exist. Are these things possible that you tell me, father?

I then told him the whole affair, and advised him by all means to accept the offer, and marry the princess out of hand.

His majesty, when I had brought him thoroughly to believe me, was as eager to consummate the marriage, as I was to have him; but then, whether he should go to her, or she come to him, was the question. I told him it was a thing unusual for a sovereign to quit his own dominions for a wife; but would advise an embassy to her father, with notice, that his majesty would meet and espouse her on the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

The ambassadors returning with an appointment of time and place, it was not above a month before I had settled Stygee on the thrones of Sass Doorpt Swangeanti and Mount Aikoe, with the reversion of the kingdom of Norbon, without a competitor.

I shall here give you an account of the marriage-ceremony. The king being arrived on the borders, Stygee, who had waited but a few hours at the last village in Norbon, advanced to his majesty on the very division, as they called it, of the two kingdoms, a line being drawn to express the bounds of each. The king and Stygee having talked apart from the company a little space, each standing hand in hand, on their own respective ground, the chief ragan advanced, and began the ceremony.

He first asked each party aloud, if he and she were willing to be united in body and affections, and would engage to continue so their whole lives; to which each party having answered aloud in the affirmative, Shew me then a token! says he; and immediately each expanding the right side of their graundees, laid it upon the other's left side, so that they appeared then but as one body, standing hand in hand, incased round with the graundee. The ragan then having descanted upon the duties of marriage, concluded the ceremony with wishing them as fruitful as Perigra and Philella. So soon as it was over, and the gripsacks and voices had finished an epithalamium, the bride and bridegroom taking wing, were conducted to Brandleguarp, amidst the acclamations of an infinite number of Georigetti's subjects.

The king had made vast preparations for the reception of the princess Stygee; and nothing was to be heard or seen but feastings and rejoicing for many days: and his majesty afterwards assured me of his entire satisfaction in my choice of his bride, without whom he confessed, that notwithstanding the many other blessings I had procured him, his happiness must have been incomplete.

Intending another flight to Norbon, I was charged with the king and queen's compliments to Oniwheske; which having executed, I opened a free trade to Mount Aikoe; and hearing that small vessels came frequently on the Norbonese coast, to carry off the iron and other metals from thence unwrought, and paid part of their return in wrought metals, I ordered some of the next that came to be stopped, and brought to me; and the day before I had fixed for my departure, notice was sent that twelve of those traders were stopped, and in custody at the sea-side: I longed to see them, but then considering that it would take up more time to bring them to Apsilo the capital, where I was, than I should take in going to them and returning, I resolved to go and examine them myself.

They told me they traded with small vessels to Norbon for metals, which they carried home, and wrought great part of it themselves, sending it to, and dispersing it in, several islands at a distance; and also sold the unwrought to several people who carried it they knew not whither in great ships. They said they kept abundance of hands at work in the trade. I asked if their artificers wrought it for their own profit, or their masters. They told me for masters, themselves being all slaves.—And are you all slaves? says I—They told me Yes, all but one, pointing to him. I then ordered him to be secured and removed; and told them if they would procure some hands to settle at Norbon and Mount Aikoe, they should all be made free, have lands assigned them, and have other privileges, and I did not doubt in time would become the richest men in the country; for I understood by them they were acquainted with the use of money. I asked them what other commodities they brought to Norbon in exchange: they said clothes for the people, both what they received in exchange from others who bought their iron, and some of a coarser sort of their own making. I found, in my discourse I had with them, that out of my eleven men there were persons of four different occupations; so I promised those who would stay with me their freedoms, good houses, and other rewards; and sending three hands home with the vessel, and a full freight, according to the value of the cargo they brought, I ordered them to engage as many as they could of their countrymen of distinct trades, to come and settle with me; and to be sure, if they had any grain, corn, roots, plants, or seeds, usually eaten for food, to bring all they could get with them, and they should have good returns for them; and as to those good

hands that settled here, they should be allowed all materials to work for their own profit the first year, and after that they should also work for themselves, allowing the king one-tenth of the clear profit. This took so far with them, that it was with the utmost difficulty I got any of them to carry the ship back, for fear they should not be able to return.

Before I parted from them, I assigned the eight who were left all proper conveniences, and recommended them to the king's protection; and I ordered the owner, then in custody, to be conducted to Mount Alkoe, and from thence to Brandleguarp; where, treating him kindly, and giving him liberty, I made my proper use of him.

The king having lent me a convoy to conduct my prisoner, and given me a license for as many cattle of the sorts I chose as I pleased to drive to Georigetti's dominions, I made them drive a great number of sheep of the finest wool I ever saw, and very large also; a great number of creatures not unlike an ass for shape, but with two upright horns and short ears, which gave abundance of rich milk; and also some swine. All these were drove to, and distributed at, my new colony, where I let them remain till I had provided a proper receptacle for them at Doorpt Swangeanti, near the woods; when I brought many over the Black Mountain, and distributed there, with directions how to manage them; and in about seven years time we held a little beast-market near Brandleguarp, twice a-year, where the spare cattle were brought up, and preserved in salt till the next market; for I had some years before made large salt-works near the sea at Mount Alkoe, which employed abundance of hands, and was now become a considerable trade.

We had iron, copper, and silver money, which went very current; and had butter and cheese from the farms near the woods, as plenty as we had the fruits before, great numbers of families having settled there; and there was scarce a family but was of some occupation or other.

By the accounts I received from the mines, from time to time, it was prodigious to hear what vast quantities of metals were prepared in one year now, by little above one-third of the hands that were usually employed in them before; for now the men's ambition was, to leave a good week's work done at their return, for an example to those who were coming; and the overseers told me, they would sing and work with the greatest delight imaginable, whilst they pleased themselves with telling one another how they intended to spend the next fourteen days.

## CHAP. LI.

*Peter looking over his Books, finds he has got a Latin Bible—Sets about a Translation—Teaches some of the Ragans Letters—Sets up a Paper Manufacture—Makes the Ragans read the Bible—The Ragans teach others to read and write—A Fair kept at the Black Mountain—Peter's Reflection on the Swangeantines.*

ALL things being now so settled, that they would go on of themselves, and having no farther direct view in my head, I spent my time with my wife; and looking over my books one day to divert myself, with the greatest joy imaginable I found that the Bible I had taken to be in the Portuguese tongue was a Latin one. It was many years since I had thought of that language; but on this occasion, by force of memory and recollection, and with some attention, con ideration, and practice, I found it return to me in so pleasiful a manner, that I fully resolved to translate my Bible into the Swangeantine tongue.

I sent directly for Lasmeel to be my amanuensis, and to work we went upon the translation.

We began at the creation, and descending to the flood, went on to the Jewish captivity in Egypt, and deliverance by Moses, leaving out the genealogies, and all the Jewish ceremonies and laws, except the Ten Commandments. I translated the books of Samuel and Kings, down to the Babylonish captivity. I then translated such parts of the Prophets as were necessary to introduce the Messiah, and discover him; the books of Psalms, Job, and the Proverbs, and with the utmost impatience hasted to the New Testament. But then considering that when I had done, as only Lasmeel and myself could read it, in case of our deaths, the translation must die with us, I chose out six of the junior ragans, and two of the elder, to learn letters; and in less than twelve months I had brought them to read mine and Lasmeel's writing perfectly well.

I instructed these ragans at spare hours whilst I went on with my translation; but finding my paper grow low, having had a great supply of coarse linen, and a sort of calico from the isles, in return for our metals, I set up a manufactory from that, and some of the trees, which we boiled with it to pulp in iron pans, and, beating it to pieces made a useful paper, which would bear ink tolerably. But I could find nothing to make ink of, though I sent over all the country to search for every herb and fruit not commonly used; till at last I found an herb

flower on it, which, if taken before the flower faded, would, by boiling thoroughly, become blue: this, by still more boiling in a copper pan, till it was dry and burnt hard to the bottom, in some measure answered my purpose, and I fixed upon it as the best I could obtain from all my experiments.

When the ragans were masters of their pens, I set six of them to copy what Lasmeel had finished, and the other two to teach their brethren; and in two years time, by a pretty constant application, (for I made them transcribe it perfectly fair and intelligible) we finished our translation, and two fair copies.

I then ordered the ragans to read a portion of it to the people constantly in the mouth: they, from the novelty of the story, at first grew so exceeding fond of it, that upon the proper expositions of it I taught the ragans afterwards to make, they began to apply it seriously to religious purposes.

My writing ragans were very fond of their knowledge of letters; and trade and commerce now increasing, which put every one more or less in want of the same knowledge, they made a great profit of it, by instructing all who applied to them. This increase of writing necessarily provided a maintenance for several persons who travelled to Norbon for quills, and sold them to the Swangeantines at extravagant rates; till the Norbonese hearing that, brought them themselves to the foot of the mountain, where the Swangeantines bought them, as they did several other commodities, which one country had, and the other wanted, especially iron wares of almost every denomination: so that the mountain, being so excessively high, was the barrier; for the Norbonese finding that difficulty in ascending and descending, which the Swangeantines with their graundees did not, there was a constant market of buyers and sellers on the Mount Alkoe side of the Black Mountain, which by degrees grew the general mart of the three kingdoms.

I have often reflected with myself, and have been amazed to think, that so ingenious and industrious a people, as the Swangeantines have since appeared to be, and who, till I came amongst them, had nothing more than bare food, and a hole to lie in, in a barren rocky country, and then seemed to desire only what they had, should, in ten years time, be supplied not only with the conveniences, but superfluities of life; and that they should then become so fond of them, as rather willingly to part with life itself, than be reduced to the state I found them in. And I have as often, on this occasion, reflected on the goodness of Providence, in rendering one part of mankind easy under the absence of such comforts as others could not rest without; and have made it a great argument for my assent to well-attested truths above my comprehension. For, says I, to have affirmed, at my first coming, either that these things could have been made at all, or when done could have been of any additional benefit to these people, would have been so far beyond their imaginations, that the reporter of so plain a truth, as they now find it, would have been looked upon as a madman or an impostor; but by opening their views by little and little, and showing them the dependance of one thing upon another, he that should now affirm the inutility of them, would be observed in a much worse light. And yet, without any embellishments of art, how did this so great a people live under the protection of Providence? Let us first view them at a vast distance from any sort of sustenance, yet, from the help of the graundee, that distance was but a step to them. They were forced to inhabit the rocks, from an utter incapacity of providing shelter elsewhere, having no tool that would either cut down timber for an habitation, or dig up the earth for a fence, or materials to make one; but they had a liquor that would dissolve the rock itself into habitations. They had neither beast or fish, for food or burden; but they had fruits equivalent to both, of the same relish, and as wholesome, without shedding blood. Their fruits were dangerous, till they had fermented in a boiling heat; and they had neither the sun, or any fire, or the knowledge how to propagate or continue it. But they had their hot springs always boiling, without their care or concern. They had neither the skins of beasts, the original clothing, or any other artificial covering from the weather; but they were born with that warm clothing the graundee, which being of a considerable density, and full of veins flowing with warm blood, not only defended their flesh from all outward injuries, but was a most soft, comely, and warm dress to the body. They lived mostly in the dark rock, having less difference of light with the change of seasons than other people have; but either by custom or make, more light than what Providence has sent them in the sweecoe is disagreeable: so that where little is to be obtained, Providence, by confining the capacity, can give content with that; and where apparent wants are, we may see, by these people, how careful Providence is to supply them; for neither the graundee, the sweecoes, or their springs, are to be found where those necessaries can be supplied by other means.

Amongst my other considerations, I have often thought, that if I had gone to the top of the Black Mountains northward of Brandleguarp, in the very lightest time, I might have seen the sun; but these mountains were so elevated, that our lightest time was only

the gilded glimmering of their tops, having never seen so much light on them as totally to eclipse all the stars, of which we had always the same in view, but in different positions.

## CHAP. LII.

*Peter's Children provided for—Youwarkee's Death—How the King and Queen spend their time—Peter grows Melancholy—Wants to get to England—Contrives means—Is taken up at Sea.*

I HAD now been at Brandleguarp ten years, and my children were all provided for by the king but Dickey, as fast as they were qualified for employment, and such as were fit for it were married off to the best alliances in the country; so that I had only to sit down, and see every thing I had put my hand to prosper, and not an evil eye in the three kingdoms cast at me: but about my eleventh or twelfth year, my wife falling into a lingering disorder, at the end of two years it carried her off. This was the first real affliction I had suffered for many years, and so soured my temper, that I became fit for nothing, and it was painful to me even to think of business.

The king's marriage had produced four children, three sons and a daughter, which he would frequently tell me were mine.

Old Oniwheske was dead, and the king and queen divided their whole time equally between Brandleguarp and Apsilo; but he was building a palace at my new colony, which by this time was grown to a vast city, and was called Stygena, in compliment to the queen; and this new palace was designed to receive the court one third of the year, as it lay almost at equal distance between both his other palaces. This method, which his majesty took, at my persuasion, on the death of Oniwheske, though it went against the grain at first, was now grown so habitual to him, and he saw his own interest so much in it, in the love and esteem it procured him from the people, that at last he wanted no spur to it.

My melancholy for the death of my wife, which I hoped time would wear off, rather gained ground upon me; and though I was as much regarded as ever by the whole court, yet it grew troublesome to me even to be asked my advice; and it not only surprised those about me, but even myself, to see the same genius, without any visible natural decay, in so short a time, from the most sprightly and enterprizing, become the most phlegmatic and inactive.

My longings after my native country, ever since my wife's death, redoubled upon me, and I had formed several schemes of getting thither; as first, I had formed a project of going off by the islands, as I had so many canal vessels at command there, and to get into the main ocean, and try my fortune that way; but, upon inquiry, I found that my vessels could not get to sea, or elsewhere, but to the zaps' islands, by reason of the many rocks and sand banks which would oppose me, unless I went through the zaps' country, which, in the light they had reason to view me, I was afraid to do. Then I had thoughts of going from the coast of Norbon; but that must have been in one of the foreign vessels, and they coming from a quite different quarter than I must go, in all probability if I had put to sea any way they were unacquainted with, they having no compass, we must have perished; for the more I grew by degrees acquainted with the situation of Doorpt Swangeanti, the stronger were my conjectures, that my nearest continent must be the southern coast of America; but still it was only conjecture. At length, being tired and uneasy, I resolved, as I was accustomed to flight, and loved it, I would take a turn for some days; carry me where it would, I should certainly light on some land, whence at worst I could but come back again. I then went to see if my chair, board, and ropes, were sound, for I had not used them for several years past; but I found them all so crazy, I durst not venture in them, which disappointment put off my journey for some time. However, as I had still the thought remaining, it put me on seeking some other method to put it in practice; so I contrived the poles from which you took me, being a sort of hollow cane the Swangeantines make their spears of, but exceeding strong and springy, which, interwoven with small cords, were my seat, and were much lighter than my chair; and these buoyed me up when your goodness relieved me. I had taken Mount Alkoe bearers, as I knew I must come to a country of more light; and I now find, if I had not fallen, I must soon have reached land, if we could have held out, for we were come too far to think of returning, without a resting-place: and what will become of my poor bearers, I dread to think; if they attempted to return, they must have dropt, for they had complained all the last day and night, and had shifted very often. If in your history you think fit to carry down the life of a poor old man any farther, you will as well know what to say of me as I can tell you; and I hope what I have hitherto said, will in some measure recompence both your expence and labour.

END OF THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF PETER WILKINS.

# EXPLANATION

OF

# NAMES AND THINGS MENTIONED IN THIS WORK.

A.

*Abb*, a room.
*Aguio*, capital of Norbon.
*Arco*, a man who committed the first murder.
*Arudrumnstake*, Pendlehamby's colambat.
*Arkoe*, water surrounded with wood.

B.

*Barbarsa*, Georigetti's favourite.
*Barkatt*, a husband.
*Barras*, a leathern apron, or flap behind.
*Bast*, a valet de chambre.
*Battringdrigg*, the name of an arkoe.
*Begnurbeck*, an old king of Sass Doorpt Swangeanti.
*Born Isles*, islands to the right hand.
*Bouker*, a very grand room, or saloon.
*Bolt*, a gourd.
*Bougre*, lie down.
*Brandleguarp*, chief city of Sass Doorpt Swangeanti.

C.

*Collentar*, a doctor, or surgeon.
*Cluff*, a captain.
*Colamb*, a governor.
*Colambat*, a government.
*Colapet*, a bag for provision.
*Collwar*, God.
*Corvett*, a mansion-house or seat.
*Crukdoorpt*, Quangrollart's colambat, or country of the slit.
*Crusher*, slit.
*Crullmott*, a fruit tasting like a fowl.

D.

*David*, Peter's fourth son.
*Doorpt Swangeanti*, the land of flight.
*Doors*, a sort of apples.
*Douse*, a soft thing.

E.

*Emma*, a rock.

F.

*Felbanko*, Oniwheske's nephew.
*Filgay*, a freeman.
*Filus*, a rib of the graundee.

G.

*Gadsi*, governor of Mount Alkoe.
*Gauingrunt*, a revolted town in the west.
*Gawrey*, a flying woman.
*Georigetti*, king of Sass Doorpt Swangeanti.
*Glunlspze*, an African who escaped with Peter.
*Glumm*, a flying man.
*Glumm Bast*, a young man.
*Goppa*, a father-in-law.
*Gorpell*, an ensign.
*Goaren*, women.
*Graundee*, the glumms wings and dress.
*Gripsack*, a trumpet.
*Graundevolet*, Peter's arkoe.
*Gume*, the leather between the filuses of the graundee.

H.

*Hallycarnie*, Youwarkee's sister, also her second daughter.
*Hurlokin*, prince of the rebels.
*Hoximo*, a place to bury the dead.
*Hunkum*, marriage.

I.

*I. O.*, the chief ragan.

J.

*Jahamel*, the king's sister.
*Jemmy*, Peter's second son.

L.

*Lallio*, first king of Sass Doorpt Swangeanti.
*Lask*, a slave.
*Laskwett*, slavery.
*Lasmeel*, Peter's scholar.

M.

*Maleck*, Peter's man from Mount Alkoe.
*Mindrack*, the devil.
*Mouch*, a church.
*Moucherratt*, an assembly of the states.

*Mount Alkoe*, a kingdom taking name from a burning mountain.

N.

*Nasgig*, a common soldier, made a general at the request of Peter.
*Nicor*, a creature of Barbaria, the king's favourite.
*Norbon*, the name of the north country.
*Normnbdsgrsutt*, ancient name of Youwarkee's country.

O.

*Oniwheske*, king of Norbon.
*Ors clamm gee*, here am I.

P.

*Padsi*, a fruit tasting like fish.
*Palang*, a town.
*Parky*, sweet.
*Patty*, Peter's eldest daughter, also his first wife.
*Pedro*, Peter's eldest son.
*Peter*, the author.
*Pendlehamby*, Youwarkee's father, the colamb of Arndrumnstake.
*Perigen*, the first-born man.
*Philella*, the first-born woman.
*Puly*, an image.
*Prauve*, modest.

Q.

*Quangrollart*, Youwarkee's brother, colamb of Crashdoorpt.
*Quilly*, Peter's bash.

R.

*Ragan*, a priest.
*Razy*, mighty.
*Richard*, Peter's fifth son.
*Roppin*, marmalade.
*Rosig*, Quangrollart's companion.

S.

*Sary*, Peter's youngest daughter.
*Sass Doorpt Swangeanti*, Peter's new name given to Georigetti's dominions.
*Slip the graundee*, drawing the graundee tight to the body, by a running noose on a line.
*Stapps*, minutes.
*Stygee*, Oniwheske's daughter.
*Sweecoe*, an insect giving a strong light in the dark.
*Sweecoan*, a flight with sweecoes.
*Swangeun*, flight.

T.

*Telamine*, a woman, whose husband committed the first murder.
*Tymmy*, Peter's second son.

Y.

*Yaccombourse*, the king's mistress.
*Yacom*, a man child.
*Youk*, capital of the west.
*Youwarkee*, Peter's wife.

Z.

*Zups*, lords.

THE

# LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

# ROBINSON CRUSOE.

BY

DANIEL DE FOE.

THE

# LIFE AND ADVENTURES

OF

# ROBINSON CRUSOE.

## CHAP. I.

*My Birth and Parentage—At Nineteen Years of Age I determine to go to Sea—Dissuaded by my Parents—Elope with a School-fellow, and go on board Ship—A Storm arises, during which I am dreadfully frightened—Ship founders—Myself and Crew saved by a Boat from another Vessel, and landed near Yarmouth—Meet my Companion's Father there, who advises me never to go to Sea more, but all in vain.*

I WAS born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull: He got a good estate by merchandize, and, leaving off his trade, lived afterwards at York, from whence he had married my mother, whose relations were named Robinson, a very good family in that country, and from whom I was called Robinson Kreutznaer; but by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay, we call ourselves, and write our name, Crusoe; and so my companions always called me.

I had two elder brothers, one of which was a lieutenant-colonel to an English regiment of foot in Flanders, formerly commanded by the famous Colonel Lockhart, and was killed at the battle near Dunkirk against the Spaniards: what became of my second brother, I never knew, any more than my father or mother did know what was become of me.

Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts: my father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house education, and a country free-school generally goes, and designed me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea; and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay, the commands, of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends, that there seemed to be something fatal in that propension of nature, tending directly to the life of misery which was to befal me.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon this subject: He asked me what reasons, more than a mere wandering inclination, I had for leaving my father's house and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortune by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure: He told me, it was men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring superior fortunes on the other, and who went abroad upon adventures, to rise by enterprize, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me; that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found, by long experience, was the best state in the world; the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labour and sufferings of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind. He told me, I might judge of the happiness of this state, by this one thing: viz. That this was the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being

born to great things, and wished they had been placed in the middle of the two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this, as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed to have neither poverty nor riches.

He bade me observe it, and I should always find, that the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower part of mankind; but that the middle station had the fewest disasters, and was not exposed to so many vicissitudes as the higher or lower part of mankind; nay, they were not subjected to so many distempers and uneasiness, either of body or mind, as those were, who, by vicious living, luxury, and extravagancies, on one hand, or by hard labour, want of necessaries, and mean or insufficient diet, on the other hand, bring distempers upon themselves by the natural consequences of their way of living; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kind of virtues, and all kind of enjoyments; that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune; that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures, were the blessings attending the middle station of life; that this way men went silently and smoothly through the world, and comfortably out of it; not embarrassed with the labours of the hands, or of the head; not sold to a life of slavery for daily bread, or harassed with perplexed circumstances, which rob the soul of peace, and the body of rest; not enraged with the passion of envy, or the secret burning lust of ambition for great things; but in easy circumstances, sliding gently through the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living without the bitter; feeling that they are happy, and learning by every day's experience to know it more sensibly.

After this he pressed me earnestly, and in the most affectionate manner, not to play the young man, or to precipitate myself into miseries, which nature, and the station of life I was born in, seemed to have provided against; that I was under no necessity of seeking my bread; that he would do well for me, and endeavour to enter me fairly into the station of life which he had been just recommending to me; and that if I was not very easy and happy in the world, it must be my mere fate, or fault, that must hinder it; and that he should have nothing to answer for, having thus discharged his duty in warning me against measures which he knew would be to my hurt: In a word, that as he would do very kind things for me, if I would stay and settle at home as he directed; so he would not have so much hand in my misfortunes, as to give me any encouragement to go away: and to close all, he told me, I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Low Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed; and though he said he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me, that if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me; and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery.

I observed in this last part of his discourse, which was truly prophetic, though I suppose my father did not know it to be so himself; I say, I observed the tears run down his face very plentifully, especially when he spoke of my brother who was killed; and that when he spoke of my having leisure to repent, and none to assist me, he was so moved, that he broke off the discourse, and told me, his heart was so full, he could say no more to me.

I was sincerely afflicted with this discourse, as indeed who could be otherwise? and I resolved not to think of going abroad any more, but to settle at home according to my father's desire. But, alas! a few days wore it all off; and, in short, to prevent any of my father's farther importunities, in a few weeks after, I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily neither, as the first heat of my resolution prompted, but I took my mother at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary; and told her, that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to any thing with resolution enough to go through with it; and my father had better give me his consent, than force me to go without it; that I was now eighteen years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade, or clerk to an attorney; that I was sure, if I did, I should never serve out my time, but I should certainly run away from my master before my time was out, and go to sea; and if she would speak to my father to let me go one voyage abroad, if I came home again, and did not like it, I would go no more, and I would promise, by a double diligence, to recover the time I had lost.

This put my mother into a great passion: she told me, she knew it would be to no purpose to speak to my father upon any such subject; that he knew too well what was my interest, to give his consent to any such thing so much for my hurt; and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing, after the discourse I had had with my father, and such kind and tender expressions, as she knew my father had used to me; and that, in short, if I would ruin myself, there was no help for me; but I might depend I should

never have their consent to it: that, for her part, she would not have so much hand in my destruction; and I should never have it to say, that my mother was willing, when my father was not.

Though my mother refused to move it to my father, yet I heard afterwards, that she reported all the discourse to him; and that my father, after showing a great concern at it, said to her, with a sigh, That boy might be happy, if he would stay at home; but if he goes abroad, he will be the most miserable wretch that ever was born; I can give no consent to it.

It was not till almost a year after this that I broke loose, though in the mean time I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business, and frequently expostulating with my father and mother, about their being so positively determined against what they knew my inclinations prompted me to. But being one day at Hull, whither I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement that time; but, I say, being there, and one of my companions being going by sea to London, in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them, with the common allurement of a seafaring man, that it should cost me nothing for my passage, I consulted neither father or mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but leaving them to hear of it, as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour, God knows, on the first of September, 1651, I went on board a ship bound for London. Never any young adventurer's misfortunes, I believe, began sooner, or continued longer, than mine: the ship was no sooner got out of the Humber, but the wind began to blow, and the sea to rise in a most frightful manner; and as I had never been at sea before, I was most inexpressibly sick in body, and terrified in mind. I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment of heaven for my wicked leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty; all the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind; and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father.

All this while the storm increased, and the sea went very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since; no, nor what I saw a few days after: but it was enough to affect me then, who was but a young sailor, and had never known any thing of the matter. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the ship fell down, as I thought it did, in the trough or hollow of the sea, we should never rise more. In this agony of mind, I made many vows and resolutions, that if it would please God to spare my life in this one voyage, if ever I got once my foot upon dry land again, I would go directly home to my father, and never set it into a ship again while I lived; that I would take his advice, and never run myself into such miseries as these any more. Now I saw plainly the goodness of his observations about the middle station of life, how easy, how comfortable he had lived all his days, and never had been exposed to tempests at sea, or trouble on shore; and, in short, I resolved, that I would, like a true repenting prodigal, go home to my father.

These wise and sober thoughts continued all the while the storm continued, and indeed some time after; but the next day the wind was abated, and the sea calmer, and I began to be a little inured to it. However, I was very grave for all that day, being also a little sea-sick still; but towards night the weather cleared up, the wind was quite over, and a charming fine evening followed; the sun went down perfectly clear, and rose so the next morning; and having little or no wind, and a smooth sea, the sun shining upon it, the sight was, as I thought, the most delightful that ever I saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful; looking with wonder upon the sea, that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm and so pleasant in so little a time after: and now, lest my good resolutions should continue, my companion, who had indeed enticed me away, comes to me: Well, Bob, says he, clapping me upon the shoulder, how do you do after it? I warrant you were frighted, wer'n't you, last night, when it blew but a capful of wind?—A capful d'ye call it? said I, 'twas a terrible storm.—A storm, you fool you! replies he, do you call that a storm? why it was nothing at all; give us but a good ship, and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that; but you're but a fresh-water sailor, Bob; come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that; d'ye see what charming weather 'tis now?—To make short this sad part of my story, we went the way of all sailors; the punch was made, and I was made half drunk with it, and in that one night's wickedness I drowned all my repentance, all my reflections upon my past conduct, all my resolutions for the future. In a word, as the sea was returned to its smoothness of surface, and settled calmness, by the abatement of that storm, so, the

hurry of my thoughts being over, my fears and apprehensions of being swallowed up by the sea being forgotten, and the current of my former desires returned, I entirely forgot the vows and promises that I made in my distress. I found indeed some intervals of reflection; and the serious thoughts did, as it were, endeavour to return again sometimes; but I shook them off, and roused myself from them, as it were from a distemper; and applying myself to drinking and company, soon mastered the return of those fits (for so I called them); and I had, in five or six days, got a complete victory over my conscience, as any young fellow that resolved not to be troubled with it, could desire. But I was to have another trial for it still; and Providence, as in such cases generally it does, resolved to leave me entirely without excuse: for if I would not take this for a deliverance, the next was to be such an one, as the worst and most hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy.

The sixth day of our being at sea, we came into Yarmouth roads; the wind having been contrary, and the weather calm, we had made but little way since the storm. Here we were obliged to come to an anchor, and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, viz. at south-west, for seven or eight days; during which time, a great many ships from Newcastle came into the same roads, as the common harbour where the ships might wait for a wind for the river.

We had not, however, rid here so long, but we should have tided it up the river, but that the wind blew too fresh; and, after we had lain four or five days, blew very hard. However, the roads being reckoned as good as an harbour, the anchorage good, and our ground-tackle very strong, our men were unconcerned, and not in the least apprehensive of danger; but spent the time in rest and mirth, after the manner of the sea: but the eighth day in the morning, the wind increased, and we had all hands at work to strike our top-masts, and make every thing snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon, the sea went very high indeed, and our ship rid forecastle in, shipped several seas, and we thought once or twice our anchor had come home; upon which, our master ordered out the sheet anchor; so that we rode with two anchors a head, and the cables veered out to the better end.

By this time, it blew a terrible storm indeed; and now, I began to see terror and amazement in the faces even of the seamen themselves. The master, though vigilant in the business of preserving the ship, yet as he went in and out of his cabin by me, I could hear him, softly to himself, say several times, Lord be merciful to us! we shall be all lost, we shall be all undone; and the like. During these first hurries, I was stupid, lying still in my cabin, which was in the steerage, and cannot describe my temper. I could ill resume the first penitence which I had so apparently trampled upon, and hardened myself against: I thought the bitterness of death had been past; and that this would be nothing too, like the first. But when the master himself came by me, as I said just now, and said we should be all lost, I was dreadfully frighted: I got up out of my cabin, and looked out; but such a dismal sight I never saw: the sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four minutes: when I could look about, I could see nothing but distress round us. Two ships that rid near us, we found, had cut their masts by the board, being deep loaden; and our men cried out, that a ship, which rid about a mile a-head of us, was foundered. Two more ships, being driven from their anchors, were run out of the roads to sea, at all adventures, and that with not a mast standing. The light ships fared the best, as not so much labouring in the sea; but two or three of them drove, and came close by us, running away with only their sprit-sail out, before the wind.

Towards the evening, the mate and boatswain begged the master of our ship to let them cut away the foremast, which he was very unwilling to do: but the boatswain protesting to him, that if he did not the ship would founder, he consented; and when they had cut away the fore-mast, the main-mast stood so loose, and shook the ship so much, they were obliged to cut her away also, to make a clear deck.

Any one must judge what a condition must be in at all this, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a little. But if I can express this distance the thoughts I had about me at that time, I was in tenfold more horror of mind upon account of my former convictions and the having returned from them to my resolutions I had wickedly taken at first, than I was at death itself; and these, added to the terror of the storm, put me into such a condition, that I can by no words describe. But the worst was not come yet; the storm continued with such fury, that the seamen themselves acknowledged they had never seen a worse. We had a good ship, but she was deep loaden, and wallowed in the sea, that the seamen every now and then cried out, she would founder. It was my advantage in one respect, that I did not know what they meant by founder, till I inquired. However, the storm was so violent, that I

what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment when the ship would go to the bottom. In the middle of the night, and under all the rest of our distresses, one of the men that had been down on purpose to see, cried out we had sprung a leak; another said, there was four feet water in the hold. Then all hands were called to the pump. At that very word, my heart, as I thought, died within me; and I fell backwards upon the side of my bed where I sat, into the cabin. However, the men roused me, and told me, that I that was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another; at which I stirred up, and went to the pump, and worked very heartily. While this was doing, the master seeing some light colliers, who, not able to ride out the storm, were obliged to slip and run away to the sea, and would come near us, ordered to fire a gun as a signal of distress. I, who knew nothing what that meant, was so surprised, that I thought the ship had broke, or some dreadful thing happened. In a word, I was so surprised, that I fell down in a swoon. As this was a time when every body had his own life to think of, nobody minded me, or what was become of me; but another man stept up to the pump, and, thrusting me aside with his foot, let me lie, thinking I had been dead; and it was a great while before I came to myself.

We worked on, but the water increasing in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder; and though the storm began to abate a little, yet as it was not possible she could swim till we might run into a port, so the master continued firing guns for help; and a light ship, who had rid it out just a-head of us, ventured a boat out to help us. It was with the utmost hazard the boat came near us; but it was impossible for us to get on board, or for the boat to lie near the ship-side, till at last the men rowing very heartily, and venturing their lives to save ours, our men cast them a rope over the stern with a buoy to it, and then veered it out a great length, which they, after much labour and hazard, took hold of, and we hauled them close under our stern, and got all into their boat. It was to no purpose for them or us, after we were in the boat, to think of reaching to their own ship; so all agreed to let her drive, and only to pull her in towards shore as much as we could; and our master promised them, that if the boat was staved upon shore, he would make it good to their master: so partly rowing, and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore, almost as far as Winterton-Ness.

We were not much more than a quarter of an hour out of our ship, but we saw her sink: and then I understood for the first time, what was meant by a ship foundering in the sea. I must acknowledge I had hardly eyes to look up, when the seamen told me she was sinking; for, from that moment they rather put me into the boat, than that I might be said to go in, my heart was, as it were, dead within me, partly with fright, partly with horror of mind, and the thoughts of what was yet before me.

While we were in this condition, the men yet labouring at the oar to bring the boat near the shore, we could see, (when our boat mounting the waves we were able to see the shore,) a great many people running along the shore to assist us, when we should come near; but we made but slow way towards the shore, nor were we able to reach the shore, till being past the light-house at Winterton, the shore falls off to the westward towards Cromer, and so the land broke off a little the violence of the wind. Here we got in, and, though not without much difficulty, got all safe on shore, and walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by particular merchants and owners of ships, and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London, or back to Hull, as we thought fit.

Had I now had the sense to have gone back to Hull, and have gone home, I had been happy, and my father, an emblem of our blessed Saviour's parable, had even killed the fatted calf for me; for, hearing the ship I went away in was cast away in Yarmouth Road, it was a great while before he had any assurance that I was not drowned.

But my ill fate pushed me on now with an obstinacy that nothing could resist; and, though I had several times loud calls from my reason and my more composed judgment to go home, yet I had no power to do it. I know not what to call this, nor will I urge, that it is a secret overruling decree that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction, even though it be before us, and that we push upon it with our eyes open. Certainly, nothing but some such decreed unavoidable misery attending, and which it was impossible for me to escape, could have pushed me forward against the calm reasonings and persuasions of my most retired thoughts, and against two such visible instructions as I had met with in my first attempt.

My comrade, who had helped to harden me before, and who was the master's son, was now less forward than I. The first time he spoke to me after we were at Yarmouth,

which was not till two or three days, for we were separated in the town to several quarters; I say, the first time he saw me, it appeared his tone was altered; and, looking very melancholy, and shaking his head, asked me how I did: And telling his father who I was, and how I had come this voyage only for a trial, in order to go farther abroad; his father, turning to me with a very grave and concerned tone, Young man, says he, you ought never to go to sea any more; you ought to take this for a plain and visible token, that you are not to be a seafaring man.—Why, sir, said I, will you go to sea no more?—That is another case, said he; it is my calling, and therefore my duty; but as you made this voyage for a trial, you see what a taste heaven has given you, of what you are to expect, if you persist; perhaps all this has befallen us on your account, like Jonah in the ship of Tarshish. Pray, continues he, what are you? and on what account did you go to sea?—Upon that I told him some of my story; at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion; What had I done, says he, that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship? I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds.—This indeed was, as I said, an excursion of his spirits, which were yet agitated by the sense of his loss, and was farther than he could have authority to go. However, he afterwards talked very gravely to me, exhorted me to go back to my father, and not tempt Providence to my ruin; told me, I might see a visible hand of heaven against me; And, young man, said he, depend upon it, if you do not go back, wherever you go, you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments, till your father's words are fulfilled upon you.

We parted soon after; for I made him little answer, and I saw him no more; which way he went, I know not. As for me, having some money in my pocket, I travelled to London by land; and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself, what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home, or go to sea

As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even every body else; from whence I have since often observed, how incongruous and irrational the common temper of mankind is, especially of youth, to that reason which ought to guide them in such cases, viz that they are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent; nor ashamed of the action for which they ought justly to be esteemed fools, but are ashamed of the returning, which only can make them be esteemed wise men.

In this state of life, however, I remained some time, uncertain what measures to take, and what course of life to lead. An irresistible reluctance continued to going home; and as I stayed a while, the remembrance of the distress I had been in wore off; and as that abated, the little motion I had in my desires to a return wore off with it, till at last I quite laid aside the thoughts of it, and looked out for a voyage.

That evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, that hurried me into the wild and indigested notion of raising my fortune, and that impressed those conceits so forcibly upon me, as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the entreaties and even the command of my father; I say the same influence, whatever it was, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprizes to my view; and I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa; or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea.

It was my great misfortune, that in all these adventures I did not ship myself as a sailor, whereby, though I might indeed have worked a little harder than ordinary, yet, at the same time, I had learnt the duty and office of a foremastman; and in time might have qualified myself for a mate or lieutenant, if not for a master. But as it was always my fate to choose for the worse, so I did here; for having money in my pocket, and good clothes upon my back, I would always go on board in the habit of a gentleman; and so I neither had any business in the ship, or learnt to do any.

## CHAP. II.

*Make a trading Voyage to Guinea very successfully—Death of my Captain—Sail another Trip with his Mate—The Vengeance of Providence for Disobedience to Parents now overtakes me—Taken by a Sallee Rover, and all sold as Slaves—My Master frequently sends me a-fishing, which suggests an Idea of Escape—Make my Escape in an open Boat, with a Morisco Boy.*

It was my lot, first of all, to fall into pretty good company in London, which does not always happen to such loose and ungoverned young fellows as I then was, the devil generally not omitting to lay some snare for them very early; but it was not so with me. The first fell acquainted with the master of a ship who had been on the coast of Guinea; and who having had very good success there, was resolved to go again; and who taking a liking

to my conversation, which was not at all disagreeable at that time, hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me, if I would go the voyage with him I should be at no expense; I should be his messmate and his companion; and if I could carry any thing with me, I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit; and perhaps I might meet with some encouragement.

I embraced the offer; and entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest and plain-dealing man, I went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably; for I carried about 40l. in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This 40l. I had mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations, whom I corresponded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or at least my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure.

This was the only voyage which I may say was successful in all my adventures, and which I owe to the integrity and honesty of my friend the captain; under whom also I got a competent knowledge of the mathematics, and the rules of navigation; learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor: For, as he took delight to instruct me, I took delight to learn; and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant: For I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold-dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London, at my return, almost 300l.; and this filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so completed my ruin.

Yet, even in this voyage, I had my misfortunes too; particularly that I was continually sick, being thrown into a violent calenture by the excessive heat of the climate; our principal trading being upon the coast, from the lat. of 15 degrees N. even to the Line itself.

I was now set up for a Guinea trader; and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again; and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. This was the unhappiest voyage that ever man made; for though I did not carry quite 100l. of my new-gained wealth, so that I had 200l. left, and which I lodged with my friend's widow, who was very just to me, yet I fell into terrible misfortunes in this voyage; and the first was this: viz. Our ship, making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprised, in the grey of the morning, by a Moorish rover of Sallee, who gave chace to us with all the sail she could make. We crowded also as much canvas as our yards would spread, or our masts carry, to have got clear; but finding the pirate gained upon us, and would certainly come up with us in a few hours, we prepared to fight; our ship having twelve guns, and the rover eighteen. About three in the afternoon he came up with us, and bringing to, by mistake, just athwart our quarter, instead of athwart our stern, as he intended, we brought eight of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him sheer off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small shot, from near two hundred men which he had on board. However, we had not a man touched, all our men keeping close. He prepared to attack us again, and we to defend ourselves; but laying us on board the next time upon our other quarter, he entered sixty men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the decks and rigging. We plied them with small shot, half-pikes, powder-chests and such like, and cleared our deck of them twice. However, to cut short this melancholy part of our story, our ship being disabled, and three of our men killed, and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended: nor was I carried up the country, to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover, as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business. At this surprising change of my circumstances, from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetic discourse to me, that I should be miserable, and have none to relieve me; which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass, that I could not be worse; that now the hand of heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without redemption. But, alas! this was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of this story.

As my new patron or master had taken me home to his house, so I was in hopes that he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would be some time or other his fate to be taken by a Spanish or Portugal man of war; and that then I should be set at liberty. But this hope of mine was soon taken away; for when he went to sea, he left me on shore to look after his little garden, and do the common drudgery of

slaves about his house; and when he came home again from his cruize, he ordered me to lie in the cabin to look after the ship.

Here I meditated nothing but my escape, and what method I might take to effect it; but found no way that had the least probability in it. Nothing presented to make the supposition of it rational; for I had nobody to communicate it to that would embark with me; no fellow-slave, no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotsman there, but myself; so that for two years, though I often pleased myself with the imagination, yet I never had the least encouraging prospect of putting it in practice.

After about two years, an odd circumstance presented itself, which put the old thought of making some attempt for my liberty again in my head: My patron lying at home longer than usual, without fitting out his ship, which, as I heard, was for want of money, he used constantly, once or twice a week, sometimes oftener, if the weather was fair, to take the ship's pinnace, and go out into the road a-fishing; and as he always took me and a young Moresco with him to row the boat, we made him very merry, and I proved very dexterous in catching fish; insomuch, that sometimes he would send me with a Moor, one of his kinsmen, and the youth, the Moresco, as they called him, to catch a dish of fish for him.

It happened one time, that going a-fishing with him in a calm morning, a fog rose so thick, that though we were not half a league from the shore, we lost sight of it; and rowing we knew not whither, or which way, we laboured all day, and all the next night; and when the morning came, we found we had pulled off to sea, instead of pulling in for the shore; and that we were at least two leagues from the land: However, we got well in again, though with a great deal of labour, and some danger; for the wind began to blow pretty fresh in the morning; but, particularly, we were all very hungry.

But our patron, warned by this disaster, resolved to take more care of himself for the future; and having lying by him the long-boat of our English ship which he had taken, he resolved he would not go a-fishing any more without a compass and some provision; so he ordered the carpenter of his ship, who also was an English slave, to build a little state-room, or cabin, in the middle of the long-boat, like that of a barge, with a place to stand behind it to steer, and haul home the main-sheet; and room before for a hand or two to stand and work the sails. She sailed with what we call a shoulder-of-mutton sail; and the boom jibbed over the top of the cabin, which lay very snug and low, and had in it room for him to lie, with a slave or two, and a table to eat on, with some small lockers to put in some bottles of such liquor as he thought fit to drink; particularly his bread, rice, and coffee.

We were frequently out with this boat a-fishing; and as I was most dexterous to catch fish for him, he never went without me. It happened one day, that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three Moors of some distinction, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily; and had therefore sent on board the boat over night a larger store of provisions than usual; and had ordered me to get ready three fusils with powder and shot, which were on board his ship; for that they designed some sport of fowling, as well as fishing.

I got all things ready, as he had directed; and waited the next morning with the boat washed clean, her ancient and pendants out, and every thing to accommodate his guests; when by and by my patron came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, upon some business that fell out; and ordered me, with the man and boy, as usual, to go out with the boat, and catch them some fish, for that his friends were to sup at his house; he commanded me too, that as soon as I had got some fish, I should bring it home to his house: all which I prepared to do.

This moment my former notions of deliverance darted into my thoughts; for now I found I was like to have a little ship at my command; and my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself not for fishing business, but for a voyage; though I knew not neither did I so much as consider, whither I would steer; for any where to get out of that place was my way.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor, to get something for our subsistence on board; for I told him we must not presume to eat of our patron's bread; he said, that was true: so he brought a large basket of rusk or biscuit of their kind, and three jars with fresh water, into the boat. I knew where my patron's case of bottles stood, which, it was evident by the make, were taken out of some English prize, and conveyed them into the boat while the Moor was on shore, as if they had been there before for our master: I conveyed also a great lump of bees-wax into the boat, which weighed above half a hundred weight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer, all which were of great use to us afterwards, especially the wax to make candles. Another trick I tried upon him, which he innocently came into also; his name was Ismael, whom they call Muly, or Moley; and I called to him: Moley, said I, our patron's guns are on board the boat; can you not get

little powder and shot? it may be we may kill some alcamies (a fowl like our curlews) for ourselves, for I know he keeps the gunner's stores in the ship.—Yes, says he, I'll bring some; and accordingly he brought a great leather pouch, which held about a pound and a half of powder, or rather more, and another with shot, that had five or six pounds, with some bullets, and put all into the boat: at the same time I had found some powder of my master's in the great cabin, with which I filled one of the large bottles in the case, which was almost empty, pouring what was in it into another; and thus furnished with every thing needful, we sailed out of the port to fish. The castle, which is at the entrance of the port, knew who we were, and took no notice of us; and we were not above a mile out of the port before we hauled in our sail, and set us down to fish. The wind blew from the north-north-east, which was contrary to my desire; for had it blown southerly, I had been sure to have made the coast of Spain, and at least reached to the bay of Cadiz; but my resolutions were, blow which way it would, I would be gone from that horrid place where I was, and leave the rest to fate.

After we had fished some time and catched nothing, for when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up, that he might not see them, I said to the Moor, This will not do; our master will not be thus served; we must stand farther off. He, thinking no harm, agreed, and being in the head of the boat, set the sails; and as I had the helm, I run the boat out near a league farther, and then brought her to as if I would fish; when, giving the boy the helm, I stepped forward to where the Moor was, and making as if I stooped for something behind him, I took him by surprise with my arm under his twist, and tossed him clear overboard into the sea: he rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and called to me, begged to be taken in, told me he would go all over the world with me. He swam so strong after the boat, that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind; upon which I stepped into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling pieces, I presented it at him, and told him, I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet I would do him none: But, said I, you swim well enough to reach to the shore, and the sea is calm; make the best of your way to shore, and I will do you no harm; but if you come near the boat, I'll shoot you through the head, for I am resolved to have my liberty: so he turned himself about, and swam for the shore, and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

I could have been content to have taken this Moor with me, and have drowned the boy, but there was no venturing to trust him. When he was gone, I turned to the boy, whom they called Xury, and said to him, Xury, if you will be faithful to me I'll make you a great man; but if you will not stroke your face to be true to me, (that is, swear by Mahomet and his father's beard,) I must throw you into the sea too. The boy smiled in my face, and spoke so innocently, that I could not mistrust him; and swore to be faithful to me, and go all over the world with me.

While I was in view of the Moor that was swimming, I stood out directly to sea with the boat, rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the Straits' mouth, as indeed any one that had been in their wits must have been supposed to do; for who would have supposed we were sailed on to the southward to the truly Barbarian coast, where whole nations of Negroes were sure to surround us with their canoes, and destroy us; where we could never once go on shore, but we should be devoured by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of human kind?

But as soon as it grew dusk in the evening, I changed my course, and steered directly south and by east, bending my course a little toward the east, that I might keep in with the shore; and having a fair, fresh gale of wind, and a smooth, quiet sea, I made such sail, that I believe by the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon, when I first made the land, I could not be less than 150 miles south of Sallee; quite beyond the emperor of Morocco's dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabouts, for we saw no people.

Yet such was the fright I had taken at the Moors, and the dreadful apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I would not stop, or go on shore, or come to an anchor, the wind continuing fair, till I had sailed in that manner five days; and then the wind shifting to the southward, I concluded also that if any of our vessels were in chase of me, they also would now give over; so I ventured to make to the coast, and come to an anchor in the mouth of a little river, I knew not what, or where; neither what latitude, what country, what nation, or what river: I neither saw, or desired to see, any people; the principal thing I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, resolving to swim on shore as soon as it was dark, and discover the country; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard such dreadful noises of the barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, of we knew not what kinds, that the poor boy was ready to die with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till day. Well, Xury, said I, then I won't; but it may be we may see men by day, who will be as bad

to us as those lions.—Then we give them the shoot gun, says Xury, laughing, make them run wey.—Such English Xury spoke by conversing among us slaves. However, I was glad to see the boy so chearful, and I gave him a dram (out of our patron's case of bottles) to cheer him up. After all, Xury's advice was good, and I took it: we dropped our little anchor, and lay still all night; I say still, for we slept none; for in two or three hours we saw vast great creatures (we knew not what to call them) of many sorts, come down to the sea-shore, and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves for the pleasure of cooling themselves; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never indeed heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frighted, and indeed so was I too; but we were both more frighted when we heard one of these mighty creatures come swimming towards our boat; we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing, to be a monstrous, huge, and furious beast; Xury said it was a lion, and it might be so for aught I know. Poor Xury cried to me to weigh the anchor, and row away. No, says I, Xury, we can slip our cable with a buoy to it, and go to sea; they cannot follow us far. I had no sooner said so, but I perceived the creature (whatever it was) within two oars length, which something surprised me; however, I immediately stept to the cabin-door, and taking up my gun, fired at him; upon which he immediately turned about, and swam to the shore again.

But it was not possible to describe the horrible noises, and hideous cries and howlings, that were raised, as well upon the edge of the shore, as higher within the country, upon the noise or report of a gun; a thing I have some reason to believe those creatures had never heard before. This convinced me, that there was no going on shore for us in the night upon that coast; and how to venture on shore in the day, was another question too; for to have fallen into the hands of any of the savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the paws of lions and tigers; at least we were equally apprehensive of the danger of it.

Be that as it would, we were obliged to go on shore somewhere or other for water, for we had not a pint left in the boat; when or where to get it was the point: Xury said, if I would let him go on shore with one of the jars, he would find if there was any water, and bring some to me. I asked him why he would go? why I should not go, and he stay in the boat? The boy answered with so much affection, that made me love him ever after. Says he, if wild mans come, they eat me, you go wey.—Well, Xury, said I, we will both go, and if the wild mans come, we will kill them; they shall eat neither of us.—So I gave Xury a piece of rusk-bread to eat, and a dram out of our patron's case of bottles, which I mentioned before; and we hauled the boat in as near the shore as we thought was proper, and waded on shore, carrying nothing but our arms, and two jars for water.

I did not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the coming of canoes with negroes down the river: but the boy, seeing a low place about a mile up the country, rambled to it; and by and by I saw him come running towards me. I thought he was pursued by some savage, or frighted with some wild beast, and I run forward towards him to help him; but when I came nearer to him, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature that he had shot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however, we were very glad of it, and it was very good meat; but the great joy that poor Xury came with, was to tell me he had found good water, and seen no wild mans.

But we found afterwards that we need not take such pains for water, for a little higher up the creek where we were, we found the water fresh when the tide was out, which flows but a little way up; so we filled our jars, and feasted on the hare we had killed, and prepared to go on our way, having seen no footsteps of any human creature in that part of the country.

As I had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very well that the islands of the Canaries, and the Cape de Verd islands also, lay not far off from the coast. But as I had no instruments to take an observation to know what latitude we were in, and did not exactly know, or at least not remember, what latitude they were in, and knew not where to look for them, or when to stand off to sea towards them; otherwise I might now easily have found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to that part where the English traded, I should find some of their vessels upon their usual design of trade, that would relieve and take us in.

By the best of my calculation, that place where I now was, must be that country, which, lying between the emperor of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes, lies waste, and uninhabited, except by wild beasts; the Negroes having abandoned it, and gone farther south for fear of the Moors; and the Moors not thinking it worth inhabiting, by reason of its barrenness; and, indeed, both forsaking it because of the prodigious numbers of tigers, lions, leopards, and other furious creatures which harbour there; so that the Moors use it for their hunting only, when

they go like an army, two or three thousand men at a time; and, indeed, for near an hundred miles together upon this coast, we saw nothing but a waste uninhabited country by day, and heard nothing but howlings and roaring of wild beasts by night.

Once or twice in the day time I thought I saw the Pico of Teneriffe, being the high top of the mountain Teneriffe in the Canaries; and had a great mind to venture out in hopes of reaching thither; but having tried twice, I was forced in again by contrary winds, the sea also going too high for my little vessel; so I resolved to pursue my first design, and keep along the shore.

Several times I was obliged to land for fresh water, after we had left this place; and once in particular, being early in the morning, we came to an anchor under a little point of land which was pretty high; and, the tide beginning to flow, we lay still to go farther in. Xury, whose eyes were more about him than it seems mine were, calls softly to me, and tells me, that we had best go farther off the shore; For, says he, look, yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock fast asleep.—I looked where he pointed, and saw a dreadful monster indeed, for it was a terrible great lion that lay on the side of the shore, under the shade of a piece of the hill that hung as it were a little over him. Xury, says I, you shall go on shore and kill him. Xury looked frighted, and said, Me kill! he eat me at one mouth; one mouthful he meant: however, I said no more to the boy, but bade him lie still, and I took our biggest gun, which was almost musket-bore, and loaded it with a good charge of powder, and with two slugs, and laid it down; then I loaded another gun with two bullets; and the third, for we had three pieces, I loaded with five smaller bullets. I took the best aim I could with the first piece to have shot him into the head, but he lay so with his leg raised a little above his nose, that the slugs hit his leg about the knee, and broke the bone. He started up, growling at first, but finding his leg broke, fell down again, and then got up upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard. I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head; however, I took up the second piece immediately, and, though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him into the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop, and make but little noise, but lie struggling for life. Then Xury took heart, and would have me let him go on shore; Well, go, said I; so the boy jumped into the water, and, taking a little gun in one hand, swam to shore with the other hand, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear, and shot him into the head again, which dispatched him quite.

This was game indeed to us, but this was no food; and I was very sorry to lose three charges of powder and shot upon a creature that was good for nothing to us. However, Xury said he would have some of him; so he comes on board, and asked me to give him the hatchet.—For what, Xury? said I.—Me cut off his head, said he.—However, Xury could not cut off his head, but he cut off a foot, and brought it with him, and it was a monstrous great one.

I bethought myself, however, that perhaps the skin of him might one way or other be of some value to us; and I resolved to take off his skin, if I could. So Xury and I went to work with him; but Xury was much the better workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed, it took us both up the whole day, but at last we got off the hide of him, and, spreading it on the top of our cabin, the sun effectually dried it in two days time, and it afterwards served me to lie upon.

## CHAP. II.

*Make for the Southward in hopes of meeting with some European Vessel—See Savages along Shore—Shoot a large Leopard—Am taken up by a Merchantman—Arrive at the Brazils, and buy a Settlement there—Cannot be quiet, but sail on a Voyage of Adventure to Guinea—Ship strikes on a Sand-bank in unknown Land—All lost but myself, who am driven ashore, half dead.*

After this stop, we made on to the southward continually for ten or twelve days, living very sparing on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener into the shore than we were obliged to for fresh water: my design in this was, to make the river Gambia or Senegal, that is to say, any where about the Cape de Verd, where I was in hopes to meet with some European ship; and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek for the islands, or perish there among the Negroes. I knew that all the ships from Europe, which sailed either to the coast of Guinea or to Brazil, or to the East Indies, made this Cape, or those islands; and, in a word, I put the whole of my fortune upon this single point, either that I must meet with some ship, or must perish.

When I had pursued this resolution about ten days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the land was inhabited; and in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw people stand upon the shore to look at us; we could

also perceive they were quite black, and stark naked. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them; but Xury was my better counsellor, and said to me, No go, no go. However, I hauled in nearer the shore that I might talk to them, and I found they run along the shore by me a good way: I observed they had no weapons in their hands, except one, who had a long slender stick, which Xury said was a lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good aim; so I kept at a distance, but talked with them by signs as well as I could, and particularly made signs for something to eat; they beckoned to me to stop my boat, and they would fetch me some meat. Upon this I lowered the top of my sail, and lay by, and two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half an hour came back, and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh and some corn, such as is the produce of their country; but we neither knew what the one nor the other was: however, we were willing to accept it, but how to come at it was our next dispute, for I was not for venturing on shore to them, and they were as much afraid of us: but they took a safe way for us all, for they brought it to the shore, and laid it down, and went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends; but an opportunity offered that very instant to oblige them wonderfully; for while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other (as we took it) with great fury from the mountains towards the sea: whether it was the male pursuing the female, or whether they were in sport or in rage, we could not tell, any more than we could tell whether it was usual or strange, but I believe it was the latter; because, in the first place, those ravenous creatures seldom appear but in the night; and, in the second place, we found the people terribly frighted, especially the women. The man that had the lance, or dart, did not fly from them, but the rest did; however, as the two creatures ran directly into the water, they did not seem to offer to fall upon any of the Negroes, but plunged themselves into the sea, and swam about as if they had come for their diversion. At last one of them began to come nearer our boat than at first I expected; but I lay ready for him, for I had loaded my gun with all possible expedition, and bade Xury load both the others: as soon as he came fairly within my reach I fired, and shot him directly into the head; immediately he sunk down into the water, but rose instantly, and plunged up and down as if he was struggling for life, and so indeed he was: he immediately made to the shore; but between the wound, which was his mortal hurt, and the strangling of the water, he died just before he reached the shore.

It is impossible to express the astonishment of these poor creatures at the noise and the fire of my gun; some of them were even ready to die for fear, and fell down as dead with the very terror. But when they saw the creature dead, and sunk in the water, and that I made signs to them to come to the shore, they took heart, and came to the shore, and began to search for the creature. I found him by the blood staining the water, and by the help of a rope, which I slung round him, and gave the negroes to haul, they dragged him on shore, and found that it was a most curious leopard, spotted and fine to an admirable degree, and the negroes held up their hands with admiration to think what it was I had killed him with.

The other creature, frighted with the flash of fire and the noise of the gun, swam on shore, and ran up directly to the mountains from whence they came, nor could I at that distance know what it was. I found quickly the negroes were for eating the flesh of this creature, so I was willing to have them take it as a favour from me, which, when I made signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for. Immediately they fell to work with him, and though they had no knife, yet with a sharpened piece of wood they took off his skin as readily, and much more readily, than we could have done with a knife. They offered me some of the flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them, but made signs for the skin, which they gave me very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their provision, which, though I did not understand, yet I accepted: then I made signs to them for some water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning it bottom upward, to show that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They called immediately to some of their friends, and there came two women, and brought a great vessel made of earth, and burnt, as I suppose, in the sun; this they set down for me, as before, and I sent Xury on shore with my jars, and filled them all three. The two men were as stark naked as the men.

I was now furnished with roots and corn, such as it was, and water; and, leaving my friendly Negroes, I made forward for about eleven days more, without offering to go near the shore, till I saw the land run out a great length into the sea, at about the distance of four or five leagues before me; and the sea being very calm, I kept a large offing to make this point: at length, doubling the point at about two leagues from the land, I saw plainly

land on the other side to sea-ward; then I concluded, as it was most certain indeed, that this was the Cape de Verd, and those the *islands*, called from thence Cape de Verd Islands. However, they were at a great distance, and I could not well tell what I had best to do; for if I should be taken with a fresh of wind, I might neither reach one nor the other.

In this dilemma, as I was very pensive I stepped into the cabin, and sat me down, Xury having the helm, when on a sudden the boy cried out, Master, master, a ship with a sail! and the foolish boy was frighted out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw not only the ship, but what she was, viz. that it was a Portugueze ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the coast of Guinea for Negroes. But when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced they were bound some other way, and did not design to come any nearer to the shore; upon which I stretched out to sea as much as I could, resolving to speak with them, if possible.

With all the sail I could make, I found I should not be able to come in their way, but that they would be gone by before I could make any signal to them; but after I had crowded to the utmost, and began to despair, they, it seems, saw me by the help of their perspective-glasses, and that it was some European boat, which, as they supposed, must belong to some ship that was lost; so they shortened sail to let me come up. I was encouraged with this; and as I had my patron's ancient on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, both which they saw, for they told me they saw the smoke, though they did not hear the gun; upon these signals they very kindly brought to, and lay by for me, and in about three hours time I came up with them.

They asked me what I was, in Portugueze, and in Spanish, and in French; but I understood none of them; but at last a Scots sailor, who was on board, called to me, and I answered him, and told him I was an Englishman, that I had made my escape out of slavery from the Moors at Sallee. They bade me come on board, and very kindly took me in, and all my goods.

It was an inexpressible joy to me, as any one would believe, that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless condition as I was in, and immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship, as a return for my deliverance; but he generously told me, he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brazils; For, says he, I have saved your life on no other terms than I would be glad to be saved myself; and it may one time or other be my lot to be taken up in the same condition: besides, said he, when I carry you to the Brazils, so great a way from your own country, if I should take from you what you have, you will be starved there, and then I only take away that life I have given. No, no, Seignor Inglese, says he, Mr Englishman, I will carry you thither in charity, and those things will help you to buy your subsistence there, and your passage home again.

As he was charitable in his proposal, so he was just in the performance to a tittle; for he ordered the seamen, that none should offer to touch any thing I had: then he took every thing into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, that I might have them; even so much as my earthen jars.

As to my boat, it was a very good one, and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it? I told him he had been so generous in every thing, that I could not offer to make any price of the boat, but left it entirely to him; upon which he told me, he would give me a note of his hand to pay me eighty pieces of eight for it at Brazil; and when it came there, if any one offered to give more, he would make it up: he offered me also sixty pieces of eight more for my boy Xury, which I was loath to take; not that I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor boy's liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he owned it to be just, and offered me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turned Christian. Upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good voyage to the Brazils, and arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All Saints' Bay, in about twenty-two days after. And now I was once more delivered from the most miserable of all conditions of life; and what to do next with myself, I was now to consider.

The generous treatment the captain gave me, I can never enough remember; he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and forty for the lion's skin which I had in my boat, and caused every thing I had in the ship to be punctually delivered me; and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees-wax, for I had made candles of

the rest; in a word, I made about two hundred and twenty pieces of eight of all my cargo; and with this stock I went on shore in the Brazils.

I had not been long here, but being recommended to the house of a good honest man like himself, who had an *ingeino*, as they call it; that is, a plantation and a sugar-house; I lived with him some time, and acquainted myself by that means with the manner of their planting and making of sugar; and seeing how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get licence to settle there, I would turn planter among them; resolving, in the mean time, to find out some way to get my money, which I had left in London, remitted to me. To this purpose, getting a kind of a letter of naturalization, I purchased as much land that was uncured as my money would reach, and formed a plan for my plantation and settlement, and such a one as might be suitable to the stock which I proposed to myself to receive from England.

I had a neighbour, a Portugueze of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was. I call him neighbour, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociable together. My stock was but low, as well as his; and we rather planted for food, than any thing else, for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land began to come into order; so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come; but we both wanted help; and now I found, more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my boy Xury.

But, alas! for me to do wrong, that never did right, was no great wonder: I had no remedy but to go on; I was gotten into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice; nay, I was coming in to the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before; and which, if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have staid at home, and never have fatigued myself in the world as I had done; and I used often to say to myself, I could have done this as well in England among my friends, as have gone five thousand miles off to do it among strangers and savages in a wilderness, and at such distance, as never to hear from any part of the world that had the least knowledge of me.

In this manner I used to look upon my condition with the utmost regret. I had nobody to converse with, but now and then this neighbour; no work to be done but by the labour of my hands; and I used to say, I lived just like a man cast away upon some desolate island, that had nobody there but himself. But how just has it been, and how should all men reflect, that, when they compare their present conditions with others that are worse, Heaven may oblige them to make the exchange, and be convinced of their former felicity by their experience; I say, how just has it been, that the truly solitary life I reflected on in an island of mere desolation should be my lot, who had so often unjustly compared it with the life which I then led, in which, had I continued, I had, in all probability, been exceeding prosperous and rich.

I was, in some degree, settled in my measures for carrying on the plantation, before my kind friend, the captain of the ship, that took me up at sea, went back; for the ship remained there, in providing his loading, and preparing for his voyage, near three months; when, telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me this friendly and sincere advice: Seignor Inglese, says he, for so he always called me, if you will give me letters, and a procuration here in form to me, with orders to the person who has your money in London, to send your effects to Lisbon, to such persons as I shall direct, and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, God willing, at my return; but, since human affairs are all subject to changes and disasters, I would have you give orders but for one hundred pounds sterling, which, you say, is half your stock, and let the hazard be run for the first; so that if it come safe, you may order the rest the same way; and if it miscarry, you may have the other half to have recourse to for your supply.

This was so wholesome advice, and looked so friendly, that I could not but be convinced it was the best course I could take; so I accordingly prepared letters to the gentlewoman with whom I had left my money, and a procuration to the Portugueze captain, as he desired.

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of all my adventures, my slavery, escape, and how I had met with the Portugal captain at sea, the humanity of his behaviour, and what condition I was now in, with all other necessary directions for my supply; and when this honest captain came to Lisbon, he found means, by some of the English merchants there, to send over, not the order only, but a full account of my story, to a merchant at London, who represented it effectually to her; whereupon, she not only delivered the money, but, out of her own pocket, sent the Portugal captain a very handsome present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London vesting this hun-
ed pounds in English goods, such as the
ptain had writ for, sent them directly to
m at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe
me to the Brazils; among which, without
y direction, (for I was too young in my bu-
ness to think of them) he had taken care to
ve all sort of tools, iron-work, and utensils
cessary for my plantation, and which were
great use to me.

When this cargo arrived, I thought my for-
ne made, for I was surprised with joy of it;
d my good steward, the captain, had laid
t the five pounds, which my friend had sent
im for a present for himself, to purchase, and
ring me over a servant under bond for six
ars service, and would not accept of any
nsideration, except a little tobacco, which
would have him accept, being of my own
oduce.

Neither was this all; but my goods being
l English manufactures, such as cloth, stuffs,
ize, and things particularly valuable and de-
rable in the country, I found means to sell
em to a very great advantage; so that I
ay say, I had more than four times the va-
e of my first cargo, and was now infinitely
eyond my poor neighbour, I mean in the ad-
ancement of my plantation; for the first thing
did, I bought me a Negro slave, and an Eu-
opean servant also; I mean another besides
hat which the captain brought me from Lis-
on.

But as abused prosperity is oftentimes made
he very means of our greatest adversity, so
as it with me. I went on the next year with
reat success in my plantation: I raised fifty
reat rolls of tobacco on my own ground, more
han I had disposed of for necessaries among
y neighbours; and these fifty rolls, being
ach of above a hundred weight, were well
cured and laid by against the return of the
eet from Lisbon. And now, increasing in bu-
siness and in wealth, my head began to be full
of projects and undertakings beyond my reach;
such as are indeed often the ruin of the best
heads in business.

Had I continued in the station I was now
in, I had room for all the happy things to have
yet befallen me, for which my father so ear-
nestly recommended a quiet retired life, and
of which he had so sensibly described the
middle station of life to be full; but other
things attended me, and I was still to be the
wilful agent of all my own miseries; and par-
ticularly to increase my fault, and double the
reflections upon myself, which in my future
sorrows I should have leisure to make: all
these miscarriages were procured by my ap-
parent obstinate adhering to my foolish in-
clination of wandering abroad, and pursuing
that inclination, in contradiction to the clear-
est views of doing myself good in a fair and
plain pursuit of those prospects and those
measures of life, which nature and Providence
concurred to present me with, and to make
my duty.

As I had done thus in my breaking away
from my parents, so I could not be con-
tent now, but I must go and leave the happy
view I had of being a rich and thriving man
in my new plantation, only to pursue a rash
and immoderate desire of rising faster than
the nature of the thing admitted; and thus I
cast myself down again into the deepest gulf
of human misery that ever man fell into, or
perhaps could be consistent with life and a
state of health in the world.

To come, then, by just degrees, to the par-
ticulars of this part of my story; you may
suppose, that, having now lived almost four
years in the Brazils, and beginning to thrive
and prosper very well upon my plantation,
I had not only learnt the language, but had
contracted acquaintance and friendship among
my fellow-planters, as well as among the mer-
chants at St Salvadore, which was our port;
and that in my discourse among them, I had
frequently given them an account of my two
voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner
of trading with the Negroes there, and how
easy it was to purchase upon the coast, for
trifles, such as beads, toys, knives, scissars,
hatchets, bits of glass, and the like, not only
gold-dust, Guinea-grains, elephants teeth, &c.,
but Negroes for the service of the Brazils in
great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my
discourses on these heads, but especially to
that part which related to the buying Negroes,
which was a trade at that time not only not
far entered into, but, as far as it was, had
been carried on by the Assientos, or permis-
sion of the kings of Spain and Portugal, and
engrossed in the public, so that few Negroes
were bought, and those excessive dear.

It happened, being in company with some
merchants and planters of my acquaintance,
and talking of those things very earnestly,
three of them came to me the next morning,
and told me, they had been musing very much
upon what I had discoursed with them of the
last night, and they came to make a secret
proposal to me; and, after enjoining me se-
crecy, they told me, that they had a mind to
fit out a ship to go to Guinea; that they had
all plantations as well as I, and were straiten-
ed for nothing so much as servants; that as
it was a trade could not be carried on, be-
cause they could not publicly sell the Negroes
when they came home, so they desired to
make but one voyage, to bring the Negroes
on shore privately, and divide them among
their own plantations; and, in a word, the

question was, whether I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea? and they offered me, that I should have my equal share of the Negroes, without providing any part of the stock.

This was a fair proposal, it must be confessed, had it been made to any one that had not had a settlement and plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair way of coming to be very considerable, and with a good stock upon it. But for me, that was thus entered and established, and had nothing to do but go on as I had begun, for three or four years more, and to have sent for the other hundred pounds from England, and who in that time, and with that little addition could scarce have failed of being worth three or four thousand pounds sterling, and that increasing too; for me to think of such a voyage, was the most preposterous thing that ever man in such circumstances could be guilty of.

But I, that was born to be my own destroyer, could no more resist the offer, than I could restrain my first rambling designs, when my father's good counsel was lost upon me. In a word, I told them I would go with all my heart, if they would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct if I miscarried. This they all engaged to do, and entered into writings or covenants to do so; and I made a formal will, disposing of my plantation and effects, in case of my death, making the captain of the ship, that had saved my life as before, my universal heir, but obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will, one half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

In short, I took all possible caution to preserve my effects, and keep up my plantation: had I used half as much prudence to have looked into my own interest, and have made a judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an undertaking, leaving all the probable views of a thriving circumstance, and gone upon a voyage to sea, attended with all its common hazards; to say nothing of the reasons I had to expect particular misfortunes to myself.

But I was hurried on, and obeyed blindly the dictates of my fancy rather than my reason: and accordingly the ship being fitted out, and the cargo furnished, and all things done as by agreement by my partners in the voyage, I went on board in an evil hour again, the 1st of September, 1659, being the same day eight years that I went from my father and mother at Hull, in order to act the rebel to their authority, and the fool to my own interest.

Our ship was about one hundred and twenty ton burden, carried six guns, and fourteen men, besides the master, his boy, and myself; we had on board no large cargo of goods, except of such toys as were fit for our trade with the Negroes, such as beads, bits of glass, shells, and odd trifles, especially little looking-glasses, knives, scissars, hatchets, and the like.

The same day I went on board we set sail, standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with design to stretch over for the African coast; when they came about 10 or 12 degrees of northern latitude, which it seems was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessive hot, all the way upon our own coast, till we came to the height of Cape St Augustino, from whence keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the isle Fernand de Noronha, holding our course north-east by north, and leaving those isles on the east. In this course we passed the Line in about twelve days time, and were by our last observation in 7 degrees 22 minutes, northern latitude, when a violent tornado, or hurricane, took us quite out of our knowledge: it began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled into the north-east; from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days together we could do nothing but drive; and scudding away before it, let it carry us whither ever fate and the fury of the winds directed; and during these twelve days, I need not say that I expected every day to be swallowed up, nor indeed did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress, we had, besides the terror of the storm, one of our men died of the calenture, and one man and the boy washed overboard. About the twelfth day, the weather abating a little, the master made an observation as well as he could, and found, that he was in about 11 degrees north latitude, but that he was 22 degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St Augustino; so that he found he was gotten upon the coast of Guinea, or the north part of Brazil, beyond the river Amazons, toward that of the river Orownoque, commonly called the Great River, and began to consult with me what course he should take; for the ship was leaky, and very much disabled, and he was going directly back to the coast of Brazil.

I was positively against that, and, looking over the charts of the sea-coasts of America with him, we concluded, there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Caribbee Is-

nds; and therefore resolved to stand away
r Barbadoes, which, by keeping off at sea,
avoid the indraft of the bay or gulf of
lexico, we might easily perform, as we ho-
d, in about fifteen days sail; whereas we
uld not possibly make our voyage to the
ast of Africa without some assistance, both
our ship and to ourselves.

With this design we changed our course,
d steered away N.W. by W., in order to
ach some of our English islands, where I
pped for relief: but our voyage was other-
ise determined; for, being in the latitude
f 12 deg. 18 min., a second storm came up-
n us, which carried us away with the same
npetuosity westward, and drove us so out of
e very way of all human commerce, that,
ad all our lives been saved, as to the sea,
e were rather in danger of being devoured
y savages than ever returning to our own
ountry.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very
ard, one of our men, early in the morning,
ied out, Land! and we had no sooner run
ut of the cabin to look out, in hopes of see-
g whereabouts in the world we were, but
e ship struck upon a sand, and, in a mo-
ent, her motion being so stopped, the sea
roke over her in such a manner, that we
xpected we should all have perished imme-
iately; and we were immediately driven in-
o our close quarters, to shelter us from the
ery foam and spray of the sea.

It is not easy for any one, who has not
een in the like condition, to describe or con-
eive the consternation of men in such cir-
umstances: we knew nothing where we
ere, or upon what land it was we were dri-
en, whether an island or the main, whether
habited or not inhabited; and as the rage
f the wind was still great, though rather less
han at first, we could not so much as hope
o have the ship hold many minutes without
reaking in pieces, unless the winds, by a
ind of miracle, should turn immediately
bout. In a word, we sat looking one upon
nother, and expecting death every moment,
nd every man acting accordingly, as prepa-
ing for another world; for there was little
r nothing more for us to do in this: that
hich was our present comfort, and all the
omfort we had, was, that, contrary to our
xpectation, the ship did not break yet, and
hat the master said the wind began to abate.

Now, though we thought that the wind
id a little abate, yet the ship having thus
truck upon the sand and sticking too fast
or us to expect her getting off, we were in
dreadful condition indeed, and had nothing
o do but to think of saving our lives as well
s we could. We had a boat at our stern,
ast before the storm; but she was first sta-
ved by dashing against the ship's rudder, and in the next place she broke away, and either sunk or was driven off to sea; so there was no hope from her. We had another boat on board, but how to get her off into the sea was a doubtful thing; however, there was no room to debate, for we fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute, and some told us she was actually broken already.

In this distress, the mate of our vessel lays hold of the boat, and, with the help of the rest of the men, they got her slung over the ship's side, and getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy, and the wild sea; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadful high upon the shore, and might well be called *den wild zee*, as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly, that the sea went so high, that the boat could not live, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none, nor, if we had, could we have done any thing with it; so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution; for we all knew, that when the boat came nearer the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner; and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling as well as we could towards land.

What the shore was, whether rock or sand, whether steep or shoal, we knew not; the only hope that could rationally give us the least shadow of expectation, was, if we might happen into some bay or gulf, or the mouth of some river, where, by great chance, we might have run our boat in, or got under the lee of the land, and perhaps made smooth water. But there was nothing of this appeared; but, as we made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea.

After we had rowed, or rather driven, about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain-like, came rolling astern of us, and plainly bade us expect the *coup-de-grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset the boat at once; and, separating us as well from the boat, as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say O God! for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt when I sunk into the water; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw breath, till that wave having

driven me, or rather carried me, a vast way on towards the shore, and, having spent itself, went back, and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in. I had so much presence of mind, as well as breath left, that, seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the land as fast as I could, before another wave should return, and take me up again. But I soon found it was impossible to avoid it; for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy, which I had no means or strength to contend with; my business was to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, if I could; and so, by swimming, to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible; my greatest concern now being, that the sea, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again, buried me at once twenty or thirty foot deep in its own body; and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore a very great way; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water; and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, gave me breath, and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but I held it out; and, finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward against the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments to recover breath, and till the water went from me, and then took to my heels, and run with what strength I had farther towards the shore. But neither would this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again; and twice more I was lifted up by the waves, and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me; for the sea having hurried me along as before, landed me, or rather dashed me against a piece of a rock, and that with such force, as it left me senseless, and indeed helpless, as to my own deliverance; for the blow taking my side and breast, beat the breath as it were quite out of my body; and, had it returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water; but I recovered a little before the return of the waves, and seeing I should be covered again with the water, I resolved to hold fast by a piece of the rock, and so to hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now, as the waves were not so high as at first, being near land, I held my hold till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore, that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away; and the next run I took I got to the main land, where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed, and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved in a case wherein there was, some minutes before, scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the very grave; and I do not wonder, now, at that custom, viz. that when a malefactor, who has the halter about his neck, is tied up, and just going to be turned off, and has a reprieve brought to him; I say, I do not wonder that they bring a surgeon with it, to let him blood that very moment they tell him of it, that the surprise may not drive the animal spirits from the heart, and overwhelm him:

For sudden joys, like griefs, confound at first.

I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands and my whole being, as I may say, wrapt up in the contemplation of my deliverance, making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe; reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned, and that there should not be one soul saved but myself; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes, that were not fellows.

I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel, when the breach and froth of the sea being so big, I could hardly see it, it lay so far off, and considered, Lord! how was it possible I could get on shore!

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look round me, to see what kind of place I was in, and what was next to be done; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance: for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor any thing either to eat or drink to comfort me; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts; and that, which was particularly afflicting to me, was, that I had no weapon

pon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs: in a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; this was all my provision, and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that, for a while, I run about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began, with a heavy heart, to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All the remedy that offered to my thoughts at that time, was, to get up into a thick bushy tree like a fir, but thorny, which grew near me, and where I resolved to sit all night, and consider the next day what death I should die, for, as yet, I saw no prospect of life. I walked about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drank, and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavoured to place myself so, as that if I should sleep I might not fall; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon, for my defence, I took up my lodging, and, having been excessively fatigued, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as, I believe, few could have done in my condition, and found myself the most refreshed with it that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

## CHAP. IV.

*Appearance of the Wreck and Country next Day—Swim on board of the Ship, and, by means of a Contrivance, get a quantity of Stores on Shore—Shoot a Bird, but it turns out perfect Carrion—Moralize upon my Situation—The Ship blown off Land, and totally lost—Set out in search of a proper Place for a Habitation—See numbers of Goats—Melancholy Reflections.*

When I waked it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before: but that which surprised me most, was, that the ship was lifted off in the night from the sand where she lay, by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up almost as far as the rock which I first mentioned, where I had been so bruised by the dashing me against it; this being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that, at least, I might save some necessary things for my use.

When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I looked about me again, and the first thing I found was the boat, which lay as the wind and the sea had tossed her up upon the land, about two miles on my right hand. I walked as far as I could upon the shore to have got to her, but found a neck, or inlet of water, between me and the boat, which was about half a mile broad; so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the ship, where I hoped to find something for my present subsistence.

A little after noon I found the sea very calm, and the tide ebbed so far out, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship; and here I found a fresh renewing of my grief: for I saw evidently, that if we had kept on board, we had been all safe, that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company, as I now was. This forced tears from my eyes again; but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship; so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water; but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board; for as she lay aground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of a rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore-chains so low as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and, by the help of that rope, got up into the fore-castle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold, but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, and her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low almost to the water: by this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search and to see what was spoiled, and what was free: and first I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room and filled my pockets with biscuit, and ate it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of to [illegible] me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had; and this extremity roused my application. We had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare topmast or two in the ship; I resolved

to fall to work with these, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage of their weight, tying every one with a rope, that they might not drive away. When this was done, I went down to the ship's side, and, pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light; so I went to work, and, with the carpenter's saw, I cut a spare topmast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains: but hope of furnishing myself with necessaries, encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight; my next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this: I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I first got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft. The first of these I filled with provisions, viz. bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goat's flesh, which we lived much upon, and a little remainder of European corn, which had been laid by for some fowls which we brought to sea with us, but the fowls were killed. There had been some barley and wheat together, but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rats had eaten or spoiled it all. As for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and in all above five or six gallons of rack: these I stowed by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chest, nor no room for them. While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm, and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen, and open-knee'd, I swam on board in them and my stockings: however, this put me upon rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present use, for I had other things which my eye was more upon; as, first, tools to work with on shore; and it was after long searching that I found out the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship-loading of gold would have been at that time: I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols: these I secured first, with some powder-horns, and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them; but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water; those two I got to my raft, with the arms. And now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, or rudder, and the least capful of wind would have overset all my navigation.

I had three encouragements: 1. A smooth, calm sea: 2. The tide rising and setting in to the shore: 3. What little wind there was blew me towards the land: and thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, and besides the tools which were in the chest, I found two saws, an axe, and a hammer; and with this cargo I put to sea: for a mile, or thereabouts, my raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little distant from the place where I had landed before, by which I perceived that there was some current or draft of the water, and consequently I hoped to find some creek or river there, which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was: there appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it, so I guided my raft as well as I could to keep in the middle of the stream; but here I had like to have suffered a second shipwreck, which if I had, I think verily would have broke my heart; for, knowing nothing of the coast, my raft run aground at one end of it upon a shoal, and, not being aground at the other end, for wanted but a little that all my cargo had slipped off towards that end that was afloat, and so fallen into the water. I did my utmost by setting my back against the chests, to keep them in their places, but could not thrust off the raft with all my strength; neither durst I stir from the posture I was in, but, holding up the chests with all my might, stood in this manner near half an hour, in which time the rising of the water brought me a little more upon a level; and, a little after, the water still rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar I had into the channel, and then, driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current, or tide, running up. I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore; for I was not yet

ing to be driven too high up the river, hoping, in time, to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near, as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in; but here I had like to have dipped all my cargo in the sea again; for that shore lying pretty steep, that is to say, sloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of the float, if it run on shore, would lie so high, and the other sink lower as before, that it would endanger my cargo again: all that I could do, was to wait till the tide was at the highest, keeping the raft with my oar like an anchor, to hold the side of it fast to the shore, near a flat piece of ground, which I expected the water would flow over; and so it did. As soon as I found water enough, for my raft drew about a foot of water, I thrust her on upon that flat piece of ground, and there fastened or moored her, by sticking my two broken oars into the ground; one on one side near one end, and one on the other side near the other end; and thus I lay till the water ebbed away, and left my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods, to secure them from whatever might happen. Where I was, I yet knew not; whether on the continent or on an island, whether inhabited or not inhabited, whether in danger of wild beasts or not. There was a hill, not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to overtop some other hills which lay as in a ridge from it northward: I took out one of the fowling pieces, and one of the pistols, and an horn of powder; and thus armed, I travelled for discovery up to the top of that hill, where, after I had with great labour and difficulty got to the top, I saw my fate to my great affliction, viz. that I was in an island environed every way with the sea, no land to be seen, except some rocks which lay a great way off, and two small islands less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I found also, that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of which, however, I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds; neither, when I killed them, could I tell what was fit for food, and what not. At my coming back, I shot at a great bird, which I saw sitting upon a tree on the side of a great wood: I believe it was the first gun that had been fired there since the creation of the world. I had no sooner fired, but, from all parts of the wood, there arose an innumerable number of fowls of many sorts making a confused screaming, and crying every one acording to his usual note; but not one of them of any kind that I knew. As for the creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of a hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but had no talons or claws more than common; its flesh was carrion, and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and fell to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of that day; and what to do with myself at night I knew not, nor indeed where to rest; for I was afraid to lie down on the ground, not knowing but some wild beast might devour me; though, as I afterwards found, there was really no need for those fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricadoed myself round with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of a hut for that night's lodging. As for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures like hares run out of the wood where I shot the fowl.

I now began to consider, that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship, which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to land, and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible; and as I knew that the first storm that blew must necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart, till I got every thing out of the ship that I could get. Then I called a council, (that is to say, in my thoughts) whether I should take back the raft; but this appeared impracticable: so I resolved to go as before, when the tide was down, and I did so, only that I stripped before I went from my hut, having nothing on but a checked shirt and a pair of linen trowsers, and a pair of pumps on my feet.

I got on board the ship, as before, and prepared a second raft; and having had experience of the first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard, but yet I brought away several things very useful to me; as first, in the carpenter's stores, I found two or three bags full of nails and spikes, a great screw-jack, a dozen or two of hatchets, and, above all, that most useful thing called a grindstone: all these I secured, together with several things belonging to the gunner, particularly two or three iron-crows, and two barrels of musket-bullets, seven muskets, and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder more; a large bag full of small shot, and a great roll of sheet lead; but this last was so heavy, I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side.

Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore-top-sail, hammock, and some bedding; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them all safe on shore, to my very great comfort.

I was under some apprehensions, during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore; but, when I came back, I found no sign of any visitor, only there sat a creature, like a wild cat, upon one of the chests, which, when I came towards it, ran away a little distance, and then stood still; she sat very composed and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me. I presented my gun at her, but as she did not understand it, she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away; upon which I tossed her a bit of biscuit, though, by the way, I was not very free of it, for my store was not great: however, I spared her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smelled of it, and ate it, and looked, as pleased, for more; but I thanked her, and could spare no more; so she marched off.

Having got my second cargo on shore, though I was fain to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels, for they were too heavy, being large casks, I went to work to make me a little tent, with the sail and some poles which I cut for that purpose; and into this tent I brought every thing that I knew would spoil, either with rain or sun; and I piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from any sudden attempt, either from man or beast.

When I had done this, I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up an end without, and, spreading one of the beds upon the ground, laying my two pistols just at my head, and my gun at length by me, I went to bed for the first time, and slept very quietly all night, for I was very weary and heavy; as the night before I had slept little, and had laboured very hard all day, as well to fetch all those things from the ship, as to get them on shore.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now that ever were laid up, I believe, for one man; but I was not satisfied still; for, while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get every thing out of her that I could: so every day, at low water, I went on board, and brought away something or other; but particularly the third time I went, I brought away as much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes and rope-twine I could get, with a piece of spare canvas, which was to mend the sails upon occasion, and the barrel of wet gunpowder: in a word, I brought away all the sails first and last, only that I was fain to cut them in pieces, and bring as much at a time as I could; for they were no more useful to be sails, but a mere canvas only.

But that which comforted me more still, was, that last of all, after I had made five or six such voyages as these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the ship that was worth my meddling with; I say, after all this, I found a great hogshead of bread, and three large runlets of rum or spirits, and a box of sugar, and a barrel of fine flour; this was surprising to me, because I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water: I soon emptied the hogshead of that bread, and wrapped it up, parcel by parcel, in pieces of the sails, which I cut out: and, in a word, I got all this safe on shore also.

The next day I made another voyage; and now, having plundered the ship of what was portable and fit to hand out, I began with the cables; and cutting the great cable into pieces, such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron work I could get; and, having cut down the spritsail-yard, and the mizen-yard, and every thing I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods, and came away: but my good luck began now to leave me; for the raft was so unwieldy and overladen, that, after I had entered the little cove, where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water. As for myself, it was no great harm, for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo, it was great part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me: however, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to dip for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much. After this, I went every day on board, and brought away what I could get.

I had been now thirteen days on shore, and had been eleven times on board the ship; in which time I had brought away all that my pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring, though I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece: but, preparing the twelfth time to go on board, I found the wind began to rise; however, at low water I went on board, and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissars, with some ten or a dozen good knives and forks; in another I found

about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money.—O drug! said I, aloud, what art thou good for? thou art not worth to me, no not the taking off of the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap; I have no manner of use for thee; even remain where thou art, and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving.—However, upon second thoughts, I took it away, and, wrapping all this in a piece of canvas, I began to think of making another raft; but, while I was preparing this, I found the sky overcast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore. It presently occurred to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft with the wind off shore, and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of flood began, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all: accordingly, I let myself down into the water, and swam cross the channel which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly with the weight of things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water, for the wind rose very hastily, and, before it was quite high water, it blew a storm.

But I was gotten home to my little tent, where I lay with all my wealth about me very secure. It blew very hard all that night, and in the morning, when I looked out, behold, no more ship was to be seen! I was a little surprised, but recovered myself with this satisfactory reflection, viz. that I had lost no time, nor abated no diligence, to get every thing out of her that could be useful to me, and that indeed there was little left in her that I was able to bring away, if I had had more time.

I now gave over any more thoughts of the ship, or of any thing out of her, except what might drive on shore from her wreck, as indeed divers pieces of her afterwards did; but those things were of small use to me.

My thoughts were now wholly employed about securing myself against either savages, if any should appear, or wild beasts, if any were in the island: and I had many thoughts of the method how to do this, and what kind of dwelling to make; whether I should make me a cave in the earth, or a tent upon the earth: and, in short, I resolved upon both, the manner and description of which it may not be improper to give an account of.

I soon found the place I was in was not for my settlement, particularly because it was upon a low moorish ground near the sea, and I believed would not be wholesome, and more particularly because there was no fresh water near it; so I resolved to find a more healthy and more convenient spot of ground.

I consulted several things in my situation which I found would be proper for me: 1st, Health and fresh water I just now mentioned. 2dly, Shelter from the heat of the sun. 3dly, Security from ravenous creatures, whether man or beast. 4thly, A view to the sea, that, if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet.

In search of a place proper for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, whose front towards this little plain was steep as a house-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top: on the side of this rock there was a hollow place worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave, but there was not really any cave or way into the rock at all.

On the flat of the green, just before this hollow place, I resolved to pitch my tent: this plain was not above an hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a green before my door, and at the end of it descended irregularly every way down into the low grounds by the sea-side. It was on the north-north-west side of the hill, so that I was sheltered from the heat every day, till it came to a west and by south sun, or thereabouts, which in those countries is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half-circle before the hollow place, which took in about ten yards in its semi-diameter from the rock, and twenty yards in its diameter, from its beginning and ending.

In this half-circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm, like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground about five foot and a half, and sharpened on the top: the two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

Then I took the pieces of cable which I had cut in the ship, and laid them in rows one upon another, within the circle between these two rows of stakes, up to the top, placing other stakes in the inside, leaning against them, about two foot and a-half high, like a spur to a post; and this fence was so strong, that neither man or beast could get into it, or over it: this cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the woods, bring them to the place, and drive them into the earth.

The entrance into this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder, to go over the top; which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me: and so I was completely fenced in, and fortified, as I thought, from

all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which, otherwise, I could not have done; though, as it appeared afterward, there was no need of all this caution from the enemies that I apprehended danger from.

Into this fence or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition, and stores, of which you have the account above; and I made me a large tent, which, to preserve me from the rains, that in one part of the year are very violent there, I made double, viz. one smaller tent within, and one larger tent above it, and covered the uppermost with a large tarpaulin, which I had saved among the sails.

And now I lay no more for a while in the bed which I had brought on shore, but in a hammock, which was indeed a very good one, and belonged to the mate of the ship.

Into this tent I brought all my provisions, and every thing that would spoil by the wet; and having thus enclosed all my goods, I made up the entrance, which till now I had left open, and so passed and repassed, as I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock, and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down, out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, that so it raised the ground within about a foot and a half; and thus I made me a cave just behind my tent, which served me like a cellar to my house.

It cost me much labour, and many days, before all these things were brought to perfection; and, therefore, I must go back to some other things which took up some of my thoughts. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my scheme for the setting up my tent, and making the cave, that a storm of rain falling from a thick dark cloud, a sudden flash of lightning happened, and after that a great clap of thunder, as is naturally the effect of it. I was not so much surprised with the lightning, as I was with a thought which darted into my mind as swift as the lightning itself: O my powder! my very heart sunk within me, when I thought, that at one blast all my powder might be destroyed: on which, not my defence only, but the providing me food, as I thought, entirely depended: I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger; though, had the powder took fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such impression did this make upon me, that, after the storm was over, I laid aside all my works, my building and fortifying, and applied myself to make bags and boxes to separate the powder, and to keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hope, that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once, and to keep it so apart, that it should not be possible to make one part fire another. I finished this work in about a fortnight; and I think my powder, which in all was about two hundred and forty pounds weight, was divided in not less than a hundred parcels. As to the barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any danger from that, so I placed it in my new cave, which, in my fancy, I called my kitchen; and the rest I hid up and down in holes among the rocks, so that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out once at least every day with my gun, as well to divert myself, as to see if I could kill any thing fit for food, and as soon as I could to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out, I presently discovered that there were goats in the island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, viz. that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the most difficult thing in the world to come at them. But I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened; for, after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them: I observed, if they saw me in the vallies, though they were upon the rocks, they would run away as in a terrible fright; but if they were feeding in the vallies, and I was upon the rocks, they took no notice of me; from whence I concluded, that, by the position of their optics, their sight was directed downward, that they did not readily see objects that were above them: so afterward I took this method; I always climbed the rocks first, to get above them, and then had frequently a fair mark. The first shot I made among these creatures I killed a she-goat, which had a little kid by her which she gave suck to, which grieved me heartily; but when the old one fell, the kid stood stock still by her till I came and took her up; and not only so, but, when I carried the old one with me upon my shoulders, the kid followed me quite to my enclosure; upon which I laid down the dam, and took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale, in hopes to have bred it up tame; but it would not eat; so I was forced to kill it, and eat it myself. These two supplied me with flesh a great while, for I ate sparingly, and saved my provisions (my bread especially) as much as possibly I could.

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it absolutely necessary to provide a place to make a fire in, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full account of in its place; but I must first give some little account of myself, and of my

thoughts about living, which, it may well be supposed, were not a few.

I had a dismal prospect of my condition; for as I was not cast away upon that island without being driven, as is said, by a violent storm, quite out of the course of our intended voyage, and a great way, viz. some hundred of leagues out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it as a determination of Heaven, that, in this desolate place, and in this desolate manner, I should end my life. The tears would run plentifully down my face when I made these reflections; and sometimes I would expostulate with myself, why Providence should thus completely ruin his creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable, so without help abandoned, so entirely depressed, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life.

But something always returned swift upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me; and, particularly, one day, walking with my gun in my hand by the sea-side, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason, as it were, expostulated with me the other way, thus: Well, you are in a desolate condition, it is true; but pray, remember, where are the rest of you? Did not you come eleven of you into the boat? Where are the ten? Why were they not saved, and you lost? Why were you singled out? Is it better to be here or there? And then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attended them.

Then it occurred to me again, how well I was furnished for my subsistence, and what would have been my case if it had not happened, which was an hundred thousand to one, that the ship floated from the place where she first struck, and was driven so near the shore, that I had time to get all things out of her. What would have been my case, if I had been to have lived in the condition in which I at first came on shore, without necessaries of life, or necessaries to supply and procure them? particularly, said I, (loud, though to myself,) what should I have done without a gun, without ammunition, without any tools to make any thing, or to work with; without clothes, bedding, a tent, or any manner of covering? and that now I had all these to a sufficient quantity, and was in a fair way to provide myself in such a manner, as to live without my gun when my ammunition was spent; so that I had a tolerable view of subsisting without any want, as long as I lived; for I considered from the beginning, how I should provide for the accidents that might happen, and for the time that was to come, even not only after my ammunition should be spent, but even after my health or strength should decay.

I confess I had not entertained any notion of my ammunition being destroyed at one blast, I mean my powder being blown up by lightning; and this made the thoughts of it so surprising to me when it lightened and thundered, as I observed just now.

And now, being about to enter into a melancholy relation of a scene of silent life, such perhaps as was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in its order. It was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as above said, I first set foot upon this horrid island, when the sun being, to us, in its autumnal equinox, was almost just over my head; for I reckoned myself, by observation, to be in the latitude of 9 degrees 22 minutes north of the Line.

After I had been there about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts, that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books, and pen and ink, and should even forget the sabbath days from the working days; but, to prevent this, I cut it with my knife upon a large post, in capital letters, and making it into a great cross, I set it up on the shore where I first landed, viz. I came on shore here on the 30th of September, 1659. Upon the sides of this square post, I cut every day a notch with my knife, and every seventh notch was as long again as the rest, and every first day of the month as long again as that long one; and thus I kept my calendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

In the next place, we are to observe, that, among the many things which I brought out of the ship in the several voyages, which, as above mentioned, I made to it, I got several things of less value, but not at all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before; as, in particular, pens, ink, and paper, several parcels in the captain's, mate's, gunner's, and carpenter's keeping, three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspectives, charts, and books of navigation; all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no. Also, I found three very good Bibles, which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portugueze books also, and among them two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books: all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget, that we had in the ship a dog and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something in its place; for I carried both the cats with me; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship of himself, and swam on shore to me the day after I went

on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me many years; I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, nor any company that he could make up to me; I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that he could not do. As I observed before, I found pen, ink, and paper, and I husbanded them to the utmost; and I shall show, that while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact; but after that was gone I could not, for I could not make any ink by any means that I could devise.

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithstanding all that I had amassed together; and of these, this of ink was one, as also spade, pick axe, and shovel, to dig or remove the earth; needles, pins, and thread. As for linen, I soon learnt to want that without much difficulty.

This want of tools made every work I did go on heavily, and it was near a whole year before I had entirely finished my little pale, or surrounded habitation: the piles, or stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long time in cutting and preparing in the woods, and more by far in bringing home; so that I spent sometimes two days in cutting and bringing home one of those posts, and a third day in driving it into the ground; for which purpose I got a heavy piece of wood at first, but at last bethought myself of one of the iron crows, which, however, though I found it, yet it made driving those posts, or piles, very laborious and tedious work.

But what need I have been concerned at the tediousness of any thing I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in? Nor had I any other employment, if that had been over, at least that I could foresee, except the ranging the island to seek for food, which I did more or less every day.

I now began to consider seriously my condition, and the circumstances I was reduced to, and I drew up the state of my affairs in writing, not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me, (for I was like to have but few heirs,) as to deliver my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind; and as my reason began now to master my despondency, I began to comfort myself as well as I could, and to set the good against the evil, that I might have something to distinguish my case from worse; and I stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoyed against the miseries I suffered, thus:

| *Evil.* | *Good.* |
|---|---|
| I am cast upon a horrible desolate island, void of all hope of recovery. | But I am alive, and not drowned, as all my ship's company was. |
| I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the world, to be miserable. | But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew to be spared from death; and He that miraculously saved me from death can deliver me from this condition. |
| I am divided from mankind, a solitaire, one banished from human society. | But I am not starved and perishing in a barren place, affording no sustenance. |
| I have no clothes to cover me. | But I am in a hot climate, where, if I had clothes, I could hardly wear them. |
| I am without any defence, or means to resist any violence of man or beast. | But I am cast on an island, where I see no wild beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the coast of Africa: and what if I had been shipwrecked there? |
| I have no soul to speak to, or relieve me. | But God wonderfully sent the ship near enough to the shore, that I have gotten out so many necessary things as will either supply my wants, or enable me to supply myself even as long as I live. |

Upon the whole, here was an undoubted testimony, that there was scarce any condition in the world so miserable, but there was something *negative* or something *positive* to be thankful for in it; and let this stand as a direction from the experience of the most miserable of all conditions in this world, that we may always find in it something to comfort ourselves from, and to set in the description of good and evil, on the credit side of the account.

Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and given over looking out to sea, to see if I could spy a ship, I say, giving over these things, I began to apply myself to accommodate my way of living, and to make things as easy to me as I could.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent, under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables; but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall up against it of turfs, about two foot thick on the outside; and after some time, I think it was a year and half, I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as I could

get to keep out the rain, which I found at some times of the year very violent.

I have already observed how I brought all my goods into this pale, and into the cave which I had made behind me: but I must observe too, that at first this was a confused heap of goods, which as they lay in no order, so they took up all my place: I had no room to turn myself; so I set myself to enlarge my cave and works farther into the earth; for it was a loose sandy rock, which yielded easily to the labour I bestowed on it: and so when I found I was pretty safe as to beasts of prey, I worked sideways to the right hand into the rock; and then, turning to the right again, worked quite out, and made me a door to come out, on the outside of my pale, or fortification.

This gave me not only egress and regress, as it were a back-way to my tent and to my storehouse, but gave me room to stow my goods.

And now I began to apply myself to make such necessary things as I found I most wanted, particularly a chair and a table; for without these I was not able to enjoy the few comforts I had in the world; I could not write or eat, or do several things with so much pleasure without a table.

So I went to work; and here I must needs observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so, by stating and squaring every thing by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be in time master of every mechanic art. I had never handled a tool in my life, and yet in time, by labour, application, and contrivance, I found at last that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had had tools; however, I made abundance of things, even without tools, and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which perhaps were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour: for example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on an edge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be as thin as a plank, and then dub it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method I could make but one board out of a whole tree; but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make a plank or board: but my time or labour was little worth, and so it was as well employed one way as another.

However, I made me a table and a chair, as I observed above, in the first place; and this I did out of the short pieces of boards that I brought on my raft from the ship: but when I had wrought out some boards, as above, I made large shelves of the breadth of a foot and a half one over another, all along one side of my cave, to lay all my tools, nails, and iron-work, and, in a word, to separate every thing at large in their places, that I might come easily at them. I knocked pieces into the wall of the rock to hang my guns, and all things that would hang up.

So that, had my cave been to be seen, it looked like a general magazine of all necessary things; and I had every thing so ready at my hand, that it was a great pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and especially to find my stock of all necessaries so great.

And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for indeed at first I was in too much a hurry; and not only hurry as to labour, but in too much discomposure of mind, and my journal would have been full of many dull things. For example, I must have said thus: September the 30th, after I got to shore, and had escaped drowning, instead of being thankful to God for my deliverance, having first vomited with the great quantity of salt water which was gotten into my stomach, and recovering myself a little, I ran about the shore, wringing my hands, and beating my head and face, exclaiming at my misery, and crying out, I was undone, undone! till tired and faint, I was forced to lie down on the ground to repose, but durst not sleep for fear of being devoured.

Some days after this, and after I had been on board the ship, and got all that I could out of her, yet I could not forbear getting up to the top of a little mountain, and looking out to sea in hopes of seeing a ship; then fancy, at a vast distance, I spied a sail; please myself with the hopes of it; and then, after looking steadily till I was almost blind, lose it quite, and sit down and weep like a child, and thus increase my misery by my folly.

But having gotten over these things in some measure, and having settled my household-stuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all as handsome about me as I could, I began to keep my journal, of which I shall here give you the copy (though in it will be told all these particulars over again) as long as it lasted; for, having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

## CHAP. V.

*I begin to keep a Journal—Christen my desart Island the Island of Despair—Fall upon various Schemes to make Tools, Baskets, &c., and begin to build my House—At a great loss of an Evening for Candle, but fall upon an expedient to supply the want.*

*—Strange discovery of Corn—A terrible Earthquake, and Storm.*

## THE JOURNAL.

*September* 30, 1659.

I, POOR miserable Robinson Crusoe, being shipwrecked, during a dreadful storm in the offing, came on shore on this dismal unfortunate island, which I called the Island of Despair; all the rest of the ship's company being drowned, and myself almost dead.

All the rest of that day I spent in afflicting myself at the dismal circumstances I was brought to, viz. I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, or place to fly to, and in despair of any relief, saw nothing but death before me, either that I should be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages, or starved to death for want of food. At the approach of night I slept in a tree, for fear of wild creatures, but slept soundly, though it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning I saw, to my great surprise, the ship had floated with the high tide, and was driven on shore again much nearer the island; which, as it was some comfort on one hand, for, seeing her sit upright, and not broken to pieces, I hoped, if the wind abated, I might get on board, and get some food and necessaries out of her for my relief; so, on the other hand, it renewed my grief at the loss of my comrades, who, I imagined, if we had all staid on board, might have saved the ship, or at least that they would not have been all drowned, as they were; and that had the men been saved, we might perhaps have built us a boat out of the ruins of the ship, to have carried us to some other part of the world. I spent great part of this day in perplexing myself on these things; but at length, seeing the ship almost dry, I went upon the sand as near as I could, and then swam on board. This day also it continued raining, though with no wind at all.

From the 1st of October to the 24th. All these days entirely spent in many several voyages to get all I could out of the ship, which I brought on shore, every tide of flood, upon rafts. Much rain also in these days, though with some intervals of fair weather: but, it seems, this was the rainy season.

Oct. 20. I overset my raft, and all the goods I had got upon it; but being in shoal water, and the things being chiefly heavy, I recovered many of them when the tide was out.

Oct. 25. It rained all night and all day, with some gusts of wind; during which time the ship broke in pieces, the wind blowing a little harder than before, and was no more to be seen, except the wreck of her, and that only at low water. I spent this day in covering and securing the goods which I had saved, that rain might not spoil them.

Oct. 26. I walked about the shore almost all day, to find out a place to fix my habitation, greatly concerned to secure myself from any attack in the night, either from wild beasts or men. Towards night I fixed upon a proper place under a rock, and marked out a semicircle for my encampment, which I resolved to strengthen with a work, wall, or fortification, made of double piles, lined within with cable, and without with turf.

From the 26th to the 30th I worked very hard in carrying all my goods to my new habitation, though some part of the time it rained exceeding hard.

The 31st, in the morning, I went out into the island with my gun, to see for some food, and discover the country; when I killed a she-goat, and her kid followed me home, which I afterwards killed also, because it would not feed.

November 1. I set up my tent under a rock, and lay there for the first night, making it as large as I could, with stakes driven in to swing my hammock upon.

Nov. 2. I set up all my chests and boards, and the pieces of timber which made my raft, and with them formed a fence round me, a little within the place I had marked out for my fortification.

Nov. 3. I went out with my gun, and killed two fowls like ducks, which were very good food. In the afternoon went to work to make me a table.

Nov. 4. This morning I began to order my times of work; of going out with my gun, time of sleep, and time of diversion; viz. every morning I walked out with my gun for two or three hours, if it did not rain, then employed myself to work till about eleven o'clock, then ate what I had to live on, and from twelve to two I lay down to sleep, the weather being excessive hot, and then in the evening to work again: the working part of this day and of the next were wholly employed in making my table; for I was yet but a very sorry workman, though time and necessity made me a complete natural mechanic soon after, as I believe it would do any one else.

Nov. 5. This day went abroad with my gun and my dog, and killed a wild cat; her skin pretty soft, but her flesh good for nothing: every creature I killed I took off the skins, and preserved them.—Coming back by the sea-shore, I saw many sorts of sea-fowls, which I did not understand; but was surprised, and almost frighted, with two or three

eals, which, while I was gazing at, not well knowing what they were, got into the sea, and escaped me for that time.

Nov. 6. After my morning walk, I went to work with my table again, and finished it, though not to my liking; nor was it long before I learnt to mend it.

Nov. 7. Now it began to be settled fair weather. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and part of the 12th, (for the 11th was Sunday,) I took wholly up to make me a chair, and, with much ado, brought it to a tolerable shape, but never to please me; and even in the making, I pulled it in pieces several times.—*Note*, I soon neglected my keeping Sundays; for omitting my mark for them on my post, I forgot which was which.

Nov. 13. This day it rained, which refreshed me exceedingly, and cooled the earth; but it was accompanied with terrible thunder and lightning, which frighted me dreadfully for fear of my powder: as soon as it was over, I resolved to separate my stock of powder into as many little parcels as possible, that it might not be in danger.

Nov. 14, 15, 16. These three days I spent in making little square chests or boxes, which might hold about a pound, or two pound at most, of powder; and so putting the powder in, I stowed it in places as secure and remote from one another as possible. On one of these three days I killed a large bird that was good to eat, but I knew not what to call it.

Nov. 17. This day I began to dig behind my tent into the rock, to make room for my further conveniency.—*Note*, Three things I wanted exceedingly for this work, viz. a pickaxe, a shovel, and a wheel-barrow or basket; so I desisted from my work, and began to consider how to supply that want, and make me some tools: as for a pickaxe, I made use of the iron-crows, which were proper enough, though heavy; but the next thing was a shovel or spade; this was so absolutely necessary, that indeed I could do nothing effectually without it; but what kind of one to make I knew not.

Nov. 18. The next day in searching the woods, I found a tree of that wood, or like it, which in the Brazils they call the Iron Tree, for its exceeding hardness: of this, with great labour, and almost spoiling my axe, I cut a piece, and brought it home too with difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy.

The excessive hardness of the wood, and having no other way, made me a long while upon this machine; for I worked it effectually by little and little into the form of a shovel or spade, the handle exactly shaped like ours in England, only that the broad part having no iron shod upon it at bottom, it would not last me so long; however, it served well enough for the uses which I had occasion to put it to; but never was a shovel, I believe, made after that fashion, or so long a-making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a basket or a wheel-barrow; a basket I could not make by any means, having no such things as twigs that would bend to make wicker-ware, at least none yet found out; and as to a wheel-barrow, I fancied I could make all but the wheel, but that I had no notion of, neither did I know how to go about it; besides, I had no possible way to make the iron gudgeons for the spindle, or axis, of the wheel, to run in, so I gave it over; and so, for carrying away the earth, which I dug out of the cave, I made me a thing like a hod, which the labourers carry mortar in, when they serve the bricklayers.

This was not so difficult to me as the making the shovel; and yet this, and the shovel, and the attempt which I made in vain to make a wheel-barrow, took me up no less than four days, I mean always excepting my morning walk with my gun, which I seldom failed; and very seldom failed also bringing home something to eat.

Nov. 23. My other work having now stood still, because of my making these tools, when they were finished I went on, and working every day, as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.

*Note*, During all this time, I worked to make this room, or cave, spacious enough to accommodate me as a warehouse or magazine, a kitchen, a dining-room, and a cellar: as for my lodging, I kept to the tent, except that sometimes in the wet season of the year, it rained so hard, that I could not keep myself dry, which caused me afterwards to cover all my place within my pale with long poles in the form of rafters, leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees like a thatch.

December 10. I began now to think my cave or vault finished, when on a sudden (it seems I had made it too large) a great quantity of earth fell down from the top and one side, so much, that, in short, it frighted me, and not without reason too; for if I had been under it, I had never wanted a grave-digger. Upon this disaster I had a great deal of work to do over again; for I had the loose earth to carry out, and, which was of more importance, I had the ceiling to prop up, so that I might be sure no more would come down.

Dec. 11. This day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two shores, or posts, pitched upright to the top, with two pieces

of boards across over each post; this I finished the next day; and setting more posts up with boards, in about a week more I had the roof secured; and the posts, standing in rows, served me for partitions to part off my house.

Dec. 17. From this day to the twentieth I placed shelves, and knocked up nails on the posts to hang every thing up that could be hung up: and now I began to be in some order within doors.

Dec. 20. Now I carried every thing into the cave, and began to furnish my house, and set up some pieces of boards like a dresser, to order my victuals upon; but boards began to be very scarce with me: also I made me another table.

Dec. 24. Much rain all night and all day; no stirring out.

Dec. 25. Rain all day.

Dec. 26. No rain, and the earth much cooler than before, and pleasanter.

Dec. 27. Killed a young goat, and lamed another, so that I caught it, and led it home in a string; when I had it home, I bound and splintered up its leg, which was broke. N. B. I took such care of it, that it lived, and the leg grew well and as strong as ever; but by nursing it so long, it grew tame, and fed upon the little green at my door, and would not go away. This was the first time that I entertained a thought of breeding up some tame creatures, that I might have food when my powder and shot was all spent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. Great heats, and no breeze; so that there was no stirring abroad, except in the evening for food. This time I spent in putting all my things in order within doors.

January 1. Very hot still; but I went abroad early and late with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the vallies, which lay towards the centre of the island, I found there was plenty of goats, though exceeding shy and hard to come at; however, I resolved to try, if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down.

Jan. 2. Accordingly, the next day I went out with my dog, and set him upon the goats; but I was mistaken, for they all faced about upon the dog: and he knew his danger too well; for he would not come near them.

Jan. 3. I began my fence, or wall, which, being still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong.

N. B. This wall being described before, I purposely omit what was said in the Journal; it is sufficient to observe, that I was no less time, than from the 3d of January to the 14th of April, working, finishing, and perfecting this wall, though it was no more than about twenty-four yards in length, being a half-circle, from one place in the rock, to another place about eight yards from it, the door of the cave being in the centre behind it.

All this time I worked very hard, the rain hindering me many days, nay, sometimes weeks together; but I thought I should never be perfectly secure, until this wall was finished; and it is scarce credible what inexpressible labour every thing was done with, especially the bringing piles out of the wood, and driving them into the ground; for I made them much bigger than I need to have done.

When this wall was finished, and the outside double-fenced with a turf wall raised up close to it, I persuaded myself, that if my people were to come on shore there, they would not perceive any thing like a habitation; and it was very well I did so, as may be observed hereafter, upon a very remarkable occasion.

During this time, I made my rounds in the woods for game, every day, when the rain admitted me, and made frequent discoveries, in these walks, of something or other to my advantage; particularly, I found a kind of wild pigeons, who built not as wood pigeons, in a tree, but rather as house pigeons, in the holes of the rocks; and taking some young ones, I endeavoured to breed them up tame; and did so: but when they grew older, they flew away, which perhaps was at first for want of feeding them; for I had nothing to give them. However, I frequently found their nests, and got their young ones, which were very good meat.

And now, in the managing my household affairs, I found myself wanting in many things, which I thought at first it was impossible for me to make, as indeed as to some of them it was; for instance, I could never make a cask to be hooped. I had a small runlet or two, as I observed before, but I could never arrive to the capacity of making one by them, though I spent many weeks about it; I could neither put in the heads, or joint the staves so true to one another, as to make them hold water, so I gave that also over.

In the next place, I was at great loss for candle, so that as soon as ever it was dark, which was generally by seven o'clock, I was obliged to go to bed. I remembered the lump of bees-wax, with which I made candles in my African adventure; but I had none of that now. The only remedy I had, was, that, when I had killed a goat, I saved the tallow, and with a little dish made of clay, which I baked in the sun, to which I added a wick of some oakum, I made me a lamp; and this

gave me light, though not a clear steady light like a candle. In the middle of all my labours, it happened, that, rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn for the feeding of poultry, not for this voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the ship came from Lisbon. What little remainder of corn had been in the bag, was all devoured with the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust; and being willing to have the bag for some other use, I think it was to put powder in, when I divided it for fear of the lightning, or some such use, I shook the husks of corn out of it, on one side of my fortification, under the rock.

It was a little before the great rains, just now mentioned, that I threw this stuff away, taking no notice of any thing, and not so much as remembering that I had thrown any thing there; when about a month after, or thereabout, I saw some few stalks of something green shooting out of the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen; but I was surprised, and perfectly astonished, when, after a little longer time, I saw about ten or twelve ears come out, which were perfect green barley, of the same kind as our European, nay, as our English barley.

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion. I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all. Indeed, I had very few notions of religion in my head, or had entertained any sense of any thing that had befallen me, otherwise than as a chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God; without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence in these things, or his order in governing events in the world. But after I saw barley grow there, in a climate which I knew was not proper for corn, and especially that I knew not how it came there, it startled me strangely, and I began to suggest, that God had miraculously caused this grain to grow, without any help of seed sown; and that it was so directed purely for my sustenance on that wild miserable place.

This touched my heart a little, and brought tears out of my eyes, and I began to bless myself, that such a prodigy of nature should happen upon my account; and this was the more strange to me, because I saw near it still, all along by the side of the rock, some other straggling stalks, which proved to be stalks of rice, and which I knew, because I had seen it grow in Africa, when I was ashore there.

I not only thought these the pure productions of Providence for my support, but not doubting but that there was more in the place, I went all over that part of the island, where I had been before, peeping in every corner, and under every rock, to see for more of it; but I could not find any. At last, it occurred to my thought, that I had shook a bag of chicken's meat out in that place, and then the wonder began to cease; and I must confess, my religious thankfulness to God's providence began to abate too, upon discovering, that all this was nothing but what was common, though I ought to have been as thankful for so strange and unforeseen a providence, as if it had been miraculous; for it was really the work of Providence, as to me, that should order or appoint ten or twelve grains of corn to remain unspoiled, when the rats had destroyed all the rest, as if it had been dropped from heaven: as also, that I should throw it out in that particular place, where, it being in the shade of a high rock, it sprang up immediately; whereas, if I had thrown it any where else at that time, it had been burnt up and destroyed.

I carefully saved the ears of corn, you may be sure, in their season, which was about the end of June, and, laying up every corn, I resolved to sow them all again, hoping in time to have some quantity sufficient to supply me with bread; but it was not till the fourth year that I could allow myself the least grain of this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly, as I shall say afterwards in its order; for I lost all that I sowed the first season, by not observing the proper time; for I sowed it just before the dry season, so that it never came up at all, at least not as it would have done: of which in its place.

Besides this barley, there were, as above, twenty or thirty stalks of rice, which I preserved with the same care, and whose use was of the same kind, or to the same purpose, viz. to make me bread, or rather food; for I found ways to cook it up without baking, though I did that also after some time. But to return to my journal.

I worked excessive hard these three or four months to get my wall done; and the 14th of April I closed it up, contriving to go into it, not by a door, but over the wall by a ladder, that there might be no sign in the outside of my habitation.

April 16. I finished the ladder; so I went up with the ladder to the top, and then pulled it up after me, and let it down on the inside: this was a complete enclosure to me; for within I had room enough, and nothing could come at me from without, unless it could first mount my wall.

The very next day after this wall was finished, I had almost had all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed. The case was thus: As I was busy in the inside of it behind my tent, just in the entrance into my

cave, I was terribly frighted with a most dreadful surprising thing indeed; for on a sudden I found the earth come crumbling down from the roof of my cave, and from the edge of the hill, over my head, and two of the posts I had set up in the cave cracked in a frightful manner: I was heartily scared, but thought nothing of what was really the cause, only thinking that the top of my cave was falling in, as some of it had done before; and for fear I should be buried in it, I ran forward to my ladder, and not thinking myself safe there neither, I got over my wall for fear of the pieces of the hill, which I expected might roll down upon me. I was no sooner stept down upon the firm ground, but I plainly saw it was a terrible earthquake, for the ground I stood on shook three times at about eight minutes distance, with three such shocks, as would have overturned the strongest building that could be supposed to have stood on the earth; and a great piece of the top of a rock, which stood about half a mile from me next the sea, fell down with such a terrible noise as I never heard in all my life: I perceived also the very sea was put into violent motion by it; and I believe the shocks were stronger under the water than on the island.

I was so amazed with the thing itself, having never felt the like, or discoursed with any one that had, that I was like one dead or stupified; and the motion of the earth made my stomach sick, like one that was tossed at sea; but the noise of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were, and rousing me from the stupified condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing then but the hill falling upon my tent and all my household goods, and burying all at once; and thus sunk my very soul within me a second time.

After the third shock was over, and I felt no more for some time, I began to take courage; and yet I had not heart enough to get over my wall again, for fear of being buried alive, but sat still upon the ground, greatly cast down and disconsolate, not knowing what to do. All this while I had not the least serious religious thought, nothing but the common "Lord have mercy upon me!" and when it was over, that went away too.

While I sat thus, I found the air overcast, and grow cloudy, as if it would rain; soon after that, the wind rose by little and little, so that in less than half an hour it blew a most dreadful hurricane: the sea was all on a sudden covered over with foam and froth, the shore was covered with the breach of the water, the trees were torn up by the roots, and a terrible storm it was; and this held about three hours, and then began to abate, and in two hours more it was stark calm, and began to rain very hard.

All this while I sat upon the ground, very much terrified and dejected, when on a sudden it came into my thoughts, that these winds and rain being the consequence of the earthquake, the earthquake itself was spent and over, and I might venture into my cave again: with this thought my spirits began to revive, and, the rain also helping to persuade me, I went in and sat down in my tent; but the rain was so violent, that my tent was ready to be beaten down with it; and I was forced to go into my cave, though very much afraid, and uneasy, for fear it should fall on my head.

This violent rain forced me to a new work, viz. to cut a hole through my new fortification like a sink, to let water go out, which would else have drowned my cave. After I had been in my cave some time, and found still no more shocks of the earthquake follow, I began to be more composed; and now, to support my spirits, which indeed wanted it very much, I went to my little store, and took a small cup of rum, which, however, I did then, and always, very sparingly, knowing I could have no more when that was gone.

It continued raining all that night, and great part of the next day, so that I could not stir abroad; but, my mind being more composed, I began to think of what I had best do, concluding, that if the island was subject to these earthquakes, there would be no living for me in a cave, but I must consider of building me some little hut in an open place, which I might surround with a wall as I had done here, and so make myself secure from wild beasts or men: but concluded, if I staid where I was, I should certainly, one time or other, be buried alive.

With these thoughts, I resolved to remove my tent from the place where it stood, which was just under the hanging precipice of the hill, and which, if it should be shaken again, would certainly fall upon my tent. And I spent the two next days, being the 19th and 20th of April, in contriving where and how to remove my habitation.

The fear of being swallowed up alive, made me that I never slept in quiet, and yet the apprehension of lying abroad without any fence, was almost equal to it; but still, when I looked about, and saw how every thing was put in order, how pleasantly concealed I was, and how safe from danger, it made me very loth to remove.

In the mean time, it occurred to me, that it would require a vast deal of time for me to do this, and that I must be contented to run the venture where I was, till I had formed a

camp for myself, and had secured it so as to remove to it. So, with this resolution, I composed myself for a time, and resolved that I would go to work with all speed, to build me a wall with piles and cables, &c. in a circle, as before; and set my tent up in it when it was finished, but that I would venture to stay where I was till it was finished, and fit to remove to. This was the 21st.

April 22. The next morning I began to consider of means to put this resolve in execution, but I was at a great loss about my tools. I had three large axes, and abundance of hatchets, (for we carried the hatchets for traffic with the Indians); but with much chopping and cutting knotty hard wood, they were all full of notches and dull; and, though I had a grindstone, I could not turn it, and grind my tools too: this cost me as much thought as a statesmen would have bestowed upon a grand point of politics, or a judge upon the life and death of a man. At length I contrived a wheel with a string, to turn it with my foot, that I might have both my hands at liberty.—*Note*, I had never seen any such thing in England, or at least not to take notice how it was done, though since I have observed it is very common there; besides that, my grindstone was very large and heavy. This machine cost me a full week's work to bring it to perfection.

April 28, 29. These two whole days I took up in grinding my tools, my machine for turning my grindstone performing very well.

April 30. Having perceived my bread had been low a great while, now I took a survey of it, and reduced myself to one biscuit-cake a day, which made my heart very heavy.

## CHAP. VI.

*Observe the Ship driven further aground by the late Storm—Procure a vast quantity of Necessaries from the Wreck—Catch a large Turtle—I fall ill of a Fever and Ague—Terrible Dream, and serious Reflections thereupon—Find a Bible in one of the Seamen's Chests thrown ashore, the reading whereof gives me great Comfort.*

MAY 1. In the morning, looking towards the sea-side, the tide being low, I saw something lie on the shore bigger than ordinary; and it looked like a cask. When I came to it, I found a small barrel, and two or three pieces of the wreck of the ship, which were driven on shore by the late hurricane; and looking towards the wreck itself, I thought it seemed to lie higher out of the water than it used to do. I examined the barrel which was driven on shore, and soon found it was a barrel of gunpowder, but it had taken water, and the powder was caked as hard as a stone; however, I rolled it farther on shore for the present, and went on upon the sands as near as I could to the wreck of the ship, to look for more.

When I came down to the ship, I found it strangely removed; the forecastle, which lay before buried in sand, was heaved up at least six foot; and the stern, which was broke to pieces, and parted from the rest by the force of the sea, soon after I had left rummaging her, was tossed, as it were, up, and cast on one side, and the sand was thrown so high on that side next her stern, that whereas there was a great place of water before, so that I could not come within a quarter of a mile of the wreck without swimming, I could now walk quite up to her when the tide was out. I was surprised with this at first, but soon concluded it must be done by the earthquake; and, as by this violence the ship was more broken open than formerly, so many things came daily on shore, which the sea had loosened, and which the winds and water rolled by degrees to the land.

This wholly diverted my thoughts from the design of removing my habitation; and I busied myself mightily, that day especially, in searching whether I could make any way into the ship; but I found nothing was to be expected of that kind, for that all the inside of the ship was choked up with sand; however, as I had learnt not to despair of any thing, I resolved to pull every thing to pieces that I could of the ship, concluding, that every thing I could get from her would be of some use or other to me.

May 3. I began with my saw, and cut a piece of a beam through, which I thought held some of the upper part or quarter-deck together, and when I had cut it through, I cleared away the sand as well as I could from the side which lay highest; but the tide coming in, I was obliged to give over for that time.

May 4. I went a-fishing, but caught not one fish that I durst eat of, till I was weary of my sport; when just going to leave off, I caught a young dolphin. I had made me a long line of some rope-yarn, but I had no hooks, yet I frequently caught fish enough, as much as I cared to eat; all which I dried in the sun, and ate them dry.

May 5. Worked on the wreck, cut another beam asunder, and brought three great fir planks off from the decks, which I tied together, and made swim on shore when the tide of flood came on.

May 6. Worked on the wreck, got several iron bolts out of her, and other pieces of iron-work; worked very hard, and came home

very much tired, and had thoughts of giving it over.

May 7. Went to the wreck again, but with an intent not to work, but found the weight of the wreck had broke itself down, the beams being cut, that several pieces of the ship seemed to lie loose, and the inside of the hold lay so open, that I could see into it, but almost full of water and sand.

May 8. Went to the wreck, and carried an iron crow to wrench up the deck, which lay now quite clear of the water or sand; I wrenched open two planks, and brought them on shore also with the tide: I left the iron crow in the wreck for next day.

May 9. Went to the wreck, and with the crow made way into the body of the wreck, and felt several casks, and loosened them with the crow, but could not break them up: I felt also the roll of English lead, and could stir it, but it was too heavy to remove.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. Went every day to the wreck, and got a great many pieces of timber, and boards, or plank, and two or three hundred weight of iron.

May 15. I carried two hatchets, to try if I could not cut a piece off the roll of lead, by placing the edge of one hatchet, and driving it with the other; but as it lay about a foot and a half in the water, I could not make any blow to drive the hatchet.

May 16. It had blown hard in the night, and the wreck appeared more broken by the force of the water; but I staid so long in the woods to get pigeons for food, that the tide prevented me going to the wreck that day.

May 17. I saw some pieces of the wreck blown on shore, at a great distance, near two miles off me, but resolved to see what they were, and found it was a piece of the head, but too heavy for me to bring away.

May 24. Every day to this day I worked on the wreck, and, with hard labour, I loosened some things so much with the crow, that the first flowing tide several casks floated out, and two of the seamen's chests; but the wind blowing from the shore, nothing came to land that day but pieces of timber, and a hogshead, which had some Brazil pork in it, but the salt water and the sand had spoiled it.

I continued this work every day to the 15th of June, except the time necessary to get food, which I always appointed, during this part of my employment, to be when the tide was up, that I might be ready when it was ebbed out; and by this time I had gotten timber, and plank, and iron work enough to have built a good boat, if I had known how; and also I got at several times, and in several pieces, near one hundred weight of the sheet-lead.

June 16. Going down to the sea-side, I found a large tortoise, or turtle; this was the first I had seen, which, it seems, was only my misfortune, not any defect of the place, or scarcity; for had I happened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day, as I found afterwards; but perhaps had paid dear enough for them.

June 17. I spent in cooking the turtle; I found in her threescore eggs; and her flesh was to me at that time the most savoury and pleasant that ever I tasted in my life, having had no flesh, but of goats, and fowls, since I landed in this horrid place.

June 18. Rained all day, and I stayed within. I thought at this time the rain felt cold, and I was something chilly, which I knew was not usual in that latitude.

June 19. Very ill, and shivering, as if the weather had been cold.

June 20. No rest all night, violent pains in my head, and feverish.

June 21. Very ill, frighted almost to death with the apprehensions of my sad condition, to be sick, and no help. Prayed to God, for the first time since the storm off Hull, but scarce knew what I said, or why; my thoughts being all confused.

June 22. A little better, but under dreadful apprehensions of sickness.

June 23. Very bad again, cold and shivering, and then a violent headach.

June 24. Much better.

June 25. An ague very violent; the fit held me seven hours, cold fit and hot, with faint sweats after it.

June 26. Better; and having no victuals to eat, took my gun, but found myself very weak; however, I killed a she-goat, and, with much difficulty, got it home, and broiled some of it, and ate; I would fain have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27. The ague again so violent, that I lay a-bed all day, and neither ate nor drank; I was ready to perish for thirst, but so weak I had not strength to stand up, or to get myself any water to drink. Prayed to God again, but was light-headed: and when I was not, I was so ignorant, that I knew not what to say, only I lay, and cried, Lord look upon me! Lord pity me! Lord have mercy upon me!—I suppose I did nothing else for two or three hours, till, the fit wearing off, I fell asleep, and did not wake till far in the night; when I waked, I found myself much refreshed, but weak, and exceeding thirsty: however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to sleep again. In this second sleep I had this terrible dream.

I thought that I was sitting on the ground, on the outside of my wall, where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake, and that I saw a man descend from a great black cloud,

in a bright flame of fire, and light upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flame, so that I could but just bear to look towards him; his countenance was most inexpressibly dreadful, impossible for words to describe; when he stepped upon the ground with his feet, I thought the earth trembled, just as it had done before in the earthquake, and all the air looked to my apprehension as if it had been filled with flashes of fire.

He was no sooner landed upon the earth, but he moved forward towards me, with a long spear, or weapon, in his hand to kill me; and when he came to a rising ground, at some distance, he spoke to me, or I heard a voice so terrible, that it is impossible to express the terror of it; all that I can say I understood was this:—Seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance, now thou shalt die: at which words, I thought he lifted up the spear that was in his hand to kill me.

No one, that shall ever read this account, will expect, that I should be able to describe the horrors of my soul at this terrible vision; I mean, that even while it was a dream, I even dreamed of those horrors; nor is it any more possible to describe the impression that remained upon my mind, when I awaked and found it was but a dream.

I had, alas! no divine knowledge. What I had received by the good instruction of my father was then worn out by an uninterrupted series, for eight years, of seafaring wickedness, and a constant conversation with nothing but such as were, like myself, wicked and profane to the last degree. I do not remember, that I had, in all that time, one thought, that so much as tended either to looking upwards toward God, or inwards towards a reflection upon my own ways. But a certain stupidity of soul, without desire of good, or conscience of evil, had entirely overwhelmed me, and I was all that the most hardened, unthinking, wicked creature, among our common sailors, can be supposed to be, not having the least sense, either of the fear of God in danger, or of thankfulness to God in deliverances.

In the relating what is already past of my story, this will be the more easily believed, when I shall add, that, through all the variety of miseries that had to this day befallen me, I never had so much as one thought of it being the hand of God, or that it was a just punishment for my sin; my rebellious behaviour against my father, or my present sins, which were great, or so much as a punishment for the general course of my wicked life. When I was on the desperate expedition on the desart shores of Africa, I never had so much as one thought of what would become of me, or one wish to God to direct me whither I should go, or to keep me from the danger, which apparently surrounded me, as well from voracious creatures, as cruel savages: but I was merely thoughtless of a God, or a Providence, acted like a mere brute, from the principles of nature, and by the dictates of common sense only, and indeed hardly that.

When I was delivered, and taken up at sea by the Portugal captain, well used, and dealt justly and honourably with, as well as charitably, I had not the least thankfulness in my thoughts. When again I was shipwrecked, ruined, and in danger of drowning on this island, I was as far from remorse, or looking on it as a judgment; I only said to myself often, that I was *an unfortunate dog*, and born to be always miserable.

It is true, when I got on shore first here, and found all my ship's crew drowned, and myself spared, I was surprised with a kind of ecstasy, and some transports of soul, which, had the grace of God assisted, might have come up to true thankfulness; but it ended where it begun, in a mere common flight of joy, or, as I may say, *being glad I was alive*, without the least reflection upon the distinguishing goodness of the Hand which had preserved me, and had singled me out to be preserved, when all the rest were destroyed; or an inquiry why Providence had been thus merciful to me: even just the same common sort of joy which seamen generally have, after they have got safe on shore from a shipwreck, which they drown all in the next bowl of punch, and forget almost as soon as it is over; and all the rest of my life was like it.

Even when I was afterwards, on due consideration, made sensible of my condition, how I was cast on this dreadful place, out of the reach of human kind, out of all hope of relief, or prospect of redemption, as soon as I saw but a prospect of living, and that I should not starve and perish for hunger, all the sense of my affliction wore off, and I began to be very easy, applied myself to the works proper for my preservation and supply, and was far enough from being afflicted at my condition, as a judgment from Heaven, or as the hand of God against me: these were thoughts which very seldom entered into my head.

The growing up of the corn, as is hinted in my journal, had at first some little influence upon me, and began to affect me with seriousness, as long as I thought it had something miraculous in it; but as soon as ever that part of thought was removed, all the impression, which was raised from it, wore off also, as I have noted already.

Even the earthquake, though nothing could be more terrible in its nature, or more immediately directing to the invisible Power, which alone directs such things; yet no sooner was the first fright over, but the impression it had made went off also. I had no more sense of

God, or his judgments, much less of the present affliction of my circumstances being from his hand, than if I had been in the most prosperous condition of life.

But now, when I began to be sick, and a leisurely view of the miseries of death came to place itself before me; when my spirits began to sink under the burden of a strong distemper, and nature was exhausted with the violence of the fever, conscience, that had slept so long, began to awake, and I began to reproach myself with my past life, in which I had so evidently, by uncommon wickedness, provoked the justice of God to lay me under uncommon strokes, and to deal with me in so vindictive a manner.

These reflections oppressed me, from the second or third day of my distemper; and in the violence, as well of the fever as of the dreadful reproaches of my conscience, extorted some words from me, like praying to God, though I cannot say they were either a prayer attended with desires, or with hopes; it was rather the voice of mere fright and distress; my thoughts were confused, the convictions great upon my mind, and the horror of dying in such a miserable condition raised vapours into my head with the mere apprehensions; and, in these hurries of my soul, I knew not what my tongue might express: but it was rather exclamation, such as, Lord! what a miserable creature am I! If I should be sick, I shall certainly die for want of help, and what will become of me! Then the tears burst out of my eyes, and I could say no more for a good while.

In this interval, the good advice of my father came to my mind, and presently his prediction, which I mentioned in the beginning of this story; viz. that, if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me; and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery. Now, said I aloud, my dear father's words are come to pass; God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me. I rejected the voice of Providence, which had mercifully put me in a posture, or station of life, wherein I might have been happy and easy; but I would neither see it myself, nor learn to know the blessing of it from my parents. I left them to mourn over my folly, and now I am left to mourn under the consequences of it. I refused their help and assistance, who would have lifted me into the world, and would have made every thing easy to me, and now I have difficulties to struggle with, too great for even nature itself to support, and no assistance, no help, no comfort, no advice. Then I cried out, Lord, be my help; for I am in great distress!

This was the first prayer, if I might call it so, that I had made for many years. But I return to my journal.

June 28. Having been somewhat refreshed with the sleep I had had, and the fit being entirely off, I got up; and though the fright and terror of my dream was very great, yet I considered, that the fit of the ague would not return again the next day, and now was my time to get something to refresh and support myself, when I should be ill: and the first thing I did, I filled a large square case-bottle with water, and set it upon my table, in reach of my bed: and to take off the chill or ague-ish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it, and mixed them together; then I got me a piece of the goat's flesh, and broiled it on the coals, but could eat very little. I walked about, but was very weak, and withal very sad and heavy-hearted, under a sense of my miserable condition, dreading the return of my distemper the next day. At night, I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and ate, as we call it, in the shell; and this was the first bit of meat that ever asked God's blessing to, even, as I could remember, in my whole life.

After I had eaten, I tried to walk, but found myself so weak, that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that); so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here, some such thoughts as these occurred to me:—

What is the earth and sea, of which I have seen so much? Whence is it produced? And what am I, and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal; whence are we?

Sure we are all made by some secret Power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky; and who is that?

Then it followed, most naturally:—It is God that has made it all. Well, but then, I came on strangely, if God has made all these things, he guides and governs them all, and all things that concern them; for the Being that could make all things, must certainly have power to guide and direct them.

If so, nothing can happen in the great circuit of his works, either without his knowledge or appointment.

And if nothing happens without his knowledge, he knows that I am here, and am in a dreadful condition; and if nothing happens without his appointment, he has appointed all this to befal me.

Nothing occurred to my thoughts to contradict any of these conclusions; and therefore it rested upon me with the greater force, that it must needs be, that God had appoin-

ed all this to befal me; that I was brought to this miserable circumstance by his direction, he having the sole power, not of me only, but of every thing that happened in the world. Immediately it followed,

Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus used?

My conscience presently checked me in that inquiry, as if I had blasphemed; and methought it spoke to me, like a voice:—Wretch! dost thou ask what thou hast done? Look back upon a dreadful mis-spent life, and ask thyself what thou hast not done? Ask why is it that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth Roads? killed in the fight, when the ship was taken by the Sallee man of war? devoured by the wild beasts on the coast of Africa? or drowned HERE, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dost thou ask, What have I done?

I was struck with these reflections, as one astonished, and had not a word to say, no, not to answer to myself; but rose up pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went up over my wall, as if I had been going to bed; but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep, so I sat down in my chair, and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehensions of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought, that the Brasilians take no physic but their tobacco, for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of a roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green, and not quite cured.

I went, directed by Heaven, no doubt; for in this chest I found a cure both for soul and body. I opened the chest, and found what I looked for, viz. the tobacco; and as the few books I had saved lay there too, I took out one of the Bibles, which I mentioned before, and which, to this time, I had not found leisure, or so much as inclination, to look into; I say, I took it out, and brought both that and the tobacco with me to the table.

What use to make of the tobacco I knew not, as to my distemper, or whether it was good for it or no; but I tried several experiments with it, as if I was resolved it should hit one way or other. I first took a piece of a leaf, and chewed it in my mouth, which indeed at first almost stupified my brain, the tobacco being green and strong, and that I had not been much used to it; then I took some, and steeped it an hour or two in some rum, and resolved to take a dose of it, when I lay down; and lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke of it, as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat, as the virtue of it, and I held almost to suffocation.

In the interval of this operation, I took up the Bible, and began to read; but my head was too much disturbed with the tobacco to bear reading, at least at that time; only, having opened the book casually, the first words that occurred to me were these: "Call on me, in the day of trouble, and I will deliver; and thou shalt glorify me."

The words were very apt to my case, and made some impression upon my thoughts at the time of reading them, though not so much as they did afterwards; for, as for being delivered, the word had no sound, as I may say, to me. The thing was so remote, so impossible, in my apprehension of things, that I began to say, as the children of Israel did, when they were promised flesh to eat, "Can God spread a table in the wilderness?" So I began to say, Can God himself deliver me from this place? And as it was not for many years that any hope appeared, this prevailed very often upon my thoughts. But, however, the words made a very great impression upon me, and I mused upon them very often. It grew now late, and the tobacco had, as I said, dozed my head so much, that I inclined to sleep, so that I left my lamp burning in the cave, lest I should want any thing in the night, and went to bed. But before I lay down, I did what I never had done in all my life, I kneeled down, and prayed to God to fulfil the promise to me, that, if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me. After my broken and imperfect prayer was over, I drank the rum, in which I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the tobacco, that indeed I could scarce get it down. Immediately upon this, I went to bed, and I found presently it flew up into my head violently; but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more, till, by the sun, it must necessarily be near three o'clock in the afternoon the next day; nay, to this hour, I am partly of the opinion, that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three the day after; for, otherwise, I know not how I should lose a day out of my reckoning, in the days of the week, as it appeared, some years after, I had done: for, if I had lost it by crossing and recrossing the Line, I should have lost more than a day; but in my account it was lost, and I never knew which way.

Be that, however, one way or other; when I awaked, I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and chearful. When I got up, I was stronger than I was the day before, and my stomach better; for I was hungry; and, in short, I had no fit the next day, but continued much altered for the better: this was the 29th.

The 30th was my well day of course, and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far; I killed a sea-fowl or two,

something like a brand goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them: so I ate some more of the turtle's eggs, which were very good. This evening I renewed the medicine, which I had supposed did me good the day before, viz. the tobacco steeped in rum: only I did not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke; however, I was not so well the next day, which was the 1st of July, as I hoped I should have been; for I had a little spice of the cold fit, but it was not much.

July 2. I renewed the medicine all the three ways, and dozed myself with it as at first, and doubled the quantity which I drank.

July 3. I missed the fit for good and all, though I did not recover my full strength for some weeks after. While I was thus gathering strength, my thoughts ran exceedingly upon this scripture, "I will deliver thee;" and the impossibility of my deliverance lay much upon my mind, in bar of my ever expecting it: but as I was discouraging myself with such thoughts, it occurred to my mind, that I pored so much upon my deliverance from the main affliction, that I disregarded the deliverance I had received; and I was, as it were, made to ask myself such questions as these: viz. Have I not been delivered, and wonderfully too, from sickness? from the most distressing condition that could be, and that was so frightful to me? and what notice had I taken of it? had I done my part? *God had delivered me*, but *I had not glorified him*: that is to say, I had not owned and been thankful for that as a deliverance; and how could I expect greater deliverance?

This touched my heart very much, and immediately I kneeled down, and gave God thanks aloud, for my recovery from my sickness.

July 4. In the morning I took the Bible: and, beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it, and imposed upon myself to read a while every morning and every night, not tying myself to the number of chapters, but as long as my thoughts should engage me. It was not long after I set seriously to this work, but I found my heart more deeply and sincerely affected with the wickedness of my past life. The impression of my dream revived; and the words, "All these things have not brought thee to repentance," ran seriously in my thoughts. I was earnestly begging of God to give me repentance, when it happened providentially that very day, that, reading the Scripture, I came to these words: "He is exalted a Prince, and a Saviour, to give repentance, and to give remission." I threw down the book, and with my heart as well as my hand lifted up to heaven, in a kind of ecstacy of joy, I cried out aloud, Jesus, thou Son of David! Jesus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!

This was the first time that I could say, in the true sense of the words, that I prayed in all my life; for now I prayed with a sense of my condition, and with a true Scripture view of hope, founded on the encouragement of the word of God; and from this time, I may say, I began to have hope that God would hear me.

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above, "Call on me, and I will deliver thee," in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of any thing being called deliverance, but my being delivered from the captivity I was in: for, though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that in the worst sense of the word; but now I learnt to take it in another sense. Now I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God, but deliverance from the load of guilt that lay down all my comfort. As for my solitary life, it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it, or think of it; it was of no consideration in comparison of this; and I added this part here, to hint to whoever shall read it, that whenever they come to true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing than deliverance from affliction.

But, leaving this part, I return to my journal.

My condition began now to be, though not less miserable as to my way of living, yet much easier to my mind; and my thoughts being directed, by a constant reading of Scripture, and praying to God, to things of a higher nature, I had a great deal of comfort within, which till now I knew nothing of. I also, as my health and strength returned, bestirred myself to furnish myself with every thing that I wanted, and make my way of living as regular as I could.

From the 4th of July to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, a little and a little at a time, as a man that was gathering up his strength after a fit of sickness; for it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what weakness I was reduced. The application which I made use of was perfectly new, and, perhaps, what had never cured an ague before; neither can I recommend it to any one to practise by this experiment; and though I did carry off the fit, yet it rather contributed to weaken me; for I had frequent convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time.

I learnt from it also this in particular, that

g abroad in the rainy season was the most
icious thing to my health that could be,
cially in those rains which came attended
storms and hurricanes of wind; for, as
rain which came in a dry season was al-
most accompanied with such storms, so
nd this rain was much more dangerous
the rain which fell in September and Oc-
r.

had been now in this unhappy island
e ten months; all possibility of deliver-
from this condition seemed to be entire-
ken from me; and I firmly believed, that
man shape had ever set foot upon that
e. Having now secured my habitation,
thought, fully to my mind, I had a great
e to make a more perfect discovery of
land, and to see what other productions
ght find, which yet I knew nothing of.

## CHAP. VII.

*gin to take a survey of my Island—Dis-
er plenty of Tobacco, Grapes, Lemons,
d Sugar Canes, wild, but no human In-
abitants—Resolve to lay up a store of
ese Articles, to furnish me against the wet
ason—My Cat, which I supposed lost, re-
urns with Kittens—I regulate my Diet,
d shut myself up for the wet Season—Sow
y Grain, which comes to nothing; but I
scover, and remedy my error—Take ac-
unt of the course of the Weather.*

t was the 15th of July that I began to
a more particular survey of the island
f. I went up the creek first, where, as I
ed, I brought my rafts on shore. I found,
I came about two miles up, that the tide
ot flow any higher, and that it was no
e than a little brook of running water,
fresh and good; but this being the dry
on, there was hardly any water in some
ts of it, at least not enough to run into any
am, so as it could be perceived.

On the bank of this brook I found many
most savannas or meadows, plain, smooth,
covered with grass; and, on the rising
ts of them, next to the higher grounds,
ere the water, as it might be supposed,
er overflowed, I found a great deal of to-
co, green, and growing to a great and very
ng stalk: there were divers other plants
ich I had no notion of, or understanding
ut, and might perhaps have virtues of their
n, which I could not find out.

I searched for the cassave root, which the
ians in all that climate make their bread
but I could find none. I saw large plants
loes, but did not then understand them;
w several sugar-canes, but wild, and for
want of cultivation, imperfect. I contented myself with these discoveries for this time, and came back musing with myself what course I might take to know the virtue and goodness of any of the fruits or plants which I should discover, but could bring it to no conclusion; for, in short, I had made so little observation while I was in the Brazils, that I knew little of the plants of the field, at least, very little that might serve me to any purpose now in my distress.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again; and, after going something farther than I had done the day before, I found the brook and the savannas began to cease, and the country became more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly I found melons upon the ground in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees; the vines had spread indeed over the trees, and the clusters of grapes were just now in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceeding glad of them; but I was warned by my experience to eat sparingly of them, remembering, that when I was ashore in Barbary, the eating of grapes killed several of our Englishmen who were slaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers: but I found an excellent use for these grapes, and that was to cure or dry them in the sun, and keep them as dried grapes or raisins are kept, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, as wholesome, and as agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be had.

I spent all that evening there, and went not back to my habitation; which, by the way, was the first night, as I might say, I had lain from home. In the night I took my first contrivance, and got up into a tree, where I slept well, and the next morning proceeded upon my discovery, travelling near four miles, as I might judge by the length of the valley, keeping still due north, with a ridge of hills on the south and north side of me.

At the end of this march I came to an opening, where the country seemed to descend to the west; and a little spring of fresh water, which issued out of the side of the hill by me, ran the other way, that is, due east; and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so flourishing, every thing being in a constant verdure, or flourish of spring, that it looked like a planted garden.

I descended a little on the side of that delicious valley, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with other afflicting thoughts,) to think that this was all my own, that I was king and lord of all this country indefensibly, and had a right of possession; and, if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance, as completely as any lord of a

manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa-trees, orange and lemon, and citron trees, but all wild, and few bearing any fruit; at least, not then: however, the green limes that I gathered were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome; and I mixed their juice afterwards with water, which made it very wholesome, and very cool and refreshing.

I found now I had business enough to gather and carry home; and resolved to lay up a store, as well of grapes, as limes and lemons, to furnish myself for the wet season, which I knew was approaching.

In order to do this, I gathered a great heap of grapes in one place, and a lesser heap in another place, and a great parcel of limes and lemons in another place; and taking a few of each with me, I travelled homeward, and resolved to come again, and bring a bag or sack, or what I could make, to carry the rest home.

Accordingly, having spent three days in this journey, I came home (so I must now call my tent, and my cave;) but before I got thither, the grapes were spoiled; the richness of the fruit, and the weight of the juice, having broken them, and bruised them, they were good for little or nothing: as to the limes, they were good, but I could bring but a few.

The next day, being the 19th, I went back, having made me two small bags to bring home my harvest. But I was surprised, when, coming to my heap of grapes, which were so rich and fine when I gathered them, I found them all spread abroad, trod to pieces, and dragged about, some here, some there, and abundance eaten and devoured. By this I concluded there were some wild creatures thereabouts, which had done this; but what they were I knew not.

However, as I found there was no laying them up on heaps, and no carrying them away in a sack, but that one way they would be destroyed, and the other way they would be crushed with their own weight, I took another course; for I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry in the sun; and as for the limes and lemons, I carried as many back as I could well stand under.

When I came home from this journey, I contemplated, with great pleasure, on the fruitfulness of that valley, and the pleasantness of the situation, the security from storms on that side of the water, and the wood; and concluded, that I had pitched upon a place to fix my abode, which was by far the worst part of the country. Upon the whole, I began to consider of removing my habitation, and to look out for a place equally safe, as where I now was situated, if possible, in that pleasant, fruitful part of the island.

This thought ran long in my head, and I was exceeding fond of it for some time, the pleasantness of the place tempting me; but when I came to a nearer view of it, and to consider that I was now by the sea-side, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage, and that the same ill fate that brought me hither, might bring some other unhappy wretches to the same place; and though it was scarce probable that any such thing should ever happen, yet, to enclose myself among the hills and woods, in the centre of the island, was to anticipate my bondage, and to render such an affair not only improbable, but impossible; and that therefore I ought not by any means to remove.

However, I was so enamoured with this place, that I spent much of my time there for the whole remaining part of the month of July; and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved as above, not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it, at a distance, with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked, and filled between with brushwood; and here I lay very secure sometimes two or three nights together, always going over it with a ladder, as before; so that I fancied now I had my country house, and my sea-coast house; and this work took me up the beginning of August.

I had but newly finished my fence, and began to enjoy my labour, but the rains came on, and made me stick close to my first habitation; for, though I had made me a tent like the other, with a piece of sail, and spread it very well, yet I had not the shelter of an hill to keep me from storms, nor a cave behind me, to retreat into when the rains were extraordinary.

About the beginning of August, as I said, had finished my bower, and began to enjoy myself. The 3d of August I found the grapes I had hung up were perfectly dried, and indeed were excellent good raisins of the sun; so I began to take them down from the trees, and it was very happy that I did so, for the rains which followed would have spoiled them, and I had lost the best part of my winter food; for I had above two hundred large bunches of them. No sooner had I taken them all down, and carried most of them home to my cave, but it began to rain; and from thence, which was the 14th of August, it rained more or less every day, till the middle of October, and sometimes so violently that I could not stir out of my cave for several days.

In this season I was much surprised with the increase of my family: I had been ex-

cerned for the loss of one of my cats, who ran away from me, or, as I thought, had been dead; and I heard no more tale or tidings of her, till to my astonishment she came home about the end of August, with three kittens. This was the more strange to me, because though I had killed a wild cat, as I called it, with my gun, yet I thought it was a quite different kind from our European cats; yet the young cats were the same kind of house breed like the old one; and both my cats being females, I thought it very strange: but from these three cats, I afterwards came to be so pestered with cats, that I was forced to kill them like vermin, or wild beasts, and to drive them from my house as much as possible.

From the 14th of August to the 26th, incessant rain, so that I could not stir, and was now very careful not to be much wet. In this confinement I began to be straitened for food; but venturing out twice, I one day killed a goat; and the last day, which was the 26th, found a very large tortoise, which was a treat to me, and my food was regulated thus: I ate a bunch of raisins for my breakfast, a piece of the goat's flesh, or of the turtle, for my dinner, broiled (for, to my great misfortune, I had no vessel to boil or stew any thing); and two or three of the turtle's eggs for supper.

During this confinement in my cover by the rain, I worked daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave; and, by degrees, worked it on towards one side, till I came to the outside of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall; and so I came in and out this way. But I was not perfectly easy at lying so open; for as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect enclosure, whereas now I thought I lay exposed; and yet I could not perceive that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had seen upon the island being a goat.

September the 30th. I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing: I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast, setting it apart to a religious exercise, prostrating myself to the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessing myself to God, acknowledging his righteous judgment upon me, and praying to him to have mercy on me, through Jesus Christ; and having not tasted the least refreshment for twelve hours, even till the going down of the sun, I then ate a biscuit-cake and a bunch of grapes, and went to bed, finishing the day as I began it.

I had all this time observed no Sabbath-day for as at first I had no sense of religion upon my mind, I had after some time omitted to distinguish the weeks, by making a longer notch than ordinary for the Sabbath-day, and so did not really know what any of the days were; but now, having cast up the days as above, I found I had been there a year; so I divided it into weeks, and set apart every seventh day for a Sabbath; though I found at the end of my account I had lost a day or two of my reckoning.

A little after this my ink began to fail me, and so I contented myself to use it more sparingly, and to write down only the most remarkable events of my life, without continuing a daily memorandum of other things.

The rainy season, and the dry season, began now to appear regular to me, and I learned to divide them so as to provide for them accordingly. But I bought all my experience before I had it; and this I am going to relate, was one of the most discouraging experiments that I made at all. I have mentioned, that I had saved the few ears of barley and rice which I had so surprisingly found spring up, as I thought, of themselves, and believe there were about thirty stalks of rice, and about twenty of barley; and now I thought it a proper time to sow it after the rains, the sun being in its southern position going from me.

Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground, as well as I could, with my wooden spade, and dividing it into two parts, I sowed my grain; but as I was sowing, it casually occurred to my thought, that I would not sow it all at first, because I did not know when was the proper time for it; so I sowed about two-thirds of the seeds, leaving about a handful of each.

It was a great comfort to me afterwards that I did so, for not one grain of that I sowed this time came to any thing; for the dry months following, the earth having had no rain after the seed was sown, it had no moisture to assist its growth, and never came up at all, till the wet season had come again, and then it grew as if it had been newly sown.

Finding my first seed did not grow, which I easily imagined was by the drought, I sought for a moister piece of ground to make another trial in; and I dug up a piece of ground near my new bower, and sowed the rest of my seed in February, a little before the vernal equinox; and this, having the rainy months of March and April to water it, sprung up very pleasantly, and yielded a very good crop; but having part of the seed left only, and not daring to sow all that I had yet, I had but a small quantity at last, my whole crop not amounting to above half a peck of each kind.

But by this experience I was made master of my business, and knew exactly when the

proper season was to sow; and that I might expect two seed-times, and two harvests, every year.

While this corn was growing, I made a little discovery, which was of use to me afterwards. As soon as the rains were over, and the weather began to settle, which was about the month of November, I made a visit up the country to my bower, where though I had not been some months, yet I found all things just as I left them. The circle or double hedge that I had made, was not only firm and entire, but the stakes which I had cut off of some trees that grew thereabouts, were all shot out, and grown with long branches, as much as a willow tree usually shoots the first year after lopping its head. I could not tell what tree to call it that these stakes were cut from. I was surprised, and yet very well pleased, to see the young trees grow; and I pruned them, and led them up to grow as much alike as I could: and it is scarce credible, how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years; so that though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-five yards in diameter, yet the trees, for such I might now call them, soon covered it; and it was a complete shade, sufficient to lodge under all the dry season.

This made me resolve to cut some more stakes, and make me an hedge like this in a semicircle round my wall, I mean that of my first dwelling, which I did; and placing the trees, or stakes, in a double row, at above eight yards distance from my first fence, they grew presently, and were at first a fine cover to my habitation, and afterwards served for a defence also, as I shall observe in its order.

I found now, that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into summer and winter, as in Europe, but into the rainy seasons and the dry seasons, which were generally thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Half February, March, Half April, | Rainy, the sun being then on, or near, the equinox. |
| Half April, May, June, July, Half August, | Dry, the sun being then to the north of the Line, |
| Half August, September, Half October, | Rain, the sun being then come back. |
| Half October, November, December, January, Half February, | Dry, the sun being then to the south of the Line. |

The rainy season sometimes held longer or shorter, as the winds happened to blow; but this was the general observation I made. After I had found, by experience, the ill consequence of being abroad in the rain, I took care to furnish myself with provision beforehand, that I might not be obliged to go out; and I sat within doors as much as possible during the wet months.

In this time I found much employment, (and very suitable also to the time,) for I found great occasion of many things which I had no way to furnish myself with, but by hard labour and constant application; particularly, I tried many ways to make myself a basket; but all the twigs I could get for the purpose proved so brittle, that they would do nothing. It proved of excellent advantage to me now, that when I was a boy I used to take great delight in standing at a basket-maker's in the town where my father lived, to see them make their wicker-ware; and being, as boys usually are, very officious to help, and a great observer of the manner how they worked those things, and sometimes lent a hand, I had by this means so full knowledge of the methods of it, that I wanted nothing but the materials; when it came into my mind, that the twigs of that tree from whence I cut my stakes that grew, might possibly be as tough as the sallows, and willows, and osiers, in England; and I resolved to try.

Accordingly, the next day I went to my country-house, as I called it; and cutting some of the smaller twigs, I found them to my purpose as much as I could desire; whereupon I came the next time prepared with a hatchet to cut down a quantity, which I soon found, for there was a great plenty of them: these I set up to dry within my circle, or hedges; and when they were fit for use, I carried them to my cave; and here, during the next season, I employed myself in making (as well as I could) a great many baskets, both to carry earth, or to carry or lay up any thing, as I had occasion; and though I did not finish them very handsomely, yet I made them sufficiently serviceable for my purpose; and thus afterwards I took care never to be without them: and as my wicker-ware decayed I made more; especially I made strong deep baskets to place my corn in, instead of sacks, when I should come to have any quantity of it.

Having mastered this difficulty, and employed a world of time about it, I betook myself to see, if possible, how to supply two wants. I had no vessels to hold any thing that was liquid, except two rundlets, which were almost full of rum, and some glass bottles, some of the common size, and others which were case-bottles square, for the holding of waters, spirits, &c. I had not so much as a pot to boil any thing in, except a great

ttle which I saved out of the ship, and hich was too big for such uses as I desired for, viz. to make broth, and stew a bit of eat by itself. The second thing I would in have had, was a tobacco-pipe, but it was possible for me to make one; however, I und a contrivance for that too at last.

I employed myself in planting my second ws of stakes of piles, and in this wicker-ork, all the summer, or dry season; when nother business took me up more time than could be imagined I could spare.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Take a second Tour through the Island—Catch a young Parrot, which I afterwards teach to speak—My mode of sleeping at Night—Find the other side of the Island much more pleasant than mine, and covered with Turtle and Sea-fowl—Catch a young Kid, which I tame—Return to my old Habitation—Great plague with my Harvest.*

I MENTIONED before, that I had a great ind to see the whole island, and that I had ravelled up the brook, and so on to where I uilt my bower, and where I had an opening uite to the sea, on the other side of the is-and. I now resolved to travel quite across to e sea-shore on that side. So, taking my gun d hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quan-ty of powder and shot than usual, with two scuit-cakes, and a great bunch of raisins in y pouch, for my store, I began my journey. hen I had passed the vale where my bower ood, as above, I came within view of the a, to the west; and it being a very clear ay, I fairly descried land, whether an island r continent I could not tell; but it lay very gh, extending from the west, to the W.S.W., t a very great distance; by my guess it could ot be less than fifteen or twenty leagues off. I could not tell what part of the world this ight be, otherwise than that I knew it must e part of America; and, as I concluded by l my observations, must be near the Spanish ominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by ravages, where, if I should have landed, I had een in a worse condition than I was now; and herefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of rovidence, which I began now to own, and o believe, ordered every thing for the best; ay, I quieted my mind with this, and left flicting myself with fruitless wishes of being here.

Besides, after some pause upon this affair, I onsidered, that if this land was the Spanish oast, I should certainly, one time or other, ee some vessels pass or repass one way or ther; but if not, then it was the savage coast between the Spanish country and Brazil, which were indeed the worst of savages; for they are cannibals, or men-eaters, and fail not to murder and devour all the human bodies that fall into their hands.

With these considerations I walked very leisurely forward. I found that side of the island where I now was, much pleasanter than mine, the open or savanna fields sweet, adorned with flowers and grass, and full of very fine woods. I saw abundance of parrots, and fain would I have caught one, if possible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after some pains-taking, catch a young parrot; for I knocked it down with a stick, and having recovered it, I brought it home, but it was some years before I could make him speak. However, at last I taught him to call me by my name very familiarly: but the accident that followed, though it be a trifle, will be very diverting in its place.

I was exceedingly diverted with this journey: I found in the low grounds, hares, as I thought them to be, and foxes, but they differed greatly from all the other kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several: but I had no need to be venturous; for I had no want of food, and of that which was very good too; especially these three sorts, viz. goats, pigeons, and turtle, or tortoise; which, added to my grapes, Leadenhall-market could not have furnished a better table than I, in proportion to the company: and though my case was deplorable enough, yet I had great cause for thankfulness, that I was not driven to any extremities for food; but rather plenty, even to dainties.

I never travelled in this journey above two miles outright in a day, or thereabouts; but I took so many turns and returns, to see what discoveries I could make, that I came weary enough to the place where I resolved to sit down for all night; and then either reposed myself in a tree, or surrounded myself with a row of stakes set upright in the ground, either from one tree to another, or so as no wild creature could come at me without waking me.

As soon as I came to the sea-shore, I was surprised to see that I had taken up my lot on the worst side of the island; for here indeed the shore was covered with innumerable turtles, whereas on the other side I had found but three in a year and an half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some of which I had not seen before, and many of them very good meat; but such as I knew not the names of, except those called penguins.

I could have shot as many as I pleased, but was very sparing of my powder and shot: and

therefore had more mind to kill a she-goat, if I could, which I could better feed on: and though there were many goats here, more than on the other side of the island, yet it was with much more difficulty that I could come near them; the country being flat and even, and they saw me much sooner than when I was on the hills.

I confess this side of the country was much pleasanter than mine, but yet I had not the least inclination to remove; for as I was fixed in my habitation, it became natural to me, and I seemed all the while I was here, to be, as it were, upon a journey, and from home: however, I travelled along the shore of the sea towards the east, I suppose, about twelve miles; and then setting up a great pole upon the shore for a mark, I concluded I would go home again: and the next journey I took should be on the other side of the island, east from my dwelling, and so round, till I came to my post again: of which in its place.

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could easily keep all the island so much in my view, that I could not miss finding my first dwelling by viewing the country: but I found myself mistaken; for, being come about two or three miles, I found myself descended into a very large valley; but so surrounded with hills, and those hills covered with woods, that I could not see which was my way by any direction but that of the sun; nor even then, unless I knew very well the position of the sun at that time of the day.

It happened, to my farther misfortune, that the weather proved hazy for three or four days, while I was in this valley; and not being able to see the sun, I wandered about very uncomfortably, and at last was obliged to find out the sea-side, look for my post, and come back the same way I went; and then by easy journies I turned homeward, the weather being exceeding hot, and my gun, ammunition, hatchet, and other things, very heavy.

In this journey my dog surprised a young kid, and seized upon it; and I running in to take hold of it, caught it, and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home, if I could: for I had often been musing whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and so raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me when my powder and shot should be spent.

I made a collar for this little creature, and with a string which I made of some rope-yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my bower, and there I enclosed him, and left him, for I was very impatient to be at home, from whence I had been absent above a month.

I cannot express what a satisfaction it was to me to come into my old hutch, and lie down in my hammock-bed: this little wandering journey, without a settled place of abode, had been so unpleasant to me, that my own house, as I called it to myself, was a perfect settlement to me, compared to that; and it rendered every thing about me so comfortable, that I resolved I would never go a great way from it again, while it should be my lot to stay on the island.

I reposed myself here a week, to rest and regale myself after my long journey; during which, most of the time was taken up in the weighty affair of making a cage for my Poll, who began now to be a mere domestic, and to be mighty well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor kid which I had pent in within my little circle, and resolved to go and fetch it home, and give it some food; accordingly I went, and found it where I left it; for indeed it could not get out, but was almost starved for want of food. I went and cut boughs of trees and branches of such shrubs as I could find, and threw it over, and having fed it, I tied it as I did before to lead it away; but it was so tame with being hungry, that I had no need to have tied it, for it followed me like a dog; and as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it became from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been there two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments of the many wonderful mercies which my solitary condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miserable. I gave humble and hearty thanks that God had been pleased to discover to me even that it was possible I might be more happy in this solitary condition than I should have been in a liberty of society, and in all the pleasures of the world: that he could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state, and the want of human society, by his presence, and the communication of his grace to my soul, supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and hope for his eternal presence hereafter.

It was now that I began sensibly to feel how much more happy the life I now led was with all its miserable circumstances, than the wicked, cursed, abominable life I led all the past part of my days: and now, having clas-

ed both my sorrows and my joys, my very
esires altered, my affections changed their
est, and my delights were perfectly new from
hat they were at first coming, or indeed for
he two years past.

Before, as I walked about, either on my
unting, or for viewing the country, the an-
uish of my soul at my condition would break
ot upon me on a sudden, and my very heart
ould die within me to think of the woods,
he mountains, the desarts I was in; and how
was a prisoner, locked up with the eternal
ars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabi-
d wilderness, without redemption. In the
idst of the greatest composures of my mind,
his would break out upon me like a storm,
nd made me wring my hands, and weep like
child. Sometimes it would take me in the
iddle of my work, and I would immediately
t down and sigh, and look upon the ground
r an hour or two together, and this was still
orse to me; for if I could burst out into tears,
r vent myself by words, it would go off; and
he grief, having exhausted itself, would abate.

But now I began to exercise myself with
ew thoughts; I daily read the word of God,
nd applied all the comforts of it to my pre-
nt state. One morning being very sad, I
pened the Bible upon these words, "I will ne-
r, never leave thee, nor forsake thee!" Im-
diately it occurred, that these words were
o me; why else should they be directed in
ch a manner, just at the moment when I
as mourning over my condition, as one for-
ken of God and man? Well then, said I,
God does not forsake me, of what ill conse-
uence can it be, or what matters it though
he world should all forsake me; seeing, on
he other hand, if I had all the world, and
hould lose the favour and blessing of God,
here would be no comparison in the loss?

From this moment I began to conclude in
y mind, that it was possible for me to be
ore happy in this forsaken, solitary condi-
on, than it was probable I should have ever
een in any other particular state in the world;
nd with this thought I was going to give
hanks to God for bringing me to this place.

I know not what it was, but something
hocked my mind at that thought, and I durst
ot speak the words. How canst thou be
uch an hypocrite, said I, even audibly, to
retend to be thankful for a condition, which,
owever thou mayst endeavour to be content-
d with, thou wouldst rather pray heartily to
e delivered from? So I stopped there: but
hough I could not say I thanked God for be-
g there, yet I sincerely gave thanks to God
r opening my eyes, by whatever afflicting
rovidences, to see the former condition of
y life, and to mourn for my wickedness,
nd repent. I never opened the Bible, or
shut it, but my very soul within me blessed God for directing my friend in England, without any order of mine, to pack it up among my goods, and for assisting me afterwards to save it out of the wreck of the ship.

Thus, and in this disposition of mind, I began my third year: and though I have not given the reader the trouble of so particular an account of my works this year as at the first, yet in general it may be observed, that I was very seldom idle, having regularly divided my time according to the several daily employments that were before me: such as, first, my duty to God, and reading the Scriptures, which I constantly set apart some time for, thrice every day: secondly, the going abroad with my gun for food, which generally took me up three hours every morning when it did not rain: thirdly, the ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed or catched for my supply; these took up great part of the day: also it is to be considered, that in the middle of the day, when the sun was in the zenith, the violence of the heat was too great to stir out; so that about four hours in the evening was all the time I could be supposed to work in; with this exception, that sometimes I changed my hours of hunting and working, and went to work in the morning, and abroad with my gun in the afternoon.

To this short time allowed for labour, I desire may be added the exceeding laboriousness of my work; the many hours, which, for want of tools, want of help, and want of skill, every thing that I did took up out of my time: for example, I was full two-and-forty days making me a board for a long shelf, which I wanted in my cave; whereas, two sawyers, with their tools and sawpit, would have cut six of them out of the same tree in half a day.

My case was this: it was to be a large tree which was to be cut down, because my board was to be a broad one. The tree I was three days a cutting down, and two more cutting off the boughs, and reducing it to a log, or piece of timber. With inexpressible hacking and hewing, I reduced both the sides of it into chips, till it began to be light enough to move; then I turned it, and made one side of it smooth and flat, as a board, from end to end: then, turning that side downward, cut the other side till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. Any one may judge the labour of my hands in such a piece of work; but labour and patience carried me through that and many other things: I only observe this in particular, to show the reason why so much of my time went away with so little work, viz. that what might be a little to be done

with help and tools, was a vast labour, and required a prodigious time, to do alone, and by hand.

But, notwithstanding this, with patience and labour, I went through many things, and indeed every thing that my circumstances made necessary for me to do, as will appear by what follows.

I was now in the months of November and December, expecting my crop of barley and rice. The ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great; for, as I observed, my seed of each was not above the quantity of half a peck; for I had lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season; but now my crop promised very well, when on a sudden I found I was in danger of losing it all again by enemies of several sorts, which it was scarce possible to keep from it; as first, the goats, and wild creatures which I called hares, which, tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and ate it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalks.

This I saw no remedy for but by making an enclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil; and the more, because it required a great deal of speed; the creatures daily spoiling my corn. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it totally well fenced in about three weeks time, and shooting some of the creatures in the daytime, I set my dog to guard it in the night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long; so in a little time the enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen apace.

But as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were as likely to ruin me now, when it was in the ear; for, going along by the place to see how it throve, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls of I know not how many sorts, which stood as it were watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them (for I always had my gun with me.) I had no sooner shot, but there arose up a little cloud of fowls, which I had not seen at all, from among the corn itself.

This touched me sensibly; for I foresaw, that in a few days they would devour all my hopes; that I should be starved, and never be able to raise a crop at all; and what to do I could not tell: however, I resolved not to lose my corn, if possible, though I should watch it night and day. In the first place, I went among it to see what damage was already done, and found they had spoiled a good deal of it; but that, as it was yet too green for them, the loss was not so great, but the remainder was like to be a good crop, if it could be saved.

I stayed by it to load my gun, and then coming away, I could easily see the thieves sitting upon all the trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away, and the event proved it to be so; for, as I walked off as if I was gone, I was no sooner out of their sight, but they dropped down one by one into the corn again. I was so provoked, that I could not have patience to stay till more came on, knowing that every grain that they ate now was, as it might be said, a peck lost to me in the consequence; but, coming up to the hedge, I fired again, and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them as we serve notorious thieves in England, viz. hanged them in chains for a terror to others. It is impossible to imagine almost, that this should have such an effect as it had; for the fowls would not only not come at the corn, but in short they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there.

This I was very glad of, you may be sure; and about the latter end of December, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my corn.

I was sadly put to it for a scythe or a sickle to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could out of one of the broad-swords, or cutlasses, which I saved among the arms out of the ship. However, as my crop was but small, I had no great difficulty to cut it down: in short, I reaped it my way, for I cut nothing off but the ears, and carried it away in a great basket which I had made, and so rubbed it out with my hands: and, at the end of all my harvesting, I found, that, out of my half-peck of seed, I had near two bushels of rice, and above two bushels and a half of barley, that is to say, by my guess, for I had no measure at that time.

However, this was a great encouragement to me; and I foresaw, that in time it would please God to supply me with bread: and yet here I was perplexed again; for I neither knew how to grind or make meal of my corn, or indeed how to clean it and part it; nor, if made into meal, how to make bread of it; and if how to make it, yet I knew not how to bake it. These things being added to my desire of having a good quantity for store, and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve it all for seed against the next season, and in the mean time to employ all my study and hours of working, to accomplish this great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

It might be truly said, that I now work

for my bread. It is a little wonderful, and what I believe few people have thought much upon; viz. the strange multitude of little things necessary in the providing, producing, curing, dressing, making, and finishing this one article of bread.

I, that was reduced to a mere state of nature, found this to be my daily discouragement, and was made more and more sensible of it every hour, even after I got the first handful of seed corn, which, as I have said, came up unexpectedly, and indeed to a surprise.

First, I had no plough to turn the earth, no spade or shovel to dig it. Well, this I conquered by making a wooden spade, as I observed before; but this did my work but in a wooden manner; and though it cost me a great many days to make it, yet, for want of iron, it not only wore out the sooner, but made my work the harder, and made it be performed much worse.

However, this I bore with too, and was content to work it out with patience, and bear with the badness of the performance. When the corn was sowed, I had no harrow, but was forced to go over it myself, and drag a great heavy bough of a tree over it, to scratch the earth, as it may be called, rather than rake or harrow it.

When it was growing, or grown, I have observed already how many things I wanted, to fence it, secure it, mow or reap it, cure or carry it home, thresh, part it from the chaff, and save it. Then I wanted a mill to grind it, sieves to dress it, yeast and salt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it in; and all these things I did without, as shall be observed; and yet the corn was an inestimable comfort and advantage to me too. But all this, as I said, made every thing laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for: neither was my time so much loss to me, because I had divided it; a certain part of it was every day appointed to these works; and as I resolved to use none of the corn for bread till I had a greater quantity by me, I had the next six months to apply myself wholly, by labour and invention, to furnish myself with utensils proper for the performing all the operations necessary for making the corn, when I had it, fit for my use.

But first I was to prepare more land, for I had now seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. Before I did this, I had a week's work at least to make me a spade, which, when it was done, was a very sorry one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labour to work with it; however, I went through that, and sowed my seeds in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the stakes of which were all cut off that wood which I had set before, which I knew would grow; so that in one year's time I knew I should have a quick or living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work was not so little as to take me up less than three months; because great part of that time was in the wet season, when I could not go abroad.

Within-door, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment on the following occasion, always observing, that all the while I was at work, I diverted myself with talking to my parrot, and teaching him to speak; and I quickly learnt him to know his own name; at last, to speak it out pretty loud, POL; which was the first word I ever heard spoken in the island by any mouth but my own. This therefore was not my work, but an assistant to my work; for now, as I said, I had a great employment upon my hands, as follows: viz. I had long studied, by some means or other, to make myself some earthen vessels, which indeed I wanted sorely, but knew not where to come at them: however, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but, if I could find out any such clay, I might botch up some such pot as might, being dried by the sun, be hard enough and strong enough to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry, and required to be kept so; and as this was necessary in preparing corn, meal, &c. which was the thing I was upon, I resolved to make some as large as I could, and fit only to stand like jars to hold what should be put into them.

## CHAP. IX.

*I attempt to mould earthen Ware, and succeed—Description of my mode of baking—Begin to make a Boat—After it is finished, am unable to get it down to the Water—Serious Reflections—My Ink and Biscuit exhausted, and Clothes in a bad state—Contrive to make a Dress of Skins.*

IT would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this paste, what odd misshapen ugly things I made, how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by the over-violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily; and how many fell to pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried; and, in a word, how, after having laboured hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it

home, and work it, I could not make above two large earthen ugly things, I cannot call them jars, in about two months labour.

However, as the sun baked these two very dry and hard, I lifted them very gently up, and set them down again in two great wicker-baskets, which I had made on purpose for them, that they might not break; and, as between the pot and the basket there was a little room to spare, I stuffed it full of the rice and barley straw; and these two pots being to stand always dry, I thought would hold my dry corn, and perhaps the meal when the corn was bruised.

Though I miscarried so much in my design for large pots, yet I made several smaller things with better success; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pipkins, and any thing my hand turned to; and the heat of the sun baked them strangely hard.

But all this would not answer my end, which was to get an earthen pot to hold what was liquid, and bear the fire, which none of these could do. It happened after some time, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out, after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it, and said to myself, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn me some pots. I had no notion of a kiln such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with; but I placed three large pipkins, and two or three pots, in a pile one upon another, and placed my fire-wood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them: I plied the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red-hot quite through, and observed that they did not crack at all: when I saw them clear red, I let them stand in that heat about five or six hours, till I found one of them, though it did not crack, did melt or run; for the sand which was mixed with the clay melted by the violence of the heat, and would have run into glass, if I had gone on; so I slacked my fire gradually, till the pots began to abate of the red colour; and watching them all night that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good, I will not say handsome pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired; and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

After this experiment I need not say that I wanted no sort of earthen ware for my use; but I must needs say, as to the shapes of them, they were very indifferent, as any one may suppose, when I had no way of making them, but as the children make dirt-pies, or as a woman would make pies that never learn to raise paste.

No joy at a thing of so mean a nature was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an earthen pot that would bear the fire; and I had hardly patience to stay till they were cold, before I set one upon the fire again with some water in it, to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well; and with a piece of a kid I made some very good broth, though I wanted oatmeal, and several other ingredients requisite to make it so good as I would have had it.

My next concern was to get me a stone mortar to stamp or beat some corn in; for as to the mill, there was no thought of arriving to that perfection of art with one pair of hands. To supply this want, I was at a great loss; for of all trades in the world I was as perfectly unqualified for a stone-cutter, as for any whatever; neither had I any tools to go about it with. I spent many a day to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow, and make it for a mortar, and could find none at all except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out; nor indeed were the rocks in the island of hardness sufficient, but were all of a sandy crumbling stone, which would neither bear the weight of a heavy pestle, nor would break the corn without filling it with sand; so, after a great deal of time lost in searching for a stone, I gave it over, and resolved to look out a great block of hard wood, which I found indeed much easier; and, getting one as big as I had strength to stir, I rounded it, and formed it on the outside with my axe and hatchet; and then with the help of fire and infinite labour, made an hollow place in it, as the Indians in Brazil make their canoes. After this, I made a great heavy pestle, or beater, of the wood called the iron-wood, and this I prepared and laid by against I had my next crop of corn, when I proposed to myself to grind, or rather pound, my corn or meal to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a sieve or searce, to dress my meal, and part it from the bran and the husk, without which I did not see it possible I could have any bread. This was a most difficult thing, so much as but to think on; for to be sure I had nothing like the necessary things to make it with; I had no fine thin canvass, or stuff, to searce the meal through. And here I was at a full stop for many months; nor did I really know what to do: linen I had none left but what was mere rags; I had goat's hair, but neither knew I how to weave or spin it; and had I known

how, here were no tools to work it with. All the remedy that I found for this, was, that at last I did remember I had among the seamen's clothes which were saved out of the ship, some neckcloths of calico or muslin; and with some pieces of these I made three small sieves, but proper enough for the work; and thus I made shift for some years; how I did afterwards, I shall show in its place.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn; for, first, I had no yeast: as to that part, there was no supplying the want, so I did not concern myself much about it. But for an oven, I was indeed in great pain. At length I found out an experiment for that also, which was this: I made some earthen vessels very broad, but not deep; that is to say, about two feet diameter, and not above nine inches deep; these I burnt in the fire, as I had done the others, and laid them by; and when I wanted to bake, I made a great fire upon the hearth, which I had paved with some square tiles of my own making and burning also; but I should not call them square.

When the fire-wood was burnt pretty much into embers, or live coals, I drew them forward upon this hearth, so as to cover it all over; and there I let them lie, till the hearth was very hot; then sweeping away all the embers, I set down my loaf, or loaves, and whelming down the earthen pot upon them, drew the embers all round the outside of the pot, to keep in, and add to the heat: and thus, as well as in the best oven in the world, I baked my barley-loaves, and became in a little time a mere pastry-cook into the bargain; for I made myself several cakes of the rice, and puddings; indeed I made no pies, neither had I any thing to put into them, supposing I had, except the flesh either of fowls or goats.

It need not be wondered at, if all these things took me up most part of the third year of my abode here; for it is to be observed, that in the intervals of these things I had my new harvest and husbandry to manage; for I reaped my corn in its season, and carried it home as well as I could, and laid it up in the ear, in my large baskets, till I had time to rub it out; for I had no floor to thresh it on, or instrument to thresh it with.

And now indeed my stock of corn increasing, I really wanted to build my barns bigger: I wanted a place to lay it up in; for the increase of the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the barley about twenty bushels, and of the rice as much, or more; insomuch, that I now resolved to begin to use it freely, for my bread had been quite gone a great while; also I resolved to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty bushels of barley and rice were much more than I could consume in a year: so I resolved to sow just the same quantity every year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a quantity would fully provide me with bread, &c.

All the while these things were doing, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land which I had seen from the other side of the island; and I was not without secret wishes, that I was on shore there, fancying that seeing the main land, and an inhabited country, I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps at last find some means of escape.

But all this while I made no allowance for the dangers of such a condition, and how I might fall into the hands of savages, and perhaps such as I might have reason to think far worse than the lions and tigers of Africa: that, if I once came into their power, I should run an hazard more than a thousand to one of being killed, and perhaps of being eaten; for I had heard that the people of the Caribean coasts were cannibals, or men-eaters; and I knew by the latitude, that I could not be far off from that shore: that, suppose they were not cannibals, yet they might kill me, as many Europeans who had fallen into their hands had been served, even when they had been ten or twenty together; much more I that was but one, and could make little or no defence. All these things, I say, which I ought to have considered well of, and I did cast up in my thoughts afterwards, yet took none of my apprehensions at first; and my head ran mightily upon the thoughts of getting over to that shore.

Now I wished for my boy Xury, and the long-boat, with the shoulder-of-mutton sail, with which I sailed above a thousand miles on the coast of Africa; but this was in vain: Then I thought I would go and look on our ship's boat, which, as I have said, was blown up upon the shore a great way in the storm, when we were first cast away. She lay almost where she did at first, but not quite; and was turned by the force of the waves and the winds, almost bottom upwards, against the high ridge of a beachy rough sand, but no water about her as before.

If I had had hands to have refitted her, and have launched her into the water, the boat would have done well enough, and I might have gone back into the Brazils with her easy enough; but I might have easily foreseen, that I could no more turn her, and set her upright upon her bottom, than I could remove the island. However, I went to the wood, and

cut levers and rollers, and brought them to the boat, resolving to try what I could do; suggesting to myself, that if I could but turn her down, I might easily repair the damage she had received, and she would be a very good boat, and I might go to sea in her very easily.

I spared no pains, indeed, in this piece of fruitless toil, and spent, I think, three or four weeks about it; at last, finding it impossible to heave it up with my little strength, I fell to digging away the sand to undermine it; and so to make it fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide it right in the fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to stir it up again, or to get under it, much less to move it forwards towards the water; so I was forced to give it over: and yet, though I gave over the hopes of the boat, my desire to venture over for the main increased, rather than decreased, as the means for it seemed impossible.

This at length set me upon thinking whether it was not possible to make myself a canoe or periagua, such as the natives of those climates make, even without tools, or, as I might say, without hands, viz. of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy; and pleased myself extremely with the thoughts of making it, and with my having much more convenience for it than any of the Negroes or Indians; but not at all considering the particular inconveniences which I lay under more than the Indians did, viz. want of hands to move it into the water, when it was made; a difficulty much harder for me to surmount than all the consequences of want of tools could be to them: for what was it to me, that, when I had chosen a vast tree in the woods, I might with great trouble cut it down, if after I might be able with my tools to hew and dub the outside into a proper shape of a boat, and burn or cut out the inside to make it hollow, so as to make a boat of it, if, after all this, I must leave it just there where I found it, and was not able to launch it into the water?

One would have thought, I could not have had the least reflection upon my mind of my circumstances, while I was making this boat, but I should have immediately thought how I should get it into the sea; but my thoughts were so intent upon my voyage over the sea in it, that I never once considered how I should get it off the land: and it was really in its own nature more easy for me to guide it over forty-five miles of sea, than about forty five fathoms of land, where it lay, to set it afloat in the water.

I went to work upon this boat the most like a fool that ever man did, who had any of his senses awake. I pleased myself with the design, without determining whether I was able to undertake it; not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head; but I put a stop to my own inquiries into it by this foolish answer, which I gave myself: Let me first make it, I'll warrant I'll find some way or other to get it along, when it is done.

This was a most preposterous method, but the eagerness of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went, and felled a cedar tree: a question much whether Solomon ever had such an one for the building the temple at Jerusalem. It was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, after which it lessened for a while, and then parted into branches. It was not without infinite labour that I felled this tree. I was twenty days hacking and hewing at it at the bottom; I was fourteen more getting the branches and limbs, and the vast spreading head of it, cut off, which I hacked and hewed through with my axe and hatchet, with inexpressible labour; after this it cost me a month to shape it, and dub it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat, that it might swim upright as it ought to do. It cost me near three months more to dig the inside, and work it out so as to make an exact boat of it: this I did indeed without fire, by mere mallet and chissel, and by the dint of hard labour, till I had brought it to be a very handsome periagua, and big enough to have carried six-and-twenty men, and consequently big enough to have carried me and all my cargo.

When I had gone through this work, I was extremely delighted with it: the boat was really much bigger than I ever saw a canoe or periagua, that was made of one tree, in my life; many a weary stroke it had cost, you may be sure, for there remained nothing but to get it into the water; and had I got it into the water, I make no question but I should have begun the maddest voyage, and the most unlikely to be performed, that ever was undertaken.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me, though they cost infinite labour to us. it lay about one hundred yards from the water, and not more; but the first inconvenience was, it was up hill towards the creek. Well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity; this I began, and it cost me a prodigious deal of pains: but who grudge pains, that have their deliverance in view? but when this was worked through, and even difficulty managed, it was still much as before, for I could no more stir the canoe, than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved to cut a dock, or canal, to bring the water up to the canoe, seeing I could not bring the canoe down to the water: well, I began this work, and when I began to enter into it, and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff to be thrown out, I found, that by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve years before I should have gone through with it; for the shore lay high, so that at the upper end it must have been at least twenty feet deep: so at length, though with great reluctance, I gave this attempt over also.

This grieved me heartily; and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion, and with as much comfort, as ever before; for, by a constant study, and serious application of the word of God, and by the assistance of his grace, I gained a different knowledge from what I had before; I entertained different notions of things; I looked now upon the world as a thing remote, which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and indeed no desires about: in a word, I had nothing indeed to do with it, nor was ever like to have; so I thought it looked as we may perhaps look upon it hereafter; viz. as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it; and well I might say, as Father Abraham to Dives, "Between me and thee there is a great gulf fixed."

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here: I had neither the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life: I had nothing to covet, for I had all I was now capable of enjoying; I was lord of the whole manor, or, if I pleased, I might call myself king or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of; there were no rivals; I had no competitor, none to dispute sovereignty or command with me; I might have raised ship-loadings of corn, but I had no use for it; so I let as little grow as I thought enough for my occasion: I had turtles or tortoises enough; but now and then one was as much as I could put to any use: I had timber enough to have built a fleet of ships; I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built.

But all I could make use of, was all that was valuable: I had enough to eat, and to supply my wants, and what was all the rest to me? If I killed more flesh than I could eat, the dog must eat it, or the vermin; if I sowed more corn than I could eat, it must be spoiled. The trees that I cut down were lying to rot on the ground, I could make no more use of them than for fuel; and that I had no occasion for, but to dress my food.

In a word, the nature and experience of things dictated to me, upon just reflection, that all the good things of this world are no farther good to us, than as they are for our use; and that whatever we may heap up indeed to give to others, we enjoy as much as we can use, and no more. The most covetous griping miser in the world would have been cured of the vice of covetousness, if he had been in my case; for I possessed infinitely more than I knew what to do with. I had no room for desire, except it was of things which I had not, and they were but trifles, though indeed of great use to me. I had, as I hinted before, a parcel of money, as well gold as silver, about thirty-six pounds sterling: alas! there the nasty, sorry, useless stuff lay; I had no manner of business for it; and I often thought with myself, that I would have given an handful of it for a gross of tobacco-pipes, or for an handmill to grind my corn; nay, I would have given it all for six-penny worth of turnip and carrot seed out of England, or for an handful of peas and beans, and a bottle of ink: as it was, I had not the least advantage by it, or benefit from it; but there it lay in a drawer, and grew mouldy with the damp of the cave, in the wet season; and if I had had the drawer full of diamonds, it had been the same case; and they had been of no manner of value to me, because of no use.

I had now brought my state of life to be much easier in itself than it was at first, and much easier to my mind, as well as to my body. I frequently sat down to my meat with thankfulness, and admired the hand of God's providence, which had thus spread my table in the wilderness: I learnt to look more upon the bright side of my condition, and less upon the dark side; and to consider what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; and this gave me sometimes such secret comforts, that I cannot express them; and which I take notice of here, to put those discontented people in mind of it, who cannot enjoy comfortably what God hath given them, because they see and covet something that he has not given them: all our discontents about what we want, appeared to me to spring from the want of thankfulness for what we have.

Another reflection was of great use to me, and doubtless would be so to any one that should fall into such distress as mine was; and this was, to compare my present condition with what I at first expected it should be; nay, with what it would certainly have been, if the good providence of God had not

wonderfully ordered the ship to be cast up near to the shore, where I not only could come at her, but could bring what I got out of her to the shore for my relief and comfort; without which I had wanted tools to work, weapons for defence, or gunpowder and shot for getting my food.

I spent whole hours, I may say whole days, in representing to myself, in the most lively colours, how I must have acted, if I had got nothing out of the ship; how I could not have so much as got any food, except fish and turtles; and that, as it was long before I found any of them, I must have perished first: that I should have lived, if I had not perished, like a mere savage: that if I had killed a goat or a fowl by any contrivance, I had no way to flay or open them, or part the flesh from the skin and the bowels, or to cut it up; but must gnaw it with my teeth, and pull it with my claws, like a beast.

These reflections made me very sensible of the goodness of Providence to me, and very thankful for my present condition, with all its hardships and misfortunes; and this part also I cannot but recommend to the reflection of those who are apt in their misery to say, Is any affliction like mine? Let them consider, how much worse the cases of some people are, and what their case might have been, if Providence had thought fit.

I had another reflection, which assisted me also to comfort my mind with hopes; and this was, comparing my present condition with what I had deserved, and had therefore reason to expect from the hand of Providence. I had lived a dreadful life, perfectly destitute of the knowledge and fear of God: I had been well instructed by father and mother; neither had they been wanting to me in their early endeavours to infuse a religious awe of God into my mind, a sense of my duty, and of what the nature and end of my being required of me. But, alas! falling early into the seafaring life, which of all lives is the most destitute of the fear of God, though his terrors are always before them; I say, falling early into the seafaring life, and into seafaring company, all that little sense of religion which I had entertained was laughed out of me by my messmates; by an hardened despising of dangers, and the views of death, which grew habitual to me; by my long absence from all manner of opportunities to converse with any thing but what was like myself, or to hear any thing of what was good or tended towards it.

So void was I of every thing that was good, or of the least sense of what I was, or was to be, that in the greatest deliverance I enjoyed, such as my escape from Sallee, my being taken up by the Portugueze master of the ship, my being planted so well in Brasil, my receiving the cargo from England, and the like, I never once had the words, Thank God, so much as on my mind, or in my mouth, nor in the greatest distress had I so much thought as to pray to him; nor so much as to say, Lord have mercy upon me! no, not to mention the name of God, unless it was to swear by, and blaspheme it.

I had terrible reflections upon my mind many months, as I have already observed, on the account of my wicked and hardened past; and when I looked about me, and considered what particular providences had attended me, since my coming into this place, and how God had dealt bountifully with me, had not only punished me less than my iniquity deserved, but had so plentifully provided for me; this gave me great hopes that my repentance was accepted, and that God had yet mercies in store for me.

With these reflections I worked my mind up, not only to resignation to the will of God in the present disposition of my circumstances, but even to a sincere thankfulness for my condition; and that I, who was yet a living man, ought not to complain, seeing I had not the due punishment of my sins; that I enjoyed so many mercies, which I had reason to have expected in that place, that I ought never more to repine at my condition, but to rejoice, and to give daily thanks for that daily bread, which nothing but a miracle of wonders could have brought: that I ought to consider I had been fed even by a miracle, even as great as that of feeding Elijah by the ravens; nay, by a long series of miracles: for that I could hardly have named a place in the uninhabited part of the world, where I could have been cast more to my advantage; a place, where as I had no society, which was my affliction on one hand, so I found no venomous beasts, no furious wolves or tigers to threaten my life; no venomous creatures or poisonous, which I might have fed on and hurt; no savages to murder and devour me.

In a word, as my life was a life of mercy one way, so it was a life of mercy another, and I wanted nothing to make it a life of comfort, but to be able to make my sense of God's goodness to me, and care over me in this condition, be my daily consolation; and also to make a just improvement of these things, that went away, and was no more sad.

I had now been here so long, that many things which I brought on shore for my use were either quite gone, or very much wasted and near spent.

My ink, as I observed, had been gone some time, all but a very little, which I eked out with water a little and a little, till it was so pale it scarce left any appearance of the

…ost the paper: as long as it lasted, I made …e of it to minute down the days of the …onth on which any remarkable thing hap…ened to me; and first, by casting up times …ast, I remember that there was a strange …ncurrence of days, in the various providen…es which befel me, and which, if I had been …superstitiously inclined to observe days as fa…al or fortunate, I might have had reason to …ave looked upon with a great deal of cu…iosity.

First, I had observed, that the same day …hat I broke away from my father and my …riends, and ran away to Hull in order to go …o sea, the same day afterwards I was taken …by the Sallee man of war, and made a slave. …The same day of the year that I escaped …out of the wreck of the ship in Yarmouth …roads, that same day of the year afterwards …made my escape from Sallee in the boat.

…The same day of the year I was born on, …viz. the 30th of September, the same day I …saved my life so miraculously saved twenty-six …years after, when I was cast on shore in this …island; so that my wicked life, and solitary …life, both began on a day.

…The next thing to my ink's being wasted, …was that of my bread, I mean the biscuit …which I brought out of the ship. This I had …husbanded to the last degree, allowing myself …but one cake of bread a day, for above a year: …and yet I was quite without bread for a year …before I got any corn of my own; and great …reason I had to be thankful that I had any at …all, the getting it being, as has been already …observed, next to miraculous.

…My clothes too began to decay mightily: …as to linen, I had none a good while, except …some checquered shirts which I found in the …chests of the other seamen, and which I care…fully preserved, because many times I could …wear no other clothes on but a shirt; and it …was a very great help to me, that I had among …the men's clothes of the ship almost three …dozen of shirts. There were also several …thick watch-coats of the seamen, which were …left behind, but they were too hot to wear; …though it is true, that the weather was …violent hot, that there was no need of …clothes, yet I could not go quite naked: no, …though I had been inclined to it, which I was …not; nor could I abide the thought of it, …though I was all alone.

…The reason why I could not go quite na…ked, was, I could not bear the heat of the …sun so well when quite naked, as with some …clothes on; nay, the very heat frequently …blistered my skin; whereas, with a shirt on, …the air itself made some motion, and, whist…ling under the shirt, was twofold cooler than …without it: no more could I ever bring my…self to go out in the heat of the sun without a cap or a hat; the heat of the sun beating with such violence as it does in that place, would give me the headach presently, by darting so directly on my head, without a cap or hat on, so that I could not bear it; whereas, if I put on my hat, it would presently go away.

Upon these views I began to consider about putting the few rags I had, which I called clothes, into some order; I had worn out all the waistcoats I had, and my business was now to try if I could not make jackets out of the great watch-coats which I had by me, and with such other materials as I had; so I set to work a-tailoring, or rather indeed a-botching; for I made most piteous work of it. However, I made shift to make two or three waistcoats, which I hoped would serve me a great while; as for breeches or drawers, I made but very sorry shift indeed till afterwards.

I have mentioned that I saved the skins of all the creatures that I killed, I mean four-footed ones; and I had hung them up stretched out with sticks in the sun; by which means some of them were so dry and hard, that they were fit for little; but others, it seems, were very useful. The first thing I made of these was a great cap for my head, with the hair on the outside to shoot off the rain: and this I performed so well, that after this I made a suit of clothes wholly of those skins; that is to say, a waistcoat and breeches open at the knees, and both loose; for they were rather wanted to keep me cool, than to keep me warm. I must not omit to acknowledge, that they were wretchedly made; for if I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tailor: however, they were such as I made a very good shift with; and when I was abroad, if it happened to rain, the hair of the waistcoat and cap being outmost, I was kept very dry.

After this, I spent a deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella: I was indeed in great want of one, and had a great mind to make one: I had seen them made in the Brazils, where they are very useful in the great heats which are there; and I felt the heats every jot as great here, and greater too, being nearer the equinox; besides, as I was obliged to be much abroad, it was a most useful thing to me, as well for the rains as the heats. I took a world of pains at it, and was a great while before I could make any thing likely to hold; nay, after I thought I had hit the way, I spoiled two or three before I made one to my mind; but at last I made one that answered indifferently well. The main difficulty I found was to make it to let down: I could make it to spread; but if it did not let down too, and draw in, it would not be portable for me any way, but just over my head, which would not do. However, at last, as I said, I

made one to answer; I covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a penthouse, and kept off the sun so effectually, that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather, with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest; and when I had no need of it, I could close it, and carry it under my arm.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his providence: this made my life better than sociable; for, when I began to regret the want of conversation, I would ask myself, whether thus conversing mutually with my own thoughts, and, as I hope I may say, with even my Maker, by ejaculations and petitions, was not better than the utmost enjoyment of human society in the world?

I cannot say, that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me; but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place, just as before. The chief thing I was employed in, besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have a sufficient stock of the year's provisions beforehand; I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily labour of going out with my gun, I had one labour to make me a canoe, which at last I finished: so that by digging a canal to it, six feet wide, and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, that was so vastly big, as I made it without considering beforehand, as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it; so, never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a memorandum to teach me to be wiser next time. Indeed, the next time, though I could not get a tree proper for it, and was in a place where I could not get the water to it, at any less distance than, as I have said, of near half a mile; yet as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over; and though I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labour, in hopes of having a boat to go off to sea at last.

## CHAP. X.

*I succeed in getting a Canoe afloat, and set out on a Voyage in the sixth Year of my Reign, or Captivity—Blown out to Sea—Reach the Shore with great difficulty—Fall asleep, and am awakened by a Voice calling my Name—Devise various Schemes to tame Goats, and at last succeed.*

However, though my little periagua was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view, when I made the first; I mean of venturing over to the Terra Firma, where it was about forty miles broad; accordingly, the smallness of my boat assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it. But as I had a bout, my next design was to make a tour round the island: for, as I had been on the other side, in one place, crossing, as I have already described it, over the land, so the discoveries I made in that journey made me very eager to see the other parts of the coast; and now I had a boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the island.

For this purpose, and that I might do every thing with discretion and consideration, I fitted up a little mast to my boat, and made a sail to it out of some of the pieces of the ship's sails, which lay in store, and of which I had a great store by me.

Having fitted my mast and sail, and tried the boat, I found she would sail very well. Then I made little lockers and boxes at each end of my boat, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition, &c. into, to be kept dry, either from rain, or the spray of the sea; and a little long hollow place I cut in the inside of the boat, where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang down over it to keep it dry.

I fixed my umbrella also in a step at the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning; and thus I every now and then went a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little creek; but at last, being eager to view the circumference of my little kingdom, I resolved upon my voyage, and accordingly I victualled my ship for the voyage; putting in two dozen of my loaves (cakes I should rather call them) of barley bread; an earthen pot full of parched rice, food I ate a great deal of, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, and powder with shot for killing more, and two large watch-coats of those which, as I mentioned before, I had saved out of the seamen's chests; these I laid one to lie upon, and the other to cover me in the night.

It was the 6th of November, in the [illegible] year of my reign, or my captivity, which you please, that I set out on this voyage, and found it much longer than I expected; for though the island itself was not very large, yet when I came to the east side of it, I found a great ledge of rocks lie out above two leagues into the sea, some above water, some under it; and beyond this a shoal of sand, lying dry half a league more; so that I was obliged to go a great way out to sea to double that point.

When I first discovered them, I was [illegible] to give over my enterprize, and come back

again, not knowing how far it might oblige me to go out to sea, and, above all, doubting how I should get back again; so I came to an anchor, for I had made me a kind of an anchor with a piece of broken grappling which I got out of the ship.

Having secured my boat, I took my gun, and went on shore, climbing up an hill, which seemed to overlook that point, where I saw the full extent of it, and resolved to venture.

In my viewing the sea from that hill where I stood, I perceived a strong, and indeed a most furious current, which ran to the east, even came close to the point; and I took the more notice of it, because I saw there might be some danger, that when I came into it, I might be carried out to sea by the strength of it, and not be able to make the island again. And indeed, had I not gotten first upon this hill, I believe it would have been so; for there was the same current on the other side of the island, only that it set off at a farther distance; and I saw there was a strong eddy under the shore; so I had nothing to do but to get out of the first current, and I should presently be in an eddy.

I lay here, however, two days; because the wind blowing pretty fresh (at E. S. E., and that being just contrary to the said current), made a great breach of the sea upon the point; so that it was not safe for me to keep too close to the shore for the breach, nor to go too far off because of the stream.

The third day in the morning, the wind having abated over-night, the sea was calm, and I ventured: but I am a warning-piece again to all rash and ignorant pilots; for no sooner was I come to the point, when I was not my boat's length from the shore, but I found myself in a great depth of water, and a current like a sluice of a mill. It carried my boat along with it with such a violence, that all I could do could not keep her so much as on the edge of it: but I found it hurried me farther and farther out from the eddy, which was on the left hand. There was no wind stirring to help me, and all that I could do with my paddles signified nothing; and now I began to give myself over for lost; for, as the current was on both sides the island, I knew in a few leagues distance they must join again, and then I was irrecoverably gone: nor did I see any possibility of avoiding it; so that I had no prospect before me but of perishing; not by the sea, for that was calm enough, but of starving for hunger. I had indeed found a tortoise on the shore, as big almost as I could lift, and had tossed it into the boat; and I had a great jar of fresh water, that is to say, one of my earthen pots; but what was all this to being driven into the vast ocean, where, to be sure, there was no shore, no main land or island, for a thousand leagues at least?

And now I saw how easy it was for the providence of God to make the most miserable condition that mankind could be in, worse. Now I looked back upon my desolate solitary island, as the most pleasant place in the world, and all the happiness my heart could wish for, was to be there again: I stretched out my hands to it with eager wishes; O happy desart! said I, I shall never see thee more! O miserable creature! said I, whither am I going!—Then I reproached myself with my unthankful temper, and how I had repined at my solitary condition; and now what would I give to be on shore there again? Thus we never see the true state of our condition, till it is illustrated to us by its contraries; nor know how to value what we enjoy, but by the want of it. It is scarce possible to imagine the consternation I was in, being driven from my beloved island (for so it appeared to me now to be) into the wide ocean, almost two leagues, and in the utmost despair of ever recovering it again: however, I worked hard, till indeed my strength was almost exhausted; and kept my boat as much to the northward, that is, towards the side of the current which the eddy lay on, as possibly I could; when about noon, as the sun passed the meridian, I thought I felt a little breeze of wind in my face, springing up from the S. S. E. This cheered my heart a little, and especially, when in about half an hour more, it blew a pretty small gentle gale. By this time I was gotten at a frightful distance from the island; and, had the least cloud or hazy weather intervened, I had been undone another way too; for I had no compass on board, and should never have known how to have steered towards the island, if I had but once lost sight of it; but the weather continuing clear, I applied myself to get up my mast again, and spread my sail, standing away to the north as much as possible, to get out of the current.

Just as I had set my mast and sail, and the boat began to stretch away, I saw even by the clearness of the water, some alteration of the current was near; for where the current was so strong, the water was foul: but perceiving the water clear, I found the current abate, and presently I found to the east, at about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks: these rocks I found caused the current to part again; and as the main stress of it ran away more southerly, leaving the rocks to the north-east, so the other returned by the repulse of the rock, and made a strong eddy, which ran back again to the north-west with a very sharp stream.

They who know what it is to have a re-

prieve brought to them upon the ladder, or to be rescued from thieves just going to murder them, or who have been in such-like extremities, may guess what my present surprise of joy was, and how gladly I put my boat into the stream of this eddy; and the wind also freshening, how gladly I spread my sail to it, running chearfully before the wind, and with a strong tide or eddy under foot.

This eddy carried me about a league in my way back again directly towards the island, but about two leagues more towards the northward than the current lay, which carried me away at first; so that when I came near the island, I found myself open to the northern shore of it, that is to say, the other end of the island, opposite to that which I went out from.

When I had made something more than a league of way by the help of this heavy current or eddy, I found it was spent, and served me no farther. However, I found, that being between the two great currents, viz. that on the south side which had hurried me away, and that on the north which lay about two leagues on the other side; I say, between these two, in the west of the island, I found the water at least still, and running no way; and having still a breeze of wind fair for me, I kept on steering directly for the island, though not making such fresh way as I did before.

About four o'clock in the evening, being then within about a league of the island, I found the point of the rocks which occasioned this distance stretching out as is described before, to the southward, and casting off the current more southwardly, had of course made another eddy to the north; and this I found very strong, but directly setting the way my course lay, which was due west, but almost full north. However, having a fresh gale, I stretched across this eddy slanting north-west, and in about an hour came within about a mile of the shore, where, it being smooth water, I soon got to land.

When I was on shore, I fell on my knees, and gave God thanks for my deliverance, resolving to lay aside all thoughts of my deliverance by my boat; and refreshing myself with such things as I had, I brought my boat close to the shore, in a little cove that I had espied under some trees, and laid me down to sleep, being quite spent with the labour and fatigue of the voyage.

I was now at a great loss which way to get home with my boat; I had run so much hazard, and knew too much the cause, to think of attempting it by the way I went out; and what might be at the other side (I mean the west side,) I knew not, nor had I any mind to run any more ventures; so I only resolved in the morning to make my w westward along the shore, and to see if th was no creek where I might lay up my boa in safety, so as to have her again if I w her. In about three miles, or there coasting the shore, I came to a very good let, or bay, about a mile over, which ru ed till it came to a very little rivulet, or b where I found a convenient harbour for boat, and where she lay as if she had bee a little dock made on purpose for her: I I put in, and having stowed my boat v safe, I went on shore to look about me, see where I was.

I soon found I had but a little passed the place where I had been before when travelled on foot to that shore; so, taki nothing out of my boat but my gun and umbrella, for it was exceeding hot, I began march: the way was comfortable enough such a voyage as I had been upon, and reached my old bower in the evening, whe I found every thing standing as I left it; I always kept it in good order, being, as said before, my country-house.

I got over the fence, and laid me down the shade to rest my limbs, for I was ve weary, and fell asleep; but judge if you ca you that read my story, what a surprise must be in, when I was awaked out of m sleep by a voice calling me by my name ser ral times, Robin, Robin, Robin Crusoe, po Robin Crusoe! Where are you, Robin Cru soe? Where are you? Where have you been

I was so dead asleep at first, being fatigued with rowing, or paddling, as it is called, the first part of the day, and walking the latter part, that I did not awake thoroughly; and dozing between sleeping and waking, thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me; but as the voice continued to repeat Robin Crusoe, Robin Crusoe, at last I began to wake more perfectly, and was at first dreadfully frighted, and started up in the utmost consternation: but no sooner were my eyes open, but I saw my Pol sitting on the top of the hedge, and immediately knew that this was he that spoke to me; for just in such bemoaning language I had used to talk to him, and teach him; and he had learnt it so perfectly, that he would sit upon my finger, and lay his bill close to my face, and cry, Poor Robin Crusoe, where are you? Where have you been? How came you here? and such things as I had taught him.

However, even though I knew it was the parrot, and that indeed it could be nobody else, it was a good while before I could compose myself. First, I was amazed how the creature got thither, and then how he should just keep about the place, and no where else?

but as I was well satisfied it could be nobody but honest Pol, I got it over; and holding out my hand, and calling him by his name, Pol, the sociable creature came to me, and sat upon my thumb, as he used to do, and continued talking to me, Poor Robin Crusoe, and, how did I come here? and, where had I been? just as if he had been overjoyed to see me again; and so I carried him home along with me.

I had now had enough of rambling to sea for some time, and had enough to do for many days to sit still and reflect upon the danger I had been in. I would have been very glad to have had my boat again on my side of the island, but I knew not how it was practicable to get it about: as to the east side of the island, which I had gone round, I knew well enough there was no venturing that way; my very heart would shrink, and my very blood run chill, but to think of it: and to the other side of the island, I did not know how it might be there; but supposing the current ran with the same force against the shore at the east, as it passed by it on the other, I might run the same risk of being driven down the stream, and carried by the island, as I had been before of being carried away from it. So with these thoughts I contented myself to be without any boat, though it had been the product of so many months labour to make it, and of so many more to get it into the sea.

In this government of my temper I remained near a year, lived a very sedate retired life, as you may well suppose; and my thoughts being very much composed, as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispositions of Providence, I thought I lived really very happily in all things, except that of society.

I improved myself in this time, in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to; and I believe could, upon occasion, have made a very good carpenter, especially considering how few tools I had.

Besides this, I arrived at an unexpected perfection in my earthen-ware, and contrived well enough to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better; because I made things round and shapeable, which before were filthy things indeed to look on. But I think I never was more vain of my own performance, or more joyful for any thing I found out, than for my being able to make a tobacco-pipe; and though it was a very ugly clumsy thing when it was done, and only burnt red like other earthen ware, yet as it was hard and firm, and would draw the smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it; for I had been always used to smoke, and there were pipes in the ship, but I forgot them at first, not knowing there was tobacco in the island; and afterwards, when I searched the ship again, I could not come at any pipes at all.

In my wicker-ware I also improved much, and made abundance of necessary baskets, as well as my invention showed me, though not very handsome, yet convenient for my laying things up in, or fetching things home in. For example, if I killed a goat abroad, I could hang it up in a tree, flay it, and dress it, and cut it in pieces, and bring it home in a basket: and the like by a turtle; I could cut it up, take out the eggs, and a piece or two of the flesh, which was enough for me, and bring them home in a basket, and leave the rest behind me. Also large deep baskets were my receivers for my corn, which I always rubbed out as soon as it was dry, and cured; and kept it in great baskets instead of a granary.

I began now to perceive my powder abated considerably; and this was a want which it was impossible for me to supply, and I began seriously to consider what I must do when I should have no more powder; that is to say, how I should do to kill any goats. I had, as I observed, in the third year of my being here, kept a young kid, and bred her tame; I was in hopes of getting an he-kid, but I could not by any means bring it to pass, till my kid grew an old goat; and I could never find in my heart to kill her, till she died at last of mere age.

But being now in the eleventh year of my residence, and, as I have said, my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive; and particularly I wanted a she-goat great with young.

To this purpose I made snares to hamper them, and believe they were more than once taken in them; but my tackle was not good, for I had no wire, and always found them broken, and my bait devoured.

At length I resolved to try a pitfall; so I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over these pits I placed hurdles of my own making too, with a great weight upon them; and several times I put ears of barley, and dry rice, without setting the trap; and I could easily perceive, that the goats had gone in, and eaten up the corn, that I could see the mark of their feet: at length, I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found them all standing, and yet the bait eaten and gone. This was very discouraging; however, I altered my trap; and, not to trouble you with particulars, going

one morning to see my traps, I found in one of them a large old he-goat; and in one of the other, three kids, a male and two females.

As to the old one, I knew not what to do with him; he was so fierce, I durst not go into the pit to him; that is to say, to go about to bring him away alive, which was what I wanted. I could have killed him, but that was not my business, nor would it answer my end; so I e'en let him out, and he ran away as if he had been frightened out of his wits; but I did not then know what I afterwards learnt, that hunger would tame a lion: if I had let him stay there three or four days without food, and then have carried him some water to drink, and then a little corn, he would have been as tame as one of the kids; for they are mighty sagacious tractable creatures, where they are well used.

However, for the present I let him go, knowing no better at that time: then I went to the three kids; and, taking them one by one, I tied them with strings together; and with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed; but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame: and now I found, that if I expected to supply myself with goat's flesh, when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way, when perhaps I might have them about my house like a flock of sheep.

But then it presently occurred to me, that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only way for this was to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced either with hedge or pale, to keep them up so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in.

This was a great undertaking for one pair of hands; yet as I saw there was an absolute necessity of doing it, my first piece of work was to find out a proper piece of ground; viz. where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water for them to drink, and cover to keep them from the sun.

Those who understand such enclosures, will think I had very little contrivance, when I pitched upon a place very proper for all these, being a plain open piece of meadow-land or savanna (as our people call it in the western colonies), which had two or three little drills of fresh water in it, and at one end was very woody; I say, they will smile at my forecast, when I shall tell them I began my enclosing of this piece of ground in such a manner, that my hedge or pale must have been at least two miles about: nor was the madness of it so great as to the compass; for if it was ten miles about, I was like to have time enough to do it in; but I did not consider, that my goats would be as wild in so much compass, as if they had had the whole island; and I should have so much room to chase them in, that I should never catch them.

My hedge was begun and carried on, I believe, about fifty yards, when this thought occurred to me; so I presently stopped short, and for the first beginning I resolved to enclose a piece of about one hundred and fifty yards in length, and a hundred yards in breadth, which, as it would maintain as many as I should have in any reasonable time, so, as my flock increased, I could add more ground to my enclosure.

This was acting with some prudence, and I went to work with courage. I was about three months hedging in the first piece; and, till I had done it, I tethered the three kids in the best part of it, and used them to feed as near me as possible, to make them familiar; and very often I would go and carry them some ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand; so that after my enclosure was finished, and I let them loose, they would follow me up and down, bleating after me for a handful of corn.

This answered my end, and in about a year and a half I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and, in two years more, I had three-and-forty, besides several that I took and killed for my food; and after that I enclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with little pens to drive them into, to take them as I wanted them; and gates out of one piece of ground into another.

But this was not all; for now I not only had goat's flesh to feed on when I pleased, but milk too, a thing which indeed in my beginning I did not so much as think of, and which, when it came into my thoughts, was really an agreeable surprise; for now I set up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as nature, who gives supplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it; so I, that never milked a cow, much less a goat, or saw butter or cheese made, very readily and handily, though after a great many essays and miscarriages, made me both butter and cheese at last, and never wanted it afterwards.

How mercifully can our great Creator treat his creatures, even in those conditions in which they seem to be overwhelmed in destruction! How can he sweeten the bitterest providences, and give us cause to praise him for dungeons and prisons! What a table was here spread for me in a wilderness, where I saw nothing at first but to perish for hunger!

It would have made a stoic smile, to have seen me and my little family sit down to din-

ner: there was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island; I had the lives of all my subjects at absolute command; I could hang, draw, give life and liberty, and take it away, and no rebels among all my subjects.

Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone, attended by my servants! Pol, as if he had been my favourite, as the only person permitted to talk to me; my dog, which was now grown very old and crazy, and found no species to multiply his kind upon, sat always at my right hand; and two cats, one on one side the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand, as a mark of special favour.

But these were not the two cats which I brought on shore at first; for they were both of them dead, and had been interred near my habitation by my own hands; but one of them having multiplied by I know not what kind of creature, these were two which I preserved tame, whereas the rest ran wild into the woods, and became indeed troublesome to me at last; for they would often come into my house, and plunder me too, till at last I was obliged to shoot them, and did kill a great many: at length they left me. With this attendance, and in this plentiful manner, I lived; neither could I be said to want any thing but society, and of that, in some time after this, I was like to have too much.

## CHAP. XI.

*Description of my Figure—Also of my Dwelling and Enclosures—Dreadful alarm on seeing the Print of a Man's Foot on the Shore—Reflections—Take every possible Measure of precaution.*

I WAS something impatient, as I had observed, to have the use of my boat, though very loath to run any more hazard; and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat myself down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island, where, as I have said in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do. This inclination increased upon me every day, and at length I resolved to travel thither by land, and following the edge of the shore, I did so: but had any one in England been to meet such a man as I was, it must either have frighted them, or raised a great deal of laughter; and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through Yorkshire with such an equipage, and in such a dress. Be pleased to take a sketch of my figure as follows:

I had a great high shapeless cap, made of goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me, as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck; nothing being so hurtful in these climates, as the rain upon the flesh under the clothes.

I had a short jacket of goat's skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs; and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same: the breeches were made of a skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like pantaloons, it reached to the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none; but I had made me a pair of something, I scarce knew what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either side like spatterdashes; but of a most barbarous shape, as indeed were all the rest of my clothes.

I had on a broad belt of goat's skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same, instead of buckles; and in a kind of a frog on either side of this, instead of a sword and dagger, hung a little saw and a hatchet; one on one side, one on the other: I had another belt not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's skin too; in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot: at my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder my gun, and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat's skin umbrella; but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun. As for my face, the colour of it was really not so Mulatto-like as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten degrees of the equinox. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long; but as I had both scissars and razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of Mahometan whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some Turks whom I saw at Sallee; for the Moors did not wear such, though the Turks did: of these mustachios, or whiskers, I will not say they were long enough to hang my hat upon them; but they were of length and shape monstrous enough, and such as in England would have passed for frightful.

But all this is by the bye; for as to my figure, I had so few to observe me, that it was of no manner of consequence; so I say no more to that part. In this kind of figure I went my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the sea-shore directly to the place where I first brought my boat to an

anchor, to get up upon the rocks; and, having no boat now to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way, to the same height that I was upon before; when looking forward to the point of the rock which lay out, and which I was to double with my boat, as I said above, I was surprised to see the sea all smooth and quiet; no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in the observing of it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it: but I was presently convinced how it was; viz. that the tide of ebb setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current, and that according as the wind blew more forcible from the west, or from the north, this current came near, or went farther from the shore; for, waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then, the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore; whereas, in my case, it set close upon the shore, and hurried me in my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me, that I had nothing to do but to observe the ebbing and the flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again: but when I began to think of putting it in practice, I had such a terror upon my spirits at the remembrance of the danger I had been in, that I could not think of it again with any patience; but on the contrary, I took up another resolution, which was more safe, though more laborious; and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another periagua, or canoe; and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

You are to understand, that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island; one, my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it under the rock, with the cave behind me, which by this time I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond my wall or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hands.

As for my wall, made as before, with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of my habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn-ground; which I kept duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in its season: and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining, as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country-seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also: for first, I had my little bower, as I called it, which I kept in repair; that is to say, I kept the hedge which circled it in, constantly cut, and cut up to its usual height, the ladder standing always in the inside; I kept the trees, which at first were no more than stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall,—I kept them always so cut, that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of a sail spread over poles set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing; and under this I had made me a squab or couch, with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things, and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to our sea-bedding, which I had saved, and a great watch-coat to cover me; and here, whenever I had occasion to be absent from my chief seat, I used up my country habitation.

Adjoining to this I had my enclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats: and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and enclose this ground, I was not easy to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till with infinite labour I had stuck the outside of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put a hand through between them, which afterwards, when those stakes grew, as they did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong, like a wall; indeed stronger than any wall.

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support; for I considered the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus at my hand would be a living magazine of flesh, milk, butter, and cheese, for me, as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them in my reach, depended entirely upon my perfecting my enclosures to such a degree, that I might be sure of my

ing them together; which by this method indeed I so effectually secured, that when these little stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick, I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this place also I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully, as the best and most agreeable dainty of my whole diet; and indeed they were not agreeable only, but physical, wholesome, nourishing, and refreshing to the last degree.

As this was also about half-way between my other habitation and the place where I had laid up my boat, I generally staid and lay here in my way thither; for I used frequently to visit my boat, and I kept all things about or belonging to her in very good order: sometimes I went out in her to divert myself, but no more hazardous voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a stone's cast or two from the shore, I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my knowledge again by the currents, or winds, or any other accident. But now I came to a new scene of my life.

It happened one day about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand: I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition; I listened, I looked round me, I could hear nothing, nor see any thing; I went up to a rising ground to look farther; I went up the shore and down the shore, but it was all one, I could see no other impression but that one; I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot; how it came thither I knew not, nor could in the least imagine. But after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused, and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree, looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man; nor is it possible to describe how many various shapes an affrighted imagination represented things to me in; how many wild ideas were formed every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way.

When I came to my castle, for so I think I called it ever after this, I fled into it like one pursued; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which I called a door, I cannot remember; for never frighted hare fled to cover, or fox to earth, with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

I had no sleep that night: the farther I was from the occasion of my fright, the greater my apprehensions were; which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear. But I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way off it. Sometimes I fancied it must be the devil; and reason joined in with me upon this supposition. For how should any other thing in human shape come into the place? Where was the vessel that brought them? What marks were there of any other footsteps? And how was it possible a man should come there? But then to think that Satan should take human shape upon him in such a place, where there could be no manner of occasion for it, but to leave the print of his foot behind him, and that even for no purpose too, (for he could not be sure I should see it,) this was an amazement the other way: I considered that the devil might have found out abundance of other ways to have terrified me, than this of the single print of a foot; that, as I lived quite on the other side of the island, he would never have been so simple to leave a mark in a place where it was ten thousand to one whether I should ever see it or not, and in the sand too, which the first surge of the sea upon an high wind would have defaced entirely. All this seemed inconsistent with the thing itself, and with all notions we usually entertain of the subtlety of the devil.

Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me out of all apprehensions of its being the devil. And I presently concluded that it must be some more dangerous creature; viz. that it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me, who had wandered out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven by the currents, or by contrary winds, had made the island, and had been on shore, but were gone away again to sea, being as loath, perhaps, to have staid in this desolate island, as I would have been to have had them.

While these reflections were rolling upon my mind, I was very thankful in my thoughts, that I was so happy as not to be thereabouts at that time, or that they did not see my boat, by which they would have concluded, that some inhabitants had been in the place, and perhaps have searched farther for me. Then terrible thoughts racked my imagination, about their having found my boat, and that there were people here; and that if so, I

should certainly have them come again in greater numbers, and devour me; that if it should happen so that they should not find me, yet they would find my enclosure, destroy all my corn, carry away all my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for mere want.

Thus my fear banished all my religious hope; all that former confidence in God, which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of his goodness, now vanished; as if He, that had fed me by miracle hitherto, could not preserve by his power the provision which he had made for me by his goodness. I reproached myself with my uneasiness, that I would not sow any more corn one year, than would just serve me till the next season, as if no accident could intervene to prevent my enjoying the crop that was upon the ground. And this I thought so just a reproof, that I resolved for the future to have two or three years corn beforehand, so that, whatever might come, I might not perish for want of bread.

How strange a chequer-work of Providence is the life of man! And by what secret differing springs are the affections hurried about, as differing circumstances present! To-day we love, what to-morrow we hate; to-day we seek, what to-morrow we shun; to-day we desire, what to-morrow we fear; nay, even tremble at the apprehensions of. This was exemplified in me at this time in the most lively manner imaginable; for I, whose only affliction was, that I seemed banished from human society, that I was alone, circumscribed by the boundless ocean, cut off from mankind, and condemned to what I call a silent life; that I was as one whom Heaven thought not worthy to be numbered among the living, or to appear among the rest of his creatures; that to have seen one of my own species, would have seemed to me a raising me from death to life, and the greatest blessing that Heaven itself, next to the supreme blessing of salvation, could bestow; I say, that I should now tremble at the very apprehensions of seeing a man, and was ready to sink into the ground, at but the shadow, or silent appearance, of a man's having set his foot on the island.

Such is the uneven state of human life; and it afforded me a great many curious speculations afterwards, when I had a little recovered my first surprise: I considered that this was the station of life the infinitely wise and good providence of God had determined for me; that, as I could not foresee what the ends of divine wisdom might be in all this, so I was not to dispute his sovereignty, who, as I was his creature, had an undoubted right by creation to govern and dispose of me absolutely as he thought fit; and who, as I was a creature who had offended him, had likewise a judicial right to condemn me to what punishment he thought fit; and that it was my part to submit to bear his indignation, because I had sinned against him.

I then reflected, that God, who was not only righteous, but omnipotent, as he had thought fit thus to punish and afflict me, so he was able to deliver me; that if he did not think fit to do it, it was my unquestioned duty to resign myself absolutely and entirely to his will; and on the other hand, it was my duty also to hope in him, pray to him, and quietly to attend the dictates and directions of his daily providence.

These thoughts took me up many hours, days, nay, I may say, weeks and months; and one particular effect of my cogitations on this occasion I cannot omit: viz. one morning early, lying in my bed, and filled with thoughts about my danger from the appearance of savages, I found it discomposed me very much; upon which those words of the Scripture came into my thoughts, "Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

Upon this, rising chearfully out of my bed, my heart was not only comforted, but I was guided and encouraged to pray earnestly to God for deliverance. When I had done praying, I took up my Bible, and opening it to read, the first words that presented to me were, "Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and he shall strengthen thy heart: Wait, I say, on the Lord." It is impossible to express the comfort this gave me; and in return, I thankfully laid down the book, and was no more sad, at least not on that occasion.

In the middle of these cogitations, apprehensions, and reflections, it came into my thoughts one day, that all this might be a mere chimera of my own, and that this foot might be the print of my own foot, when I came on shore from my boat. This cheered me up a little too, and I began to persuade myself it was all a delusion; that it was nothing else but my own foot; and why might not I come that way from the boat, as well as I was going that way to the boat? Again, I considered also, that I could by no means tell for certain where I had trod, and where I had not; and that if at last this was only the print of my own foot, I had played the part of those fools, who strive to make stories of spectres and apparitions, and then are themselves frighted at them more than any body else.

Now I began to take courage, and to peep abroad again; for I had not stirred out of my castle for three days and nights, so that I began to starve for provision; for I had fo-

tle or nothing within doors, but some barley-cakes and water. Then I knew that my goats wanted to be milked too, which usually was my evening diversion: and the poor creatures were in great pain and inconvenience for want of it; and indeed it almost spoiled some of them, and almost dried up their milk.

Heartening myself therefore with the belief, that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet, (and so I might be truly said to start at my own shadow,) I began to go abroad again, and went to my country-house to milk my flock; but to see with what fear I went forward, how often I looked behind me, how I was ready, every now and then, to lay down my basket, and run for my life; it would have made any one have thought I was haunted with an evil conscience, or that I had been lately most terribly frighted; and so indeed I had.

However, as I went down thus two or three days, and having seen nothing, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination; but I could not persuade myself fully of this, till I should go down to the shore again, and see this print of a foot, and measure it by my own, and see if there was any similitude or fitness, that I might be assured it was my own foot. But when I came to the place first, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my boat, I could not possibly be on shore any where thereabouts. Secondly, when I came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal. Both these things filled my head with new imaginations, and gave me the vapours again to the highest degree; so that I shook with cold, like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief, that some man or men had been on shore there; or, in short, that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware; and what course to take for my security, I knew not.

O what ridiculous resolutions men take, when possessed with fear! It deprives them of the use of those means which reason offers for their relief. The first thing I proposed to myself was, to throw down my enclosures, and turn all my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and then frequent the island in prospect of the same, or the like booty; then to the simple thing of digging up my two corn-fields, that they might not find such a grain there, and still be prompted to frequent the island; then to demolish my bower and tent, that they might not see any vestiges of my habitation, and be prompted to look farther, in order to find out the persons inhabiting.

These were the subjects of the first night's cogitation, after I was come home again, while the apprehensions which had so over run my mind were fresh upon me, and my head was full of vapours, as above. Thus fear of danger is ten thousand times more terrifying than danger itself, when apparent to the eyes; and we find the burden of anxiety greater by much than the evil which we are anxious about: but, which was worse than all this, I had not that relief in this trouble from the resignation I used to practise, that I hoped to have. I looked, I thought, like Saul, who complained, not only that the Philistines were upon him, but that God had forsaken him; for I did not now take due ways to compose my mind, by crying to God in my distress, and resting upon his providence, as I had done before, for my defence and deliverance; which, if I had done, I had, at least, been more chearfully supported under this new surprise, and perhaps carried through it with more resolution.

This confusion of my thoughts kept me waking all night; but in the morning I fell asleep, and having, by the amusement of my mind, been, as it were, tired, and my spirits exhausted, I slept very soundly, and awaked much better composed than I had ever been before. And now I began to think sedately; and, upon the utmost debate with myself, I concluded, that this island, which was so exceeding pleasant, fruitful, and no farther from the main land than as I had seen, was not so entirely abandoned as I might imagine: that although there were no stated inhabitants who lived on the spot; yet that there might sometimes come boats off from the shore, who either with design, or perhaps never but when they were driven by cross winds, might come to this place.

That I had lived here fifteen years now, and had not met with the least shadow or figure of any people before; and that if at any time they should be driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as ever they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix there upon any occasion, to this time.

That the most I could suggest any danger from, was, from any such casual accidental landing of straggling people from the main, who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their wills; so they made no stay here, but went off again with all possible speed, seldom staying one night on shore, lest they should not have the help of the tides and daylight back again; and that therefore I had nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case I should see any savages land upon the spot.

Now I began sorely to repent that I had dug my cave so large, as to bring a door through again, which door, as I said, came

out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock. Upon maturely considering this, therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the manner of a semi-circle, at a distance from my wall, just where I had planted a double row of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention: these trees having been planted so thick before, there wanted but a few piles to be driven between them, that they should be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be soon finished.

So that I had now a double wall, and my outer wall was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and every thing I could think of to make it strong; having in it seven little holes, about as big as I might put my arm out at. In the inside of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, continually bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it; and through the seven holes I contrived to plant the muskets, of which I took notice that I got seven on shore out of the ship; these, I say, I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, that so I could fire all the seven guns in two minutes time. This wall I was many a weary month in finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a great way every way, as full with stakes or sticks of the osier-like wood, which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand; insomuch, that I believe I might set in near twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

Thus in two years time I had a thick grove; and in five or six years time I had a wood before my dwelling, grown so monstrous thick and strong, that it was indeed perfectly impassable; and no man of what kind soever would ever imagine that there was any thing beyond it, much less an habitation. As for the way I proposed myself to go in and out, (for I left no avenue,) it was by setting two ladders; one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, and left room to place another ladder upon that; so when the two ladders were taken down, no man living could come down to me without mischiefing himself; and if they had come down, they were still on the outside of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my own preservation; and it will be seen at length, that they were not altogether without just reason; though I foresaw nothing at that time more than my mere fear suggested.

While this was doing, I was not altogether careless of my other affairs; for I had a great concern upon me for my little herd of goats; they were not only a present supply to me upon every other occasion, and to be sufficient for me, without the expence of powder and shot, but also abated the fatigue of my hunting after the wild ones; and I was loath to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again.

To this purpose, after long consideration, I could think but of two ways to preserve them: one was to find another convenient place to dig a cave under ground, and to drive them into it every night; and the other was to enclose two or three little bits of land, remote from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place; so that if any disaster happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time: and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labour, I thought was the most rational design.

Accordingly I spent some time to find out the most retired parts of the island; and I pitched upon one, which was as private indeed as my heart could wish; for it was a little damp piece of ground in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is observed, I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the eastern part of the island. Here I found a clear piece of land near three acres, so surrounded with woods, that it was almost an enclosure by nature; at least it did not want near so much labour to make it so, as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

I immediately went to work with this piece of ground, and in less than a month's time I had so fenced it round, that my flock or herd, call it which you please, which were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secured in it. So without any farther delay, I removed two she-goats and two he-goats to this piece; and when there, I continued to perfect the fence, till I had made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

## CHAP. XII.

*I observe a Canoe out at Sea—Find on the Shore the remnant of a Feast of Cannibals—Horror of Mind thereon—Double on myself—Terribly alarmed by a Goat—Discover a singular Cave, or Grotto, of which I form my Magazine—My fears on account of the Savages begin to subside.*

ALL this labour I was at the expence of

purely from my apprehensions on the account of the print of a man's foot which I had seen; for as yet, I never saw any human creature come near the island, and I had now lived two years under these uneasinesses, which indeed made my life much less comfortable than it was before; as may well be imagined, by any who know what it is to live in the constant snare of the fear of man; and this I must observe with grief too, that the discomposure of my mind had too great impressions also upon the religious part of my thoughts; for the dread and terror of falling into the hands of savages and cannibals lay so upon my spirits, that I seldom found myself in a due temper for application to my Maker; at least, not with the sedate calmness and resignation of soul which I was wont to do. I rather prayed to God as under great affliction and pressure of mind, surrounded with danger, and in expectation every night of being murdered and devoured before the morning; and I must testify from my experience, that a temper of peace, thankfulness, love, and affection, is much more the proper frame for prayer, than that of terror and discomposure; and that under the dread of mischief impending, a man is no more fit for a comforting performance of the duty of praying to God, than he is for repentance on a sick-bed; for these discomposures affect the mind as the others do the body; and the discomposure of the mind must necessarily be as great a disability as that of the body, and much greater; praying to God being properly an act of the mind, not of the body.

But to go on: After I had thus secured one part of my little living stock, I went about the whole island, searching for another private place, to make such another deposit; when wandering more to the west point of the island than I had ever done yet, and looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat upon the sea, at a great distance; I had found a perspective glass or two in one of the seamen's chests, which I saved out of our ship; but I had it not about me, and this was so remote, that I could not tell what to make of it, though I looked at it till my eyes were not able to look any longer: whether it was a boat, or not, I do not know; but as I descended from the hill, I could see no more of it, so I gave it over; only I resolved to go no more without a perspective glass in my pocket.

When I was come down the hill to the end of the island, where indeed I had never been before, I was presently convinced, that the seeing the print of a man's foot, was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined; and, but that it was a special providence that I was cast upon the side of the island where the savages never came, I should easily have known, that nothing was more frequent than for the canoes from the main, when they happened to be a little too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbour; likewise, as they often met, and fought in their canoes, the victors, having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to their dreadful custom, being all cannibals, they would kill and eat them: of which hereafter.

When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the S. W. point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed; nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind, at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies; and, particularly, I observed a place where there had been a fire made, and a circle dug in the earth, like a cock-pit, where it is supposed the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow creatures.

I was so astonished with the sight of these things, that I entertained no notions of any danger to myself from it, for a long while; all my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature; which, though I had heard of often, yet I never had so near a view of before: in short, I turned away my face from the horrid spectacle; my stomach grew sick, and I was just at the point of fainting, when nature discharged the disorder from my stomach, and having vomited with an uncommon violence, I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment; so I got me up the hill again with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still awhile as amazed; and then recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks, that had cast my first lot in a part of the world where I was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these; and that though I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, had yet given me so many comforts in it, that I had still more to give thanks for than to complain of; and this above all, that I had, even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of himself, and the hope of his blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered, or could suffer.

In this frame of thankfulness I went home to my castle, and began to be much easier now, as to the safety of my circumstances,

than ever I was before; for I observed, that these wretches never came to this island in search of what they could get; perhaps not seeking, not wanting, or not expecting, any thing here, and having often, no doubt, been up in the covered woody part of it, without finding any thing to their purpose. I knew I had been here now almost eighteen years, and never saw the least footsteps of a human creature there before; and might be here eighteen more as entirely concealed as I was now, if I did not discover myself to them, which I had no manner of occasion to do, it being my only business to keep myself entirely concealed where I was, unless I found a better sort of creatures than cannibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches that I have been speaking of, and of the wretched inhuman custom of their devouring and eating one another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this: when I say my own circle, I mean by it my three plantations, viz. my castle, my country seat, which I called my bower, and my enclosure in the woods; nor did I look after this for any other use than as an enclosure for my goats; for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was as fearful of seeing them as of seeing the devil himself; nor did I so much as go to look after my boat in all this time, but began rather to think of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of those creatures at sea, in which, if I had happened to have fallen into their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.

Time, however, and the satisfaction I had, that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before; only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing my gun, lest any of them on the island should happen to hear it; and it was therefore a very good providence to me, that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, that I had no need to hunt any more about the woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any more of them after this, it was by traps and snares, as I had done before, so that for two years after this, I believe I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it: and, which was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my girdle belt: I likewise furbished up one of the great cutlasses that I had out of the ship, and made me a belt to put it in also: so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself, the particular of two pistols, and a great broad-sword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have said, for some time, I seemed, excepting these cautions, to be reduced to my former calm sedate way of living. All these things tended to persuade me more and more how far my condition was from being miserable, compared to many others; nay, to many other particulars of life, which it might have pleased God to have made my lot. It put me upon reflecting, how little repining there would be among mankind, at any condition of life, if people would rather compare their condition with those that are worse, in order to be thankful, than be always comparing them with those which are better, to assist their murmurings and complainings.

As in my present condition there was not really many things which I wanted, so indeed I thought that the frights I had been in about these savage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniences, and I had dropped a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts upon; and that was, to try if I could not make some of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myself some beer: this was really a whimsical thought, and I reproved myself often for the simplicity of it: for I presently saw there would be the want of several things necessary to the making my beer, that would be impossible for me to supply; as first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that, as I have observed already, I could never compass; no, though I spent not many days, but weeks, nay months, in attempting it, but to no purpose. In the next place, I had no hopes to make it keep, no yeast to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil; and yet, had not all these things intervened, I mean the fright and terrors I was in about the savages, I had undertaken it, and perhaps brought it to pass too; for I seldom gave any thing over so out accomplishing it, when I once had it in my head enough to begin it.

But my invention now ran quite another way; for night and day I could think of nothing, but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel bloody entertainments; and, if possible, save the victim they should bring hither to destroy. It would take up a larger volume than this whole work is intended to be, to set down all the contrivances

I hatched, or rather brooded upon in my thoughts, for the destroying these creatures, or at least frightening them, so as to prevent their coming hither any more: but all was abortive; nothing could be possible to take effect, unless I was to be there to do it myself; and what could one man do among them, when perhaps there might be twenty or thirty of them together, with their darts, or their bows and arrows, with which they could shoot as true to a mark as I could with my gun?

Sometimes I contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put in five or six pounds of gunpowder, which, when they kindled their fire, would consequently take fire, and blow up all that was near it; but as, in the first place, I should be very loath to waste so much powder upon them, my store being now within the quantity of a barrel, so neither could I be sure of its going off at any certain time, when it might surprise them; and, at best, that it would do little more than just blow the fire about their ears, and fright them, but not sufficient to make them forsake the place; so I laid it aside, and then proposed, that I would place myself in ambush in some convenient place, with my three guns all double-loaded, and in the middle of their bloody ceremony let fly at them, when I should be sure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every shoot; and then falling in upon them with my three pistols, and my sword, I made no doubt but that, if there were twenty, I should kill them all: this fancy pleased my thoughts for some weeks, and I was so full of it, that I often dreamed of it; and sometimes, that I was just going to let fly at them in my sleep.

I went so far with it in my indignation, that I employed myself several days to find out proper places to put myself in ambuscade, as I said, to watch for them; and I went frequently to the place itself, which was now grown more familiar to me; and especially while my mind was thus filled with thoughts of revenge, and of a bloody putting twenty or thirty of them to the sword, as I may call it; but the horror I had at the place, and at the signals of the barbarous wretches devouring one another, abated my malice.

Well, at length I found a place in the side of the hill, where I was satisfied I might securely wait till I saw any of the boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on shore, convey myself unseen into thickets of trees, in one of which there was a hollow large enough to conceal me entirely: and where I might sit, and observe all their bloody doings, and take my full aim at their heads, when they were so close together, as that it would be next to impossible that I should miss my shoot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the first shoot.

In this place then I resolved to fix my design; and accordingly I prepared two muskets and my ordinary fowling piece. The two muskets I loaded with a brace of slugs each, and four or five smaller bullets, about the size of pistol-bullets, and the fowling-piece I loaded with near an handful of swan-shot, of the largest size; I also loaded my pistols with about four bullets each: and in this posture, well provided with ammunition for a second and third charge, I prepared myself for my expedition.

After I had thus laid the scheme for my design, and in my imagination put it in practice, I continually made my tour every morning up to the top of the hill, which was, from my castle, as I called it, about three miles or more, to see if I could observe any boats upon the sea, coming near the island, or standing over towards it; but I began to tire of this hard duty, after I had for two or three months constantly kept my watch; but came always back without any discovery, there having not in all that time been the least appearance, not only on or near the shore, but not on the whole ocean, so far as my eyes or glasses could reach every way.

As long as I kept up my daily tour to the hill to look out, so long also I kept up the vigour of my design, and my spirits seemed to be all the while in a suitable frame for so outrageous an execution, as the killing twenty or thirty naked savages for an offence, which I had not at all entered into a discussion of in my thoughts, any further than my passions were at first fired by the horror I conceived at the unnatural custom of the people of that country, who, it seems, had been suffered by Providence, in his wise disposition of the world, to have no other guide than that of their own abominable and vitiated passions; and consequently were left, and perhaps had been for some ages, to act such horrid things, and receive such dreadful customs, as nothing but nature, entirely abandoned of Heaven, and actuated by some hellish degeneracy, could have run them into; but now, when, as I have said, I began to be weary of the fruitless excursion which I had made so long, and so far, every morning in vain; so my opinion of the action itself began to alter, and I began, with cooler and calmer thoughts, to consider what it was I was going to engage in; what authority or call I had to pretend to be judge and executioner upon these men as criminals, whom Heaven had thought fit for so many ages to suffer unpunished to go on, and to be, as it were, the executioners of his judgements upon one another; also, how far these people were offenders against me, and what

fight I had to engage in the quarrel of that blood, which they shed promiscuously one upon another. I debated this very often with myself thus: How do I know what God himself judges in this particular case? It is certain these people do not commit this as a crime; it is not against their own consciences reproving, or their light reproaching them. They do not know it to be an offence, and then commit it in defiance of divine justice, as we do in almost all the sins we commit. They think it no more a crime to kill a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox, nor to eat human flesh, than we do to eat mutton.

When I had considered this a little, it followed necessarily, that I was certainly in the wrong in it; that these people were not murderers in the sense that I had before condemned them in my thoughts, any more than those Christians were murderers, who often put to death the prisoners taken in battle; or more frequently, upon many occasions, put whole troops of men to the sword, without giving quarter, though they threw down their arms and submitted.

In the next place, it occurred to me, that albeit the usage they gave one another was thus brutish and inhuman, yet it was really nothing to me: these people had done me no injury: that if they attempted me, or I saw it necessary for my immediate preservation to fall upon them, something might be said for it; but that I was yet out of their power, and they had really no knowledge of me, and consequently no design upon me; and therefore it could not be just for me to fall upon them: that this would justify the conduct of the Spaniards, in all their barbarities practised in America, where they destroyed millions of these people, who, however they were idolaters and barbarians, and had several bloody and barbarous rites in their customs, such as sacrificing human bodies to their idols, were yet, as to the Spaniards, very innocent people; and that the rooting them out of the country is spoken of with the utmost abhorrence and detestation, even by the Spaniards themselves, at this time; and by all other Christian nations of Europe, as a mere butchery, a bloody and unnatural piece of cruelty, unjustifiable either to God or man; and such, as for which the very name of a Spaniard is reckoned to be frightful and terrible to all people of humanity, or of Christian compassion: as if the kingdom of Spain were particularly eminent for the product of a race of men, who were without principles of tenderness, or the common bowels of pity to the miserable, which is reckoned to be a mark of a generous temper in the mind.

These considerations really put me to a pause, and to a kind of a full stop; and I began by little and little to be off of my design, and to conclude I had taken a wrong measure in my resolutions to attack the savages; that it was not my business to meddle with them, unless they first attacked me, and this it was my business, if possible, to prevent; but that, if I were discovered and attacked, then I knew my duty.

On the other hand, I argued with myself, that this really was not the way to deliver myself, but entirely to ruin and destroy myself; for unless I was sure to kill every one that not only should be on shore at that time, but that should ever come on shore afterwards, if but one of them escaped to tell their country-people what had happened, they would come over again by thousands to revenge the death of their fellows; and I should only bring upon myself a certain destruction, which at present I had no manner of occasion for.

Upon the whole, I concluded, that neither in principles nor in policy, I ought one way or other to concern myself in this affair: that my business was, by all possible means, to conceal myself from them, and not to have the least signal to them to guess by, that there were any living creatures upon the island, I mean of human shape.

Religion joined in with this prudential, and I was convinced now many ways that I was perfectly out of my duty, when I was laying all my bloody schemes for the destruction of innocent creatures, I mean innocent as to me; as to the crimes they were guilty of towards one another, I had nothing to do with them; they were national punishments to make a just retribution for national offences; and to bring public judgments upon those who offended in a public manner, by such ways as best please God.

This appeared so clear to me now, that nothing was a greater satisfaction to me, than that I had not been suffered to do a thing which I now saw so much reason to believe would have been no less a sin than that of wilful murder, if I had committed it; and I gave most humble thanks on my knees to God, that had thus delivered me from blood-guiltiness; beseeching him to grant me the protection of his Providence, that I might not fall into the hands of barbarians; or that I might not lay my hands upon them, unless I had a more clear call from Heaven to do it in defence of my own life.

In this disposition I continued for near a year after this: and so far was I from having an occasion for falling upon these wretches, that in all that time I never once went up the hill to see whether there were any of them in sight, or to know whether any of them had been on shore there, or not; that I might

not be tempted to renew any of my contrivances against them, or be provoked, by any advantage which might present itself, to fall upon them; only this I did, I went and removed my boat, which I had on the other side of the island, and carried it down to the east end of the whole island, where I ran it into a little cove which I found under some high rocks, and where I knew, by reason of the currents, the savages durst not, at least would not, come with their boats upon any account whatsoever.

With my boat I carried away every thing that I had left there belonging to her, though not necessary for the bare going thither; viz. a mast and sail, which I had made for her, and a thing like an anchor, but indeed, which could not be called either anchor or grapling; however, it was the best I could make of its kind. All these I removed, that there might not be the least shadow of any discovery, or any appearance of any boat, or of any habitation upon the island.

Besides this, I kept myself, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell, other than upon my constant employment, viz. to milk my she-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood, which, as it was quite on the other part of the island, was quite out of danger; for certain it is, that these savage people, who sometimes haunted this island, never came with any thoughts of finding any thing here, and consequently never wandered off from the coast; and I doubt not but they might have been several times on shore, after my apprehensions of them had made me cautious, as well as before; and indeed I looked back with some horror upon the thoughts of what my condition would have been, if I had chopped upon them, and been discovered before that, when naked and unarmed, except with one gun, and that loaded often only with small shot. I walked every where, peeping and peering about the island, to see what I could get: what a surprise should I have been in, if, when I discovered the print of a man's foot, I had instead of that seen fifteen or twenty savages, and found them pursuing me, and, by the swiftness of their running, no possibility of my escaping them.

The thoughts of this sometimes sunk my very soul within me, and distressed my mind so much, that I could not soon recover it; to think what I should have done, and how I not only should not have been able to resist them, but even should not have had presence of mind enough to do what I might have done; much less what now, after so much consideration and preparation, I might be able to do. Indeed, after serious thinking of these things, I would be very melancholy, and sometimes it would last a great while; but I resolved it at last all into thankfulness to that Providence, which had delivered me from so many unseen dangers, and had kept me from those mischiefs, which I could no way have been the agent in delivering myself from; because I had not the least notion of any such thing depending, or the least supposition of its being possible.

This renewed a contemplation, which often had come to my thoughts in former time, when first I began to see the merciful dispositions of Heaven, in the dangers we run through in this life; how wonderfully we are delivered when we know nothing of it; how, when we are in a quandary, (as we call it,) a doubt or hesitation, whether to go this way, or that way, a secret hint shall direct us this way, when we intend to go another way; nay, when sense, our own inclination, and perhaps business, has called to go the other way, yet a strange impression upon the mind, from we know not what springs, and by we know not what power, shall over-rule us to go this way: and it shall afterwards appear, that had we gone that way which we would have gone, and even to our imagination ought to have gone, we should have been ruined and lost. Upon these, and many like reflections, I afterwards made it a certain rule with me, that whenever I found those secret hints, or pressings of my mind, to doing or not doing any thing that presented, or to going this way or that way, I never failed to obey the secret dictate; though I knew no other reason for it, than that such a pressure, or such an hint, hung upon my mind: I could give many examples of the success of this conduct in the course of my life; but more especially in the latter part of my inhabiting this unhappy island; besides many occasions which it is very likely I might have taken notice of, if I had seen with the same eyes then that I saw with now: But it is never too late to be wise; and I cannot but advise all considering men, whose lives are attended with such extraordinary incidents as mine, or even though not so extraordinary, not to slight such secret intimations of Providence, let them come from what invisible intelligence they will; that I shall not discuss, and perhaps cannot account for; but certainly they are a proof of the converse of spirits, and the secret communication between those embodied, and those unembodied; and such a proof as can never be withstood: of which I shall have occasion to give some very remarkable instances, in the remainder of my solitary residence in this dismal place.

I believe the reader of this will not think it strange, if I confess that these anxieties, these constant dangers I lived in, and the concern

that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had the care of my safety more now upon my hands than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a stick of wood now, for fear the noise I should make should be heard; much less would I fire a gun, for the same reason; and, above all, I was very uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me; and for this reason I removed that part of my business which required fire, such as burning of pots and pipes, &c. into my new apartment in the wood; where, after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a mere natural cave in the earth, which went in a vast way, and where, I dare say, no savage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in, nor indeed would any man else, but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat.

The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where, by mere accident, (I would say, if I did not see an abundant reason to ascribe all such things now to Providence,) I was cutting down some thick branches of trees to make charcoal; and before I go on, I must observe the reason of my making this charcoal, which was thus:

I was afraid of making a smoke about my habitation, as I said before; and yet I could not live there without baking my bread, cooking my meat, &c.; so I contrived to burn some wood here, as I had seen done in England, under turf, till it became chark, or dry coal; and then putting the fire out, I preserved the coal to carry home, and perform the other services, which fire was wanting for at home, without danger or smoke.

But this by the bye: while I was cutting down some wood here, I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brushwood, or underwood, there was a kind of hollow place: I was curious to look into it, and getting with difficulty into the mouth of it, I found it was pretty large, that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it, and perhaps another with me; but I must confess to you, I made more haste out than I did in; when looking further into the place, which was perfectly dark, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, whether devil or man I knew not, which twinkled like two stars, the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection.

However, after some pause, I recovered myself, and began to call myself a thousand fools, and tell myself, that he that was afraid to see the devil, was not fit to live twenty years in an island all alone, and that I durst to believe there was nothing in this cave that was more frightful than myself: upon this, plucking up my courage, I took up a large firebrand, and in I rushed again, with the stick flaming in my hand: I had not gone three steps in, but I was almost as much frightened as I was before; for I heard a very loud sigh, like that of a man in some pain; and it was followed by a broken noise, as if of words half-expressed, and then a deep sigh again: I stepped back, and was indeed struck with such a surprise, that it put me into a cold sweat; and if I had had an hat on my head, I will not answer for it that my hair might not have lifted it off. But still plucking up my spirits as well as I could, and encouraging myself a little, with considering that the power and presence of God was every where, and was able to protect me: upon this I stepped forward again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it up a little over my head, I saw lying on the ground a most monstrous frightful old he-goat, just making his will, as we say, gasping for life, and dying indeed of mere old age.

I stirred him a little to see if I could get him out, and he essayed to get up, but was not able to raise himself; and I thought with myself, he might even lie there; for if he had frightened me so, he would certainly fright any of the savages, if any of them should be so hardy as to come in there, while he had any life in him.

I was now recovered from my surprise, and began to look round me, when I found the cave was but very small; that is to say, it might be about twelve feet over, but in no manner of shape, either round or square, no hands having ever been employed in making it but those of mere nature: I observed also that there was a place at the farther side of it that went in farther, but so low, that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to get into it, and whither it went, I knew not: so having no candle, I gave it over for some time, but resolved to come again the next day, provided with candles and a tinder box, which I had made of the lock of one of the muskets, with some wildfire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day, I came provided with six large candles of my own making, for I made very good candles now of goat's tallow; and going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have said, almost ten yards: which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, or what was beyond it. When I was got through it streight, I found the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the sides and roof

this vault or cave. The walls reflected an hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles; what it was in the rock, whether diamonds or any other precious stones, or gold, which I rather supposed it to be, I knew not.

The place I was in was a most delightful cavity, or grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it; so that there was no nauseous creature to be seen; neither was there any damp or wet on the sides of the roof: the only difficulty in it was the entrance, which however, as it was a place of security, and such a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience; so that I was really rejoiced at the discovery, and resolved, without any delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about to this place; particularly, I resolved to bring hither my magazine of powder, and all my spare arms, viz. two fowling-pieces (for I had three in all,) and three muskets (for of them I had eight in all); so I kept at my castle only five, which stood ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmost fence, and were ready also to take out upon any expedition.

Upon this occasion of removing my ammunition, I was obliged to open the barrel of powder which I took up out of the sea, and which had been wet, and I found, that the water had penetrated about three or four inches into the powder on every side, which, caking and growing hard, had preserved the inside like a kernel in a shell; so that I had near sixty pounds of very good powder in the centre of the cask; and this was an agreeable discovery to me at that time: so I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pounds of powder with me in my castle, for fear of a surprise of any kind; I also carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

I fancied myself now like one of the ancient giants, which were said to live in caves and holes in the rock, where none could come at them; for I persuaded myself while I was here, if five hundred savages were to hunt me, they could never find me out; or if they did, they would not venture to attack me here.

The old goat, which I found expiring, died in the mouth of the cave the next day after I made this discovery; and I found it much easier to dig a great hole there, and throw him in, and cover him with earth, than to drag him out; so I interred him there, to prevent offence to my nose.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Description of my Situation in the Twenty-third Year of my Residence—Discover Nine naked Savages round a Fire on my side of the Island—My horror on beholding the dismal Work they were about—I determine on the Destruction of the next Party, at all risks—A Ship lost off the Island—Go on board the Wreck, which I discern to be Spanish—Procure a great variety of Articles from the Vessel.*

I WAS now in my twenty-third year of residence in this island, and was so naturalized to the place, and to the manner of living, that could I have but enjoyed the certainty that no savages would come to the place to disturb me, I could have been content to have capitulated for spending the rest of my time there, even to the last moment, till I had laid me down and died, like the old goat, in the cave: I had also arrived to some little diversions and amusements, which made the time pass more pleasantly with me a great deal than it did before; as, first, I had taught my Poll, as I noted before, to speak; and he did it so familiarly, and talked so articulately and plain, that it was very pleasant to me; and he lived with me no less than six-and-twenty years: how long he might live afterwards I knew not; though I know they have a notion in the Brazils, that they live an hundred years; perhaps some of my polls may be alive there still, calling after poor Robin Crusoe to this day: I wish no Englishman the ill luck to come there and hear them; but if he did, he would certainly believe it was the devil. My dog was a very pleasant and loving companion to me for no less than sixteen years of my time, and then died of mere old age; as for my cats, they multiplied, as I have observed, to that degree, that I was obliged to shoot several of them at first, to keep them from devouring me, and all I had; but at length, when the two old ones I brought with me were gone, and after some time continually driving them from me, and letting them have no provision with me, they all ran wild into the woods, except two or three favourites, which I kept tame, and whose young, when they had any, I always drowned, and these were part of my family: besides these, I always kept two or three household kids about me, which I taught to feed out of my hand; and I had also more parrots, which talked pretty well, and would all call Robin Crusoe, but none like my first; nor, indeed, did I take the pains with any of them that I had done with him: I had also several tame sea-fowls, whose names I know not, which I caught upon the shore, and cut their wings; and the little stakes which I had planted before my castle wall, being now grown up to a good thick grove, these fowls all lived among these low trees, and bred there, which was very agreeable to me; so that, as I said above, I

began to be very well contented with the life I led, if it might but have been secured from the dread of savages.

But it was otherwise directed; and it might not be amiss for all people, who shall meet with my story, to make this just observation from it, viz. How frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil, which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very means or door of our deliverance, by which alone we can be raised again from the affliction we are fallen into. I could give many examples of this in the course of my unaccountable life; but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable, than in the circumstances of my last years of solitary residence in this island.

It was now the month of December, as I said above, in my twenty-third year; and this being the southern solstice, for winter I cannot call it, was the particular time of my harvest, and required my being pretty much abroad in the fields; when going out pretty early in the morning, even before it was thorough day-light, I was surprised with seeing a light of some fire upon the shore, at a distance from me of about two miles towards the end of the island, where I had observed some savages had been, as before; but not on the other side; but, to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island.

I was indeed terribly surprised at the sight, and stopped short within my grove, not daring to go out, lest I might be surprised; and yet I had no more peace within, from the apprehensions I had, that if these savages, in rambling over the island, should find my corn standing, or cut, or any of my works and improvements, they would immediately conclude that there were people in the place, and would then never give over till they found me out. In this extremity I went back directly to my castle, pulled up the ladder after me, having made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepared myself within, putting myself in a posture of defence; I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that is to say, my muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last gasp; not forgetting seriously to recommend myself to the divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians; and in this posture I continued about two hours, but began to be mighty impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no spies to send out.

After sitting a while longer, and musing what I should do in this case, I was not able to bear sitting in ignorance longer; so setting up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I observed before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill; and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on my belly on the ground, and began to look for the place. I presently found that there were no less than nine naked savages sitting round a small fire they had made; not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extreme hot; but, as I supposed, to dress some of their barbarous diet of human flesh which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead I could not know.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled up upon the shore; and as it was then tide of ebb, they seemed to me to wait the return of the flood to go away again. It is not easy to imagine what confusion this sight put me into, especially seeing them come on my side the island, and so near me too; but when I observed their coming must be always with the current of the tide, I began afterwards to be more sedate in my mind, being satisfied that I might go abroad with safety all the time of tide of flood, if they were not on shore before; and having made this observation, I went abroad about my harvest work with the more composure.

As I expected, so it proved; for as soon as the tide made to the westward, I saw them all take boat, and row (or paddle, as we call it) all away: I should have observed, that for an hour and more before they went off they went to dancing, and I could easily discern their postures and gestures by my glasses: I could only perceive, by my nicer observation, that they were stark naked, and had not the least covering upon them; but whether they were men or women, that I could not distinguish.

As soon as I saw them shipped and gone, I took two guns upon my shoulders, and my pistols at my girdle, and my great sword by my side, without a scabbard; and with all the speed I was able to make, I went away to the hill, where I had discovered the first appearance of all. As soon as I got thither, which was not less than two hours, (for I could not go apace, being so loaded with arms as I was) I perceived there had been three canoes more of savages on that place; and looking further, I saw they were all at sea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful sight to me, especially, when going down to the shore, I came to the marks of horror which the dismal wretches they had been about had left behind them, the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of human bodies, eaten and devoured by the wretches with merriment and sport.

so filled with indignation at the sight, that I began now to premeditate the destruction of the next that I saw there, let them be who, or how many soever.

It seemed evident to me, that the visits which they thus made to this island were not very frequent; for it was above fifteen months before any more of them came on shore there again; that is to say, I never saw them, or any footsteps or signals of them, in all that time; for as to the rainy seasons, then they are sure not to come abroad, at least not so far: yet all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reason of constant apprehensions I was in of their coming upon me by surprise; from whence I observe, that the expectation of evil is more bitter than the suffering, especially if there is no room to shake off that expectation, or those apprehensions.

During all this time, I was in the murdering humour; and took up most of my hours, which should have been better employed, in contriving how to circumvent and fall upon them the very next time I should see them; especially if they should be divided, as they were the last time, into two parties; nor did I consider at all, that if I killed one party, suppose ten or a dozen, I was still the next day, or week, or month, to kill another, and so another, even *ad infinitum*, till I should be at length no less a murderer than they were in being men-eaters, and perhaps much more so.

I spent my days now in great perplexity and anxiety of mind, expecting that I should one day or other fall into the hands of those merciless creatures; if I did at any time venture abroad, it was not without looking round me with the greatest care and caution imaginable; and now I found, to my great comfort, how happy it was that I had provided a tame flock or herd of goats; for I durst not, upon any account, fire my gun, especially near that side of the island where they usually came, lest I should alarm the savages; and if they had fled from me now, I was sure to have them come back again, with perhaps two or three hundred canoes with them in a few days, and then I knew what to expect.

However, I wore out a year and three months more before I ever saw any more of the savages, and then I found them again, as I shall soon observe. It is true, they might have been there once or twice, but either they made no stay, or, at least, I did not hear them; but in the month of May, as near as I could calculate, and in my four-and-twentieth year, I had a very strange encounter with them, of which in its place

The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or sixteen months interval, was very great; I slept unquiet, dreamed always frightful dreams, and often started out of my sleep in the night; in the day great troubles overwhelmed my mind: in the night I dreamed often of killing the savages, and the reasons why I might justify the doing of it. But to wave all this for a while, it was in the middle of May, on the sixteenth day, I think, as well as my poor wooden calendar would reckon, for I marked all upon the post still; I say, it was on the sixteenth of May, that it blew a great storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night was after it: I know not what was the particular occasion of it; but as I was reading in the Bible, and taken up with serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surprised with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea.

This was, to be sure, a surprise of a quite different nature from any I had met with before; for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind: I started up in the greatest haste imaginable; and in a trice clapped up my ladder to the middle place of the rock, and pulled it after me, and mounting it the second time, got to the top of the hill; that very moment a flash of fire bade me listen for a second gun, which accordingly in about half a moment I heard, and by the sound knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

I immediately considered that this must be some ship in distress, and that they had some comrade, or some other ship in company, and fired these guns for signals of distress, and to obtain help. I had this presence of mind that minute as to think, that though I could not help them, it may be they might help me; so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good handsome pile, I set it on fire upon the hill; the wood was dry, and blazed freely, and though the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out, so that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it, and no doubt they did; for as soon as ever my fire blazed up, I heard another gun, and after that several others, all from the same quarter. I plied my fire all night long, till day broke; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full east of the island, whether a sail, or an hull, I could not distinguish, no not with my glasses, the distance was so great, and the weather still something hazy also: at least it was so out at sea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move; so I presently concluded that it was a ship at anchor; and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the south-east side of the island, to the rocks, where I had been formerly car-

ried away with the current; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship cast away in the night upon those concealed rocks which I found when I was out in my boat; and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the stream, and made a counter-stream, or eddy, were the occasion of my recovering then from the most desperate hopeless condition that ever I had been in all my life.

Thus, what is one man's safety is another man's destruction; for it seems these men, whoever they were, being out of their knowledge, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing hard at E. and E. N. E. Had they seen the island, as I must necessarily suppose they did not, they must, as I thought, have endeavoured to have saved themselves on shore by the help of their boat; but the firing of their guns for help, especially when they saw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts: first, I imagined, that, upon seeing my light, they might have put themselves into their boat, and have endeavoured to make the shore; but that the sea going very high, they might have been cast away: other times I imagined, that they might have lost their boat before, as might be the case many ways; as particularly, by the breaking of the sea upon their ship, which many times obliges men to stave, or take in pieces their boat; and sometimes to throw it overboard with their own hands: other times I imagined, they had some other ship or ships in company, who, upon the signals of distress they had made, had taken them up, and carried them off: other whiles I fancied they were all gone off to sea in their boat, and being hurried away by the current that I had been formerly in, were carried out into the great ocean, where there was nothing but misery and perishing; and that perhaps they might by this time think of starving, and of being in a condition to eat one another.

All these were but conjectures at best; so, in the condition I was in, I could do no more than look upon the misery of the poor men, and pity them; which had still this good effect on my side, that it gave me more and more cause to give thanks to God, who had so happily and comfortably provided for me in my desolate condition; and that of two ships companies, who were now cast away upon this part of the world, not one life should be spared but mine. I learnt here again to observe, that it is very rare that the providence of God casts us into any condition of life so low, or any misery so great, but we may see something or other to be thankful for, and may see others in worse circumstances than our own.

Such certainly was the case of these men, of whom I could not so much as see room to suppose any of them were saved; nothing could make it rational, so much as to wish or expect that they did not all perish there, except the possibility only of their being taken up by another ship in company: and this was but mere possibility indeed; for I saw not the least signal or appearance of any such thing.

I cannot explain, by any possible essay of words, what a strange longing, or hankering of desire, I felt in my soul upon this sight; breaking out sometimes thus: O that there had been but one or two, nay, but one soul saved out of the ship, to have escaped to me, that I might but have had one companion, one fellow-creature to have spoken to me, and to have conversed with!—In all the time of my solitary life, I never felt so earnest, so strong a desire after the society of my fellow-creatures, or so deep a regret at the want of it.

There are some secret moving springs in the affections, which, when they are touched by going by some object in view, or be it some object though not in view, yet rendered present to the mind by the power of imagination, that motion carries out the soul by its impetuosity to such violent eager embracing of the object, that the absence of it is insupportable.

Such were these earnest wishings, That but one man had been saved! O that it had been but one! I believe I repeated the words, O that it had been but one! a thousand times; and my desires were so moved by it, that when I spoke the words, my hands would clench together, and my fingers press the palms of my hands, that if I had had any soft thing in my hand, it would have crushed it involuntarily; and my teeth in my head would strike together, and set against one another so strong, that for some time I could not part them again.

Let the naturalists explain these things, as the reason and manner of them; all I can of them is, to describe the fact, which was ever surprising to me when I found it, though I knew not from what it should proceed: it was doubtless the effect of ardent wishes, and of strong ideas formed in my mind, realizing the comfort which the conversation of one of my fellow-christians would have been to me.

But it was not to be; either their fate, mine, or both, forbade it; for till the last year of my being on this island, I never knew whether any were saved out of that ship, or no; and had only the affliction some

after to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore, at the end of the island which was next the shipwreck: he had on no clothes but a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of open-knee'd linen drawers, and a blue linen shirt; but nothing to direct me so much as to guess what nation he was of: he had nothing in his pocket but two pieces of eight, and a tobacco-pipe; the last was to me of ten times more value than the first.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board that might be useful to me; but that did not altogether press me so much, as the possibility that there might be yet some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might, by saving that life, comfort my own to the last degree: and this thought clung so to my heart, that I could not be quiet night nor day, but I must venture out in my boat on board this wreck; and committing the rest to God's providence, I thought the impression was so strong upon my mind, that it could not be resisted, that it must come from some invisible direction, and that I should be wanting to myself if I did not go.

Under the power of this impression, I hastened back to my castle, prepared every thing for my voyage, took a quantity of bread, a great pot for fresh water, a compass to steer by, a bottle of rum, (for I had still a great deal of that left,) a basket full of raisins; and thus loading myself with every thing necessary, I went down to my boat, got the water out of her, and got her afloat, loaded all my cargo in her, and then went home again for more: my second cargo was a great bag full of rice, the umbrella to set up over my head for shade, another large pot full of fresh water, and about two dozen of my small loaves, or barley-cakes, more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk, and a cheese; all which, with great labour and sweat, I brought to my boat; and praying to God to direct my voyage, I put out, and rowing or paddling the canoe along the shore, I came at last to the utmost point of the island, on that side, viz. N. E. And now I was to launch out into the ocean, and either to venture, or not to venture; I looked on the rapid currents which ran constantly on both sides of the island, at a distance, and which were very terrible to me, from the remembrance of the hazard I had been in before, and my heart began to fail me; for I foresaw, that if I was driven into either of those currents, I should be carried a vast way out to sea, and perhaps out of my reach, or sight of the island again; and that then, as my boat was but small, if any little gale of wind should rise, I should be inevitably lost.

These thoughts so oppressed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprize; and having hauled my boat into a little creek on the shore, I stepped out, and sat me down upon a little spot of rising ground, very pensive and anxious, between fear and desire, about my voyage; when, as I was musing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, upon which my going was for so many hours impracticable; upon this it presently occurred to me, that I should go up to the highest piece of ground I could find, and observe, if I could, how the sets of the tide or currents lay, when the flood came in, that I might judge whether, if I was driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home, with the same rapidness of the currents. This thought was no sooner in my head, but I cast my eye upon a little hill which sufficiently overlooked the sea both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents, or sets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myself in my return: here I found, that as the current of the ebb set out close by the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the shore of the north side; and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the north of the island in my return, and I should do well enough.

Encouraged with this observation, I resolved the next morning to set out with the first of the tide; and reposing myself for that night in the canoe, under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out. I made first a little out to sea full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current, which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so hurry me as the southern side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat; but having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went, I say, at a great rate, directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it.

It was a dismal sight to look at: the ship, which by its building was Spanish, stuck fast, jambed in between two rocks; all the stern and quarter of her was beaten to pieces with the sea: and as her forecastle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her main-mast and fore-mast were brought by the board, that is to say, broken short off; but her boltsprit was sound, and the head and bow appeared firm. When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, which, seeing me coming, yelped and cried, and as soon as I called him jumped into the sea to come to me; and I took him into the boat, but

found him almost dead for hunger and thirst: I gave him a cake of my bread, and he ate like a ravenous wolf that had been starving a fortnight in the snow: I then gave the poor creature some fresh water, with which, if I would have let him, he would have burst himself.

After this I went on board. The first sight I met with was two men drowned in the cook-room, or forecastle of the ship, with their arms fast about one another. I concluded, as is indeed probable, that when the ship struck, it being in a storm, the sea broke so high, and so continually over her, that the men were not able to bear it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water. Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life, nor any goods that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water: there were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I knew not, which lay lower in the hold, and which, the water being ebbed out, I could see; but they were too big to meddle with: I saw several chests, which I believed belonged to some of the seamen, and I got two of them into the boat without examining what was in them.

Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the fore part broken off, I am persuaded I might have made a good voyage; for by what I found in these two chests, I had room to suppose the ship had a great deal of wealth on board; and if I may guess by the course she steered, she must have been bound from Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata, in the south part of America, beyond the Brazils, to the Havanna, in the Gulf of Mexico, and so perhaps to Spain: she had, no doubt, a great treasure in her, but of no use at that time to any body; and what became of the rest of her people I then knew not.

I found, besides these chests, a little cask full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat with much difficulty. There were several muskets in the cabin, and a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it: as for the muskets, I had no occasion for them, so I left them but took the powder-horn. I took a fire-shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely, as also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron; and with this cargo, and [illegible], I came away, the tide beginning to [illegible]me again; and the same evening, [illegible]ur within night, I reached the island, weary and fatigued to the last degree.

I [illegible]d that night in the boat, and in the morning I resolved to harbour what I had gotten in my new cave, not to carry it home to my castle. After refreshing myself, I got all my cargo on shore, and began to examine the particulars: the cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum, but not such as we had in the Brazils; and, in a word, not at all good; but when I came to open the chests, I found several things which I wanted: for example, I found in one a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine, and very good; the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver: I found two pots of very good marmalades, or sweetments, so fastened also on the top, that the salt water had not hurt them; and two more of the same, which the water had spoiled: I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs and coloured neckcloths; the former were also very welcome, being exceeding refreshing to wipe my face in a hot day. Besides this, when I came to the till in the chests, I found there three great bags of pieces of eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapt up in a paper, six doubloons of gold, and some small bars or wedges of gold; I suppose they might all weigh near a pound.

The other chest I found had some clothes in it, but of little value; but by the circumstances, it must have belonged to the gunner's mate, as there was no powder in it, but about two pounds of glazed powder in three flasks, kept, I suppose, for charging their fowling-pieces on occasion. Upon the whole, I got very little by this voyage that was of much use to me: for, as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it; it was to me as the dirt under my feet; and I would have given it all for three or four pair of English shoes and stockings, which were things I greatly wanted, but had not had on my feet now for many years; I had, indeed, got two pair of shoes now, which I took off the feet of the two drowned men whom I saw in the wreck; and I found two pair more in one of the chests, which were very welcome to me; but they were not like our English shoes, either for ease or service, being rather what we call pumps than shoes. I found in the seamen's chest about fifty pieces of eight in royals, but no gold; I suppose this belonged to a poorer man than the other, which seemed to belong to some officer.

Well, however, I lugged the money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before, which I brought from our own ship; but it was great pity, as I said, that the other part of the ship had not come to my share, for I am satisfied I might have loaded my canoe several times over with money, which I

I had ever escaped to England, would have lain here safe enough till I might have come again and fetched it.

Having now brought all my things on shore, and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed or paddled her along the shore to her old harbour, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my old habitation, where I found every thing safe and quiet; so I began to repose myself, live after my old fashion, and take care of my family affairs; and for a while I lived easy enough, only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out oftener, and did not go abroad so much; and if at any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the east part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition as I always carried with me, if I went the other way.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Reflections—An extraordinary Dream—Discover five Canoes of Savages on Shore—Observe from my Station two miserable Wretches dragged out of their Boats to be devoured—One of them makes his escape, and runs directly towards me, pursued by two others—I take Measures so as to destroy his Pursuers and save his Life—Christen him by the name of Friday, and he becomes a faithful and excellent Servant.*

I LIVED in this condition near two years more; but my unlucky head, that was always to let me know it was born to make my body miserable, was all these two years filled with projects and designs how, if it were possible, I might get away from this island; for sometimes I was for making another voyage to the wreck, though my reason told me, that there was nothing left there worth the hazard of my voyage; sometimes for a ramble one way, sometimes another; and I believe verily, if I had had the boat that I went from Sallee in, I should have ventured to sea, bound any where, I knew not whither.

I have been, in all my circumstances, a memento to those who are touched with that general plague of mankind, whence, for aught I know, one half of their miseries flow: I mean, that of not being satisfied with the station wherein God and nature hath placed them in; for, not to look back upon my primitive condition, and the excellent advice of my father, the opposition to which was, as I may call it, my original sin, my subsequent mistakes of the same kind have been the means of my coming into this miserable condition; for had that Providence, which so happily had seated me at the Brazils as a planter, blessed me with confined desires, and could I have been contented to have gone on gradually, I might have been by this time, I mean in the time of my being on this island, one of the most considerable planters in the Brazils; nay, I am persuaded, that by the improvements I had made in that little time I lived there, and the increase I should probably have made if I had stayed, I might have been worth a hundred thousand moidores; and what business had I to leave a settled fortune, well-stocked plantation, improving and increasing, to turn supercargo to Guinea, to fetch Negroes, when patience and time would have so increased our stock at home, that we could have bought them at our own doors from those whose business it was to fetch them? And though it had cost us something more, yet the difference of that price was by no means worth saving at so great a hazard.

But as this is ordinarily the fate of young heads, so reflection upon the folly of it is as ordinarily the exercise of more years, or of the dear-bought experience of time; and so it was with me now: and yet, so deep had the mistake taken root in my temper, that I could not satisfy myself in my station, but was continually poring upon the means and possibility of my escape from this place; and that I may, with the greater pleasure to the reader, bring on the remaining part of my story, it may not be improper to give some account of my first conceptions on the subject of this foolish scheme for my escape; and how, and upon what foundation, I acted.

I am now to be supposed to be retired into my castle, after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up, and secured under water as usual, and my condition restored to what it was before: I had more wealth, indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more use for it than the Indians of Peru had before the Spaniards came thither.

It was one of the nights in the rainy season in March, the four-and twentieth year of my first setting foot in this island of solitariness, I was lying in my bed, or hammock, awake, and very well in health, had no pain, no distemper, no uneasiness of body, no, nor any uneasiness of mind more than ordinary, but could by no means close my eyes, that is, so as to sleep; no, not a wink all night long, otherwise than as follows:

It is as impossible as needless to set down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time: I ran over the whole history of my life in miniature, or by abridgment, as I may call it, to

my coming to this island; and also of that part of my life since I came to this island. In my reflections upon the state of my case, since I came on shore on this island, I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs, in the first years of my habitation here, to that course of anxiety, fear, and care, which I had lived in ever since I had seen the print of a foot in the sand; not that I did not believe the savages had frequented the island even all the while, and might have been several hundreds of them at times on the shore there, but as I had never known it, and was incapable of any apprehensions about it, my satisfaction was perfect, though my danger was the same; and I was as happy in not knowing my danger, as if I had never really been exposed to it: this furnished my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one: How infinitely good that Providence is, which has settled in its government of mankind such narrow bounds to his sight and knowledge of things; and though he walks in the midst of so many thousand dangers, the sight of which, if discovered to him, would distract his mind and sink his spirits, he is kept serene and calm, by having the events of things hid from his eyes, and knowing nothing of the dangers which surround him.

After these thoughts had for some time entertained me, I came to reflect seriously upon the real danger I had been in for so many years in this very island; and how I had walked about in the greatest security, and with all possible tranquillity, even perhaps when nothing but a brow of a hill, a great tree, or the casual approach of night, had been between me and the worst kind of destruction, viz. that of falling into the hands of cannibals and savages, who would have seized on me with the same view as I did on a goat or a turtle, and have thought it no more a crime to kill and devour me, than I did of a pigeon or a curlew. I should unjustly slander myself, if I should say I was not sincerely thankful to my great Preserver, to whose singular protection I acknowledged, with great humility, that all these unknown deliverances were due, and without which I should inevitably have fallen into their merciless hands.

When these thoughts were over, my head was for some time taken up in considering the nature of these wretched creatures, I mean the savages; and how it came to pass in the world, that the wise Governor of all things should give up any of his creatures to such inhumanity, nay, to something so much below even brutality itself, as to devour its own kind: but as this ended in some (at that time fruitless) speculations, it occurred to me to inquire what part of the world these wretches lived in; how far off the coast was from where they came; what they ventured so far from home for; what kind of boats they had; and why I might not order myself, and my business so, that I might be as able to go over thither, as they were to come to me.

I never so much as troubled myself to consider what I should do with myself when I came thither; what should become of me if I fell into the hands of the savages; or how I should escape from them if they attempted me; no, nor so much as how it was possible for me to reach the coast, and not be attacked by some or other of them, without any possibility of delivering myself; and if I should not fall into their hands, what I should do for provision, or whither I should bend my course: none of these thoughts, I say, so much as came in my way; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my passing over in my boat to the main land. I looked back upon my present condition as the most miserable that could possibly be; that I was not able to throw myself into any thing but death that could be called worse; that if I reached the shore of the main, I might, perhaps, meet with relief; or I might coast along, as I did on the shore of Africa, till I came to some inhabited country, and where I might find some relief; and after all, perhaps, I might fall in with some Christian ship that might take me in; and if the worst came to the worst, I could but die, which would put an end to all these miseries at once. Pray, note, all this was the fruit of a disturbed mind, an impatient temper, made, as it were, desperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the disappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been so near the obtaining of what I so earnestly longed for, viz. somebody to speak to, and to learn some knowledge from, of the place where I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance; I say, I was agitated wholly by these thoughts. All my calm of mind in my resignation to Providence, and waiting the issue of the dispositions of Heaven, seemed to be suspended; and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to any thing but the project of a voyage to the main; which came upon me with such force, and such an impetuosity of desire, that it was not to be resisted.

When this had agitated my thoughts for two hours or more, with such violence, that it set my very blood into a ferment, and my pulse beat as high as if I had been in a fever, merely with the extraordinary fervour of my mind about it; nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhausted with the very thought of it, threw me into a sound sleep: one would have thought I should have dreamed of it; but I did not, nor of any thing relating to it; but

I dreamed, that as I was going out in the morning, as usual, from my castle, I saw upon the shore two canoes and eleven savages coming to land, and that they brought with them another savage, whom they were going to kill, in order to eat him, when on a sudden this savage that they were going to kill jumped away, and ran for his life: then I thought in my sleep, that he came running into my little thick grove, before my fortification, to hide himself; and that I seeing him alone, and not perceiving that the others sought him that way, showed myself to him, and, smiling upon him, encouraged him; that he kneeled down to me, seeming to pray me to assist him; upon which I showed my ladder, made him go up it, and carried him into my cave, and he became my servant; and that as soon as I had got this man, I said to myself, Now I may certainly venture to the main land; for this fellow will serve me as a pilot, and will tell me what to do, and whither to go for provisions, and whither not to go for fear of being devoured; what places to venture into, and what to escape. I waked with this thought, and was under such inexpressible impressions of joy at the prospect of my escape in my dream, that the disappointments which I felt upon coming to myself, and finding it was no more than a dream, were equally extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of spirit.

Upon this, however, I made this conclusion, that my only way to go about an attempt for an escape, was, if possible, to get a savage in my possession; and, if possible, it should be one of their prisoners whom they had condemned to be eaten, and should bring hither to kill: but these thoughts still were attended with this difficulty, that it was impossible to effect this, without attacking a whole caravan of them, and killing them all; and this was not only a very desperate attempt, and might miscarry; but, on the other hand, I had greatly scrupled the lawfulness of it to me, and my heart trembled at the thought of shedding so much blood, though it was for my deliverance. I need not repeat the arguments which occurred to me against this, they being the same mentioned before: but though I had other reasons to offer now, viz. that those men were enemies to my life, and would devour me, if they could; that it was self-preservation, in the highest degree, to deliver myself from this death of a life, and was acting in my own defence, as much as if they were actually assaulting me, and the like; I say, though these things argued for it, yet the thoughts of shedding human blood for my deliverance were very terrible to me, and such as I could by no means reconcile myself to a great while.

However, at last, after many secret disputes with myself, and after great perplexities about it (for all these arguments, one way and another, struggled in my head a long time,) the eager prevailing desire of deliverance at length mastered all the rest, and I resolved, if possible, to get one of these savages into my hands, cost what it would: the next thing then was to contrive how to do it; and this indeed was very difficult to resolve on: but as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, so I resolved to put myself upon the watch to see them when they came on shore, and leave the rest to the event, taking such measures as the opportunity should present, let it be what it would.

With these resolutions in my thoughts, I set myself upon the scout as often as possible, and indeed so often, till I was heartily tired of it; for it was above a year and a half that I waited, and for a great part of that time went out to the west end and to the south-west corner of the island, almost every day, to see the canoes, but none appeared. This was very discouraging, and began to trouble me much; though I can't say that it did in this case, as it had done some time before that, viz. wear off the edge of my desire to the thing; but the longer it seemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: in a word, I was not at first more careful to shun the sight of these savages, and avoid being seen by them, than I was now eager to be upon them.

Besides, I fancied myself able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do whatever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able, at any time, to do me any hurt. It was a great while that I pleased myself with this affair, but nothing still presented; all my fancies and schemes came to nothing, for no savages came near me for a great while.

About a year and a half after I had entertained these notions, and, by long musing, had, as it were, resolved them all into nothing, for want of an occasion to put them in execution, I was surprised one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together, on my side the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight: the number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four, or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take any measures to attack twenty or thirty men single-handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed and discomforted; however, I put myself into all the same postures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if any thing had presented. Having waited a good while, listen-

ing to hear if they made any noise; at length being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by my two stages, as usual, standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill, so that they could not perceive me by any means. Here I observed, by the held of my perspective glass, that they were no less than thirty in number; that they had a fire kindled, and that they had had meat dressed; how they cooked it, that I knew not, or what it was; but they were all dancing in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

When I was thus looking on them, I perceived, by my perspective, two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where, it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter: I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way; and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. At that very moment, this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me; I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frighted (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my way: and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body; and now I expected that part of my dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take shelter in my grove; but I could not depend, by any means, upon my dream for the rest of it, viz. that the other savage would not pursue him thither, and find him there. However, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there were not above three men that followed him; and still more was I encouraged when I found that he outstript them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them; so that if he could but hold it for half an hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek, which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship; and this I knew he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there: but when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up; but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness. When the three pursuers came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that he, standing on the other side, looked at the other, but went no farther; and soon after went softly back again, which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed, that the two who swam were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek than the fellow was that fled from them. It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get a servant, and perhaps a companion, or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life. I immediately got down the ladders with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladder, as I observed above; and getting up again with the same haste to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea; and having a very short cut, and all down-hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled, who, looking back, was at first perhaps as much frighted at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back; and in the mean time I slowly advanced towards the two that followed; then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece; I was loth to fire, because I would not have the rest hear, though at that distance it would not have been easily heard; and being out of sight of the smoke too, they would not have easily known what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him: but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me; so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first; which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen, and killed (as he thought) yet was so frighted with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock-still, and neither came forward, nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still, than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little farther, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknow-

ledgment for saving his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer. At length he came close to me, and then he kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head. This, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage, whom I knocked down, was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself: so I pointed to him, and showed him the savage, that he was not dead: upon this he spoke some words to me; and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, my own excepted, for above five-and-twenty years. But there was no time for such reflections now: the savage, who was knocked down, recovered himself so far as to sit up upon the ground; and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him: upon this my savage, for so I called him now, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side; so I did: he no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cuts off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better, which I thought very strange for one, who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords: however, it seems, as I learnt afterwards, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, nay, and arms, and that at one blow too. When he had done this, he comes laughing to me in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and, with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down, with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was, to know how I had killed the other Indian so far off; so pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him; so I bade him go, as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him; turned him first on one side, then on t'other; looked at the wound the bullet had made, which it seems was just in his breast, where it had made a hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed; but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. Then he took up his bow and arrows, and came back: so I turned to go away, and beckoned him to follow me, making signs to him that more might come after them.

Upon this he signed to me, that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest, if they followed; and so I made signs again to him to do so. He fell to work, and in an instant he had scraped a hole in the sand with his hands, big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him, and did so also by the other; I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour: then calling him away, I carried him not to my castle, but quite away to my cave, on the farther part of the island; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that part; viz. that he came into my grove for shelter.

Here I gave him bread and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great distress for, by his running; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go and lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice-straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes; so the poor creature lay down, and went to sleep.

He was a comely handsome fellow, perfectly well made, with straight long limbs, not too large, tall, and well-shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled: his hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly yellow nauseous tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America, are, but of a bright kind of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable, though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like the Negroe's, a very good mouth, thin lips, and his teeth fine, well set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered, rather than slept, above half an hour, he waked again, and comes out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the enclosure just by: when he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble thankful disposition, making many antic gestures to show it. At last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this, made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how much he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know

I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and first, I made him know his name should be Friday, which was the day I saved his life; and I called him so for the memory of the time: I likewise taught him to say Master, and then let him know that was to be my name: I likewise taught him to say Yes and No, and to know the meaning of them. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that night; but as soon as it was day, I beckoned him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some clothes; at which he seemed very glad, for he was stark-naked. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the spot, and showed me the marks that he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we should dig them up again, and eat them: at this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately, with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone, and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or of their canoes; so that it was plain that they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery: but having now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I took my man Friday with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle: indeed it was a dreadful sight, at least it was so to me, though Friday made nothing of it: the place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with the blood, great pieces of flesh left here and there, half-eaten, mangled, and scorched; and, in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies; and Friday, by his signs, made me understand, that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of; and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all which were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the flight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought hither.

I caused Friday to gather all the skulls, bones, flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together on an heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes. I found Friday had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature; but I discovered so much abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, and at the least appearance of it, that he durst not discover it; for I had, by some means, let him know that I would kill him if he offered it.

When we had done this, we came back to our castle, and there I fell to work for my man Friday; and first of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the poor gunner's chest I mentioned, and which I found in the wreck; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well; then I made him a jerkin of goat's-skin, as well as my skill would allow, and I was now grown a tolerable good tailor; and I gave him a cap, which I had made of a hare-skin, very convenient, and fashionable enough: and thus he was dressed for the present, tolerable well, and mighty well was he pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master. It is true, he went awkwardly in these things at first; wearing the drawers was very awkward to him, and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders and the inside of his arms; but a little easing them, where he complained they hurt him, and using himself to them, at length he took to them very well.

The next day after I came home to my hutch with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first: and as there was a door or entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door-case, and a door to it of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance; and causing the door to open on the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladder too; so that Friday could no way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs awaken me; for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long

poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill, which was again laid cross with small sticks instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice straw, which was strong like reeds; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise; and as to weapons, I took them all into my side every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant, than Friday was to me; without passions, sullenness, or designs; perfectly obliging and engaging; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father; and I dare say, he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever: the many testimonies he gave me of this put it out of doubt, and soon convinced me, that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that, however it had pleased God in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to take from so great a part of the world of his creatures the best uses to which their faculties, and the powers of their souls, are adapted; yet that he has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and duration, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good, and receiving good, that he has given to us; and that, when he pleases to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay more ready, to apply them to the right use for which they were bestowed, than we are. And this made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean an use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlightened by the great lamp of instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his word, added to our understanding; and why it has pleased God to hide the like saving knowledge from so many millions of souls, who, if I might judge by this poor savage, would make a much better use of it than we did.

From hence I sometimes was led too far to invade the sovereignty of Providence; and, as it were, arraign the justice of so arbitrary a disposition of things, that should hide that light from some, and reveal it to others, and not expect a like duty from both: but I shut it up, and checked my thoughts with this conclusion: first, that we do not know by what light and law these should be condemned; but that as God was necessarily, and by the nature of his being, infinitely holy and just, so it could not be, but that if these creatures were all sentenced to absence from himself, it was on account of sinning against that light, which, as the scripture says, was a law to themselves, and by such rules as their consciences would acknowledge to be just, though the foundation was not discovered to us: and, secondly, that still, as we are all clay in the hand of the potter, no vessel could say to him, Why hast thou formed me thus?

But to return to my new companion: I was greatly delighted with him, and made it my business to teach him every thing that was proper to make him useful, handy, and helpful; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spake: and he was the aptest scholar that ever was; and particularly was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleased when he could but understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to him. And now my life began to be so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place where I lived.

## CHAP. XV.

*I am at great pains to instruct Friday respecting my abhorrence of the Cannibal practices of the Savages—He is amazed at the effects of the Gun, and considers it an intelligent Being—Begins to talk English tolerably—A Dialogue—I instruct him in the knowledge of Religion, and find him very apt—He describes to me some white Men who had come to his Country, and still lived there.*

After I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought, that in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh; so I took him out with me one morning to the woods: I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dress it; but as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. I catched hold of Friday: Hold, said I, stand still; and made signs to him not to stir. Immediately I presented my piece, shot, and killed one of the kids. The poor creature, who had at a distance indeed seen me kill the savage his enemy, but did not know, or could imagine how it was done, was sensibly surprised, trembled, and shook, and looked so amazed, that I thought he

would have sunk down: he did not see the kid I had shot at, or perceive I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat to feel if he was not wounded; and, as I found, presently thought I was resolved to kill him: for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand; but I could easily see that his meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm; and taking him up by the hand, laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wondering and looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and by and by I saw a great fowl, like a hawk, sit upon a tree within shot; so to let Friday understand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk; I say, pointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would make him fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bid him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall: He stood like one frighted again, notwithstanding all that I had said to him; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put any thing into the gun; but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or any thing near or far off; for the astonishment this created in him was such, as could not wear off for a long time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun. As for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after; but would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answered him, when he was by himself; which, as I afterwards learnt of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well: after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but stayed some time: for the parrot, not being quite dead, had fluttered a good way off from the place where she fell; however, he found her, took her up, and brought her to me; and, as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might present; but nothing more offered at that time: so I brought home the kid; and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could, and having a pot for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth: after I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well; but that which was strangest to him, was, to see me eat salt with it. He made a sign to me that the salt was not good to eat; and putting a little into his own mouth, he seemed to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter as if washing his mouth with fresh water after it. On the other hand, I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt; but it would not do, he would never care for salt with meat, or in his broth; at least, not a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was resolved to feast him the next day with roasting a piece of the kid: this I did by hanging it before the fire in a string, as I had seen many people do in England, setting two poles up, one on each side of the fire, and one cross on the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually: this Friday admired very much; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he liked it, that I could not but understand him; and at last he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner used to do, as I observed before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of; for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too; and in a little time Friday was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that, having two mouths to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do; so I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which Friday not only worked very willingly and very hard, but did it very chearfully; for I told him what it was for, that it was corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too: he appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know, that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account, than I had for myself, and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place. Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost every thing I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had to send him to, and did me great deal to me; so that, in short, I

ow to have some use for my tongue again, tich indeed I had very little occasion for be- re; that is to say, about speech. Besides e pleasure of talking to him, I had a singu- satisfaction in the fellow himself; his sim- e unfeigned honesty appeared to me more d more every day, and I began really to re the creature; and on his side, I believe, loved me more than it was possible for him er to love any thing before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any nkering inclination to his own country gain; and having learnt him English so well, at he could answer me almost any ques- on, I asked him, whether the nation that belonged to never conquered in battle? which he smiled, and said, Yes, yes, we ays fight the better; that is, he meant, ays get the better in fight; and so we be- n the following discourse: You always ght the better! said I: how came you to be ken prisoner then, Friday?

*Friday.* My nation beat much for all that.

*Master.* How beat? if your nation beat m, how came you to be taken?

*Friday.* They more than my nation in the ce where me was; they take one, two, ee, and me: my nation over-beat them in e yonder place, where me no was; there y nation take one, two great thousands.

*Master.* But why did not your side recover m from the hands of your enemies then?

*Friday.* They run one, two, three, and me, d make go in the canoe; my nation have canoe that time.

*Master.* Well, Friday, and what does your tion do with the men they take? Do they ry them away, and eat them as these did?

*Friday.* Yes, my nation eat mans too, eat l up.

*Master.* Where do they carry them?

*Friday.* Go to other place where they think.

*Master.* Do they come hither?

*Friday.* Yes, yes, they come hither; come her else place.

*Master.* Have you been here with them?

*Friday.* Yes, I been here [points to the N. side of the island, which, it seems, was eir side.]

By this I understood, that my man Friday d formerly been among the savages, who ed to come on shore on the farther part of e island, on the said man-eating occasions at he was now brought for; and some time er, when I took the courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly men- ned, he presently knew the place, and told e, he was there once, when they ate up twen- men, two women, and one child: he could t tell twenty in English, but he numbered em by laying so many stones in a row, and rting to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage, because it introduces what follows; that after I had had this discourse with him, I asked him, how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost: He told me there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and a wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I understood to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out, or coming in: but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draught and reflax of the mighty river Oroonoque, in the mouth of which river, as I thought afterwards, our island lay; and that this land which I perceived to the W. and N. W. was the great island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near: he told me all he knew with the greatest openness imaginable. I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than Caribs; from whence I easily understood, that these were the Caribees, which our maps place on that part of America which reaches from the mouth of the river Oroonoque to Guinea, and onwards to St Martha. He told me, that up a great way beyond the moon; that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be west from their country, there dwelt white bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before; and that they had killed much mans, that was his word: by which I understood he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America had been spread over whole countries, and were remembered by all the nations from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might come from this island, and get among those white men; he told me, Yes, yes, I might go into two canoe. I could not understand what he meant by two canoe; till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant, that it must be in a large great boat as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday's discourse began to relish with me very well; and from this time I entertained some hopes, that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me, and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind; particularly I asked him one time, Who made him? The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had asked who was his father: but I took it by another handle, and asked him, Who made the sea, the ground he

walked on, and the hills and woods? He told me it was one old Benamuckee, that lived beyond all: he could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old; much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, if this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him? He looked very grave, and, with a perfect look of innocence, said, All things said O! to him. I asked him if the people who die in his country went away any where? He said, Yes, they all went to Benamuckee. Then I asked him, whether those they eat up went thither too? He said, Yes.

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him, that the great Maker of all things lived there, pointing up towards heaven; that he governs the world by the same power and providence by which he made it; that he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, take every thing from us: and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even into heaven: he told me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear, till they went up to the great mountains, where he dwelt, to speak to him. I asked him if ever he went thither to speak to him? He said, No, they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men, whom he called their Oowookakee; that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious, or clergy; and that they went to say O! (so he called saying prayers,) and then came back, and told them what Benamuckee said. By this I observed, that there is priestcraft even among the most blinded ignorant Pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret of religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to be found in the Roman, but perhaps among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages.

I endeavoured to clear up this fraud to my man Friday; and told him, that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains to say O! to their god Benamuckee, was a cheat; and their bringing word from thence what he said, was much more so; that if they met with any answer, or spoke with any one there, it must be with an evil spirit: and then I entered into a long discourse with him about the devil, the original of him, his rebellion against God, his enmity to man, the reason of it, his setting himself up in the dark pa of the world to be worshipped instead of Go and as God, and the many stratagems he ma use of to delude mankind to their ruin; how had a secret access to our passions and to affections, to adapt his snares so to our in nations, as to cause us even to be our o tempters, and to run upon our own destruc by our own choice.

I found it was not so easy to imprint ri notions in his mind about the devil, as it w about the being of a God: nature assistin my arguments to evidence to him even t necessity of a great First Cause, and over ling governing Power, a secret directing P vidence, and of the equity and justice of ing homage to Him that made us, and like: but there appeared nothing of all t in the notion of an evil spirit, of his origi his being, his nature, and, above all, of hi clination to do evil, and to draw us in t so too: and the poor creature puzzled once in such a manner, by a question ne natural and innocent, that I scarce knew to say to him. I had been talking a g deal to him of the power of God, his o potence, his dreadful version to sin, his ing a consuming fire to the workers of in ty; how, as he had made us all, he coul stroy us, and all the world in a moment; he listened with great seriousness to a the while.

After this, I had been telling him how devil was God's enemy in the hearts of and used all his malice and skill to defe good designs of Providence, and to ruin kingdom of Christ in the world, and the Well, says Friday, but you say God strong, so great, is he not much strong might as the devil?—Yes, yes, said I, F God is stronger than the devil, God is the devil, and therefore we pray to G tread him under our feet, and enable resist his temptations, and quench his darts.—But, says he again, if God much much might, as the devil, why God no the devil, so make him no more wicked

I was strangely surprised at his que and, after all, though I was now an old yet I was but a young doctor, and ill e qualified for a casuist, or a solver of di ties: and, at first, I could not tell w say; so I pretended not to hear him, an ed him what he said? but he was too e for an answer to forget his question; s he repeated it in the very same broken as above. By this time I had recovere self a little, and I said, God will at last him severely; he is reserved for the ment, and is to be cast into the bott pit, to dwell with everlasting fire. Th not satisfy Friday; but he returns upo

repeating my words, Reserve at last! me no understand: but why not kill the devil now, not kill great ago?—You may as well ask me, said I, why God does not kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that offend him: we are preserved to repent and be pardoned. He muses awhile at this; Well, well, says he, mighty affectionately, that well; so you, I, devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.—Here I was run down again by him to the last degree, and it was a testimony to me, how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature; yet nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of a redemption purchased for us; of a Mediator; of a new covenant; and of an Intercessor at the footstool of God's throne: I say, nothing but a revelation from Heaven can form these in the soul; and that therefore the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I mean the word of God, and the Spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of his people, are the absolutely necessary instructors of the souls of men in the saving knowledge of God, and the means of salvation.

I therefore diverted the present discourse between me and my man, rising up hastily, as upon some sudden occasion of going out; then sending him for something a great way off, I seriously prayed to God, that he would enable me to instruct savingly this poor savage, assisting, by his Spirit, the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in Christ, reconciling him to himself, and would guide me to speak so to him from the word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved. When he came again to me, I entered into a long discourse with him upon the subject of the redemption of man by the Saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the Gospel preached from Heaven, viz. of the repentance towards God, and faith in our blessed Lord Jesus: I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed Redeemer took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, and how, for that reason, the fallen angels had no share in the redemption; that he came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like.

I had, God knows, more sincerity than knowledge, in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction; and must acknowledge, what I believe all that act upon the same principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself in many things that either I did not know, or had not fully considered before; but which occurred naturally to my mind, upon my searching into them for the information of this poor savage; and I had more affection in my inquiry after things upon this occasion, than ever I felt before; so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me: my grief sat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure; and when I reflected, that in this solitary life, which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myself to look up to Heaven, and to seek to the Hand that brought me thither, but was now to be made an instrument, under Providence, to save the life, and, for aught I knew, the soul, of a poor savage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know Christ Jesus, to know whom is life eternal: I say, when I reflected upon all these things, a secret joy ran through every part of my soul and I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I had often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions that could possibly have befallen me.

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time; and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and me was such, as made the three years which we lived there together perfectly and completely happy, if any such thing as complete happiness can be found in a sublunary state. The savage was now a good Christian, a much better than I; though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted restored penitents: we had here the word of God to read, and no farther off from his Spirit to instruct than if we had been in England.

I always applied myself to reading the Scripture, and to let him know as well as I could the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious inquiries and questions, made me, as I said before, a much better scholar in the Scripture knowledge, than I should ever have been by my own private reading. Another thing I cannot refrain from observing here also from experience, in the retired part of my life; viz. how infinite and inexpressible a blessing it is, that the knowledge of God, and of the doctrine of salvation by Christ Jesus, is so plainly laid down in the word of God, so easy to be received and understood, that as the bare reading the Scripture made me capable of understanding enough of my duty to carry me directly on to the great work of sincere repentance for my sins, and laying hold of a Saviour for life and salvation, to a stated reformation of practice, and obedience to all God's commands, and this without any teacher or instructor (I mean hu-

man); so the plain instruction sufficiently served to the enlightening this savage creature, and bringing him to be such a Christian, as I have known few equal to him in my life.

As to the disputes, wranglings, strife, and contention, which has happened in the world about religion, whether niceties in doctrines, or schemes of church-government, they were all perfectly useless to us, as, for aught I can yet see, they have been to all the rest in the world: we had the sure guide to heaven, viz. the word of God; and we had, blessed be God! comfortable views of the Spirit of God, teaching and instructing us by his word, leading us into all truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the instruction of his word; and I cannot see the least use that the greatest knowledge of the disputed points in religion, which have made such confusions in the world, would have been to us, if we could have obtained it. But I must go on with the historical part of things, and take every part in its order.

After Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak fluently, though in broken English, to me, I acquainted him with my own story, or at least so much of it as related to my coming into the place, how I had lived there, and how long: I let him into the mystery (for such it was to him) of gunpowder and bullets, and taught him how to shoot: I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with; and I made him a belt with a frog hanging to it, such as in England we wear hangers in; and in the frog, instead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon in some cases, but much more useful upon many occasions.

I described to him the countries of Europe, and particularly England, which I came from; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all the parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and showed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay; but she was all beaten in pieces long before, and quite gone.

I showed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then, but was now fallen almost all to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great while, and said nothing; I asked him what it was he studied upon? At last, says he, Me see such boat like come to place at my nation.

I did not understand him a good while; but at last, when I had examined farther into it, I understood by him that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose, and drive ashore; but was so dull, that I never once thought of men making escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come; so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough; but brought me better to understand him, when he added, with some warmth, We save the white mans from drown. Then I presently asked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat?—Yes, he said, the boat full of white mans.—I asked him, how many? he told upon his fingers seventeen.—I asked him, what became of them? he told me, They live, they dwell at my nation.

This put new thoughts into my head again; for I presently imagined, that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of my island, as I now call it; and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore among the savages.

Upon this I inquired of him more critically, what was become of them? He assured me they lived still there; that they had been there about four years; that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live. I asked him how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them? He said, No, they make brother with them; that is, as I understood him, a truce: and then he added, They no mans but when make the war fight; that is to say, they never eat any men, but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this some considerable time, that being on the top of the hill, at the east side of the island, from whence, as I have said, I had in a clear day discovered the main or continent of America; Friday, the weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the main land, and in a kind of surprise, falls a-jumping and dancing, and calls out to me, for I was at some distance from him: I asked him what was the matter?—O joy! says he, O glad! there see my country, there my nation.

I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure appeared in his face, and his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again; and this observation of mine put a great many thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my

new man Friday as I was before; and I made no doubt but that if Friday could get back to his own nation, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligations to me; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me, and come back, perhaps, with an hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies, when they were taken in war.

But I wronged the poor honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards; however, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the wrong too, the honest grateful creature having no thought about it, but what consisted of the best principles, both as a religious Christian and as a grateful friend, as appeared afterwards to my full satisfaction.

Whilst my jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every day pumping him, to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts which I suspected were in him; but I found every thing he said was so honest and so innocent, that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion; and in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again; nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy; and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the continent, I called to him, and said, Friday, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation?—Yes, he said, I be much O glad to be at my own nation.—What would you do there? said I: would you turn wild again, eat men's flesh again, and be a savage as you were before?—He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, No, no, Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn bread, cattle-flesh, milk, no eat man again.—Why then, said I to him, they will kill you.—He looked grave at that, and then said, No, they no kill me, they willing love learn: he meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He added, they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat. Then I asked him if he would go back to them? He smiled at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him. He told me he would go, if I would go with him.—I go! said I, why, they will eat me if I come there.—No, no, says he, me make them no eat you, me make they much love you: he meant he would tell them how I had killed his enemies and saved his life, and so he would make them love me. Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to seventeen white men, or bearded men, as he called them, who came on shore in distress.

From this time, I confess, I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were Spaniards or Portugueze; not doubting but, if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent, and a good company together, better than I could from an island forty miles off the shore, and alone without help. So, after some days, I took Friday to work again, by way of discourse; and told him I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and accordingly I carried him to my frigate, which lay on the other side of the island; and having cleared it of water (for I always kept it sunk in the water), I brought it out, showed it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a most dexterous fellow at managing it, would make it go almost as swift and fast again as I could; so when he was in I said to him, Well now, Friday, shall we go to your nation? He looked very dull at my saying so, which it seems was because he thought the boat too small to go so far. I told him then I had a bigger; so the next day I went to the place where the first boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into the water: he said that was too big enough; but then, as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three-and-twenty years there, the sun had split and dried it, that it was in a manner rotten. Friday told me such a boat would do very well, and would carry much enough victle, drink, bread; that was his way of talking.

## CHAP. XVI.

*I determine to go over to the Continent—Friday and I construct a Boat equal to carry twenty Men—His dexterity in managing her—Friday brings intelligence of three Canoes of Savages on Shore—Resolve to go down upon them—Friday and I fire upon the Wretches, and save the Life of a poor Spaniard—List of the killed and wounded—Discover a poor Indian bound in one of the Canoes, who turns out to be Friday's Father.*

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, but looked very grave and sad. I asked him what was the matter with him? He asked me again thus, Why you angry mad with Friday?

what me done? I asked him, what he meant? I told him I was not angry with him at all.—No angry! no angry! says he, repeating the words several times; why send Friday home away to my nation?—Why, said I, Friday, did you not say you wished you were there?—Yes, yes, says he, wish be both there; no wish Friday there, no master there. In a word, he would not think of going there without me.—I go there, Friday! said I; what should I do there?—He turned very quick upon me at this; You do great deal much good, says he; you teach wild mans be good, sober, tanie mans; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life.—Alas, Friday, said I, thou knowest not what thou sayest; I am but an ignorant man myself.—Yes, yes, says he, you teechee me good, you teechee them good.—No, no, Friday, said I, you shall go without me; leave me here to live by myself, as I did before. He looked confused again at that word, and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, and gives it me. What must I do with this? said I to him.—You take kill Friday, says he.—What must I kill you for? said I again.—He returns very quick, What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away.—This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes. In a word, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his discourse a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing which, as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought, or intention, or desire of undertaking it. But still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the former discourse; viz. that there were seventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large periagua or canoe, to undertake the voyage: there were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of periaguas and canoes only, but even of good large vessels: but the main thing I looked at, was to get one so near the water, that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first.

At last Friday pitched upon a tree; for I found he knew much better than I what kind of wood was fittest for it; nor can I tell to this day what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fustic, or between that and the Nicaragua wood, for it was much of the same colour and smell. Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out, to make it into a boat: but I showed him how rather to cut it out with tools, which after I showed him how to use, he did very handily; and in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome, especially when, with our axes, which I showed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat; after this, however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were inch by inch, upon great rollers, into the water; but when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with great ease.

When she was in the water, and though she was so big, it amazed me to see with what dexterity, and how swift, my man Friday could manage her, turn her, and paddle her along; so I asked him if he would, and if we might venture over in her?—Yes, he said, he venture over in her very well, though great blow wind. However, I had a farther design that he knew nothing of, and that was, to make a mast and sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to a mast, that was easy enough to get; so I pitched upon a straight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and which there was a great plenty of in the island; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it: but as to the sail, that was my particular care; I knew I had old sails, or rather pieces of old sails enough; but as I had had them now twenty-six years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them, I did not doubt but that they were all rotten; and indeed most of them were so; however, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with these I went to work, and with a great deal of pains, and awkward tedious stitching (you may be sure) for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships' long-boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage; because it was such a one as I used in the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work, viz. rigging and fitting my mast and sails; for I finished them very complete, making a small stay, and a sail or foresail to it, to assist if we should turn to windward; and

which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her, to steer with; and though I was but a bungling shipwright, yet as I knew the usefulness, and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass, though, considering the many dull contrivances I had for it that failed, I think it cost me almost as much labour as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man Friday to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle the canoe, he knew nothing what belonged to a sail and a rudder, and was the more amazed when he saw me work the boat to and again in the sea by the rudder, and how the sail gibed, and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed; I say, when he saw this, he stood like one astonished and amazed: however, with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him, and he became an expert sailor, except that as to the compass I could make him understand very little of that: on the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and seldom or never any fogs in those parts, there was the less occasion for a compass, seeing the stars were always to be seen by night, and the shore by day, except in the rainy seasons; and then nobody cared to stir abroad, either by land or sea.

I was now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me, ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of my time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here with the same thankfulness to God for his mercies as at first; and if I had such cause of acknowledgment at first, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of Providence over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily delivered; for I had an invincible impression upon my thoughts, that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place. However, I went on with my husbandry, digging, planting, and fencing, as usual; I gathered and cured my grapes, and did every necessary thing, as before.

The rainy season was in the mean time upon me, when I kept more within doors than at other times: so I had stowed our new vessel as secure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where, as I said in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ship; and hauling her up to the shore, at high-water mark, I made my man Friday dig a little dock, just big enough for her to float in; and then, when the tide was out, we made a strong dam across the end of it, to keep the water out; and so she lay dry, as to the tide, from the sea. and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees so thick, that she was as well thatched as a house; and thus we waited for the months of November and December, in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, as the thought of my design returned with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage; and the first thing I did was to lay up a certain quantity of provision, being the store for the voyage; and intended in a week or a fortnight's time to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bid him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise; a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs, as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cried out to me, O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!—What's the matter, Friday? said I.—O yonder there, says he, one, two, three, canoe! one, two, three!—By this way of speaking, I concluded there were six; but on inquiry I found there were but three. Well, Friday, said I, do not be frighted; so I heartened him up as well as I could. However, I saw the poor fellow most terribly scared; for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces, and eat him; the poor fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him; I comforted him as well as I could, and told him, I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him. But, said I, Friday, we must resolve to fight them: can you fight, Friday?—Me shoot, says he, but there come many great number.—No matter for that, said I again; our guns will fright them that we do not kill. So I asked him, whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bade him? He said, Me die, when you bid die, master. So I went and fetched a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had been so good a husband of my rum, that I had a great deal left. When he had drank it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces which we always carried, and load them with large swan-shot as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs and five small bullets each; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each: I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myself, I took

my perspective-glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I found quickly, by my glass, that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies; a barbarous feast indeed, but nothing more than, as I had observed, was usual with them.

I observed also, that they were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came close almost down to the sea: this, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these wretches came about, so filled me with indignation, that I came down again to Friday, and told him, I was resolved to go down to them, and kill them all; and asked him if he would stand by me. He was now gotten over his fright, and his spirits being a little raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful; and told me, as before, he would die when I bid die.

In this fit of fury, I took first and divided the arms, which I had charged, as before, between us: I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder; and I took one pistol, and the other three, myself; and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullet; and as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, shoot, or do any thing till I bid him; and in the mean time, not to speak a word. In this posture I fetched a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood; so that I might come within shot of them before I could be discovered, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

While I was making this march, my former thoughts returning, I began to abate my resolution: I do not mean, that I entertained any fear of their number; for as they were naked, unarmed wretches, it is certain I was superior to them; nay, though I had been alone: but it occurred to my thoughts, what call, what occasion, much less what necessity, I was in to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people who had neither done or intended me any wrong, who, as to me, were innocent, and whose barbarous customs were their own disaster, being in them a token indeed of God's having left them, with the other nations of that part of the world, to such stupidity and to such inhuman courses; but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions, much less an executioner of his justice; that whenever he thought fit, he would take the cause into his own hands, and by national vengeance punish them for national crimes; but that in the mean time, it was none of my business: that it was true, Friday might justly do it, because he was a declared enemy, and in a state of war with those very particular people, and it was lawful for him to attack them; but I could not say the same with respect to me. These things were so warmly pressed upon my thoughts all the way as I went, that I resolved I would only go place myself near them, that I might observe their barbarous feast, and that I would act then as God should direct; but that unless something offered that was more a call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this resolution I entered the wood, and with all possible wariness and silence (Friday following close at my heels) I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them; only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called softly to Friday, showing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood; I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing: he did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about the fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners; and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, whom he said they would kill next, and which fired the very soul within me. He told me, it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men whom he had told me of, who came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white-bearded man, and, going to the tree, I saw plainly by my glass, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet tied with flags, or things like rushes; and that he was an European, and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I saw I might come at unseen discovered, and that then I should be within half-shot of them; so I withheld my passion, though I was indeed enraged to the highest degree, and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose; for fourteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and bring him, perhaps limb by limb to their fire; and they were stooped down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday

day: Now Friday, said I, do as I bid thee. Friday said he would. Then Friday, said I, do exactly as you see me do; fail in nothing. So I set down one of the muskets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his; and with the other musket I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the like. Then asking him if he was ready, he said, Yes.—Then fire at them, said I; and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot, he killed two of them, and wounded three more; and on my side, I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation; and all of them who were not hurt, jumped up upon their feet immediately, but did not know which way to run, or which way to look; for they knew not from whence their destruction came. Friday kept his eyes close upon me, that, as I had bid him, he might observe what I did: so as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling piece, and Friday did the like; he sees me cock and present; he did the same again. Are you ready, Friday? said I.—Yes, says he.—Let fly then, said I, in the name of God; and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday; and as our pieces were now loaden with what I called swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop; but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody, and miserably wounded most of them; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

Now, Friday, said I, laying down the discharged pieces and taking up the musket, which was yet loaden, follow me, said I; which he did with a deal of courage; upon which I rushed out of the wood, and showed myself, and Friday close at my foot: as soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too; and running as fast as I could, which by the way was not very fast, being loaded with arms as I was, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea; the two butchers who were just going to work with him, had left him at the surprise of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest made the same way: I turned to Friday, and bade him step forwards, and fire at them; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards to be near them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all; for I saw them all fall on an heap into the boat; though I saw two of them up again quickly: however, he killed two of them, and wounded the third, so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim; and loosing his hands and feet I lifted him up, and asked him in the Portugueze tongue, what he was? he answered in Latin, *Christianus;* but was so weak and faint, that he could scarce stand, or speak: I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he ate; then I asked him what countryman he was? and he said *Espagnole;* and, being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. Seignior, said I, with as much Spanish as I could make up, we will talk afterwards, but we must fight now: if you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you: he took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant; for the truth is, as the whole was a surprise to them, so the poor creatures were so much frighted with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down for mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own escape, than their flesh had to resist our shot; and that was the case of those five that Friday shot in the boat; for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, so the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there, that had been discharged, which he did with great swiftness; and then giving him my musket, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading those pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it: the Spaniard, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head; but the savage, being a stout lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down (being faint,) and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitting his sword, drew the pistol from his girdle

dle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help, could come near him.

Friday, being now left at his liberty, pursued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he dispatched those three, who, as I said before, were wounded at first, and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with; and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where Friday pursued them, and killed one of them; but the other was too nimble for him; and though he was wounded, yet he plunged into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those who were left in the canoe; which three in the canoe, with one wounded, who we knew not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty. The account of the rest is as follows:

3 Killed at our shot from the tree.
2 Killed at the next shot.
2 Killed by Friday in the boat.
2 Killed by ditto, of those at first wounded.
1 Killed by ditto in the wood.
3 Killed by the Spaniard.
4 Killed, being found dropt here and there of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chace of them.
4 Escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded if not dead.

21 in all.

Those that were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gun-shot; and though Friday made two or three shot at them, I did not find that he hit any of them. Friday would fain have had me take one of their canoes, and pursue them; and indeed I was very anxious about their escape; least, carrying the news home to their people, they should come back, perhaps, with two or three hundred of their canoes, and devour us by mere multitudes; so I consented to pursue them by sea; and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in and bade Friday follow me; but when I was in the canoe, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was; for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat, he was tied so hard, neck and heels, and had been tied so long, that he had really little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags, or rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up; but he could not stand or speak, but groaned most piteously, believing, it seems still, that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When Friday came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram, which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat; but when Friday came to hear him speak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears, to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was his father.

It was not easy for me to express how I was moved me, to see what ecstacy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage, at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death; nor indeed can I describe half the extravagancies of his affection after this; for he went into the boat and out of the boat a great many times: when he was in to him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom, half an hour together to nourish it: then he took his arms and ancles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands; and I perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the canoe with the other savages, who were now gotten almost out of sight; and it was happy for us that we did not; for it blew a hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, it continued blowing so hard all night, and from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coast.

But to return to Friday: he was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time; but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extravagancy. Then I asked him if he had given his father any bread? He shook his head, and said, None: ugly dog eat all up self. So I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried on purpose; I also gave him a dram for himself, but he would not taste it, but carried it to his father: I had in my pocket but two or three bunches of my raisins, so I gave

him a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, but I saw him come out of the boat, and run away as if he had been bewitched. He ran at such a rate (for he was the swiftest fellow of his feet that ever I saw)—I say, he ran at such a rate, that he was out of sight, as it were, in an instant; and though I called and hallooed too after him, it was all one; away he went, and in a quarter of an hour I saw him come back again, though not so fast as he went; and as he came nearer, I found his pace was slacker, because he had something in his hand.

When he came up to me, I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug, or pot, to bring his father some fresh water; and that he had got two more cakes, or loaves of bread. The bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father: however, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sup of it: this water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him; for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drank, I called him, to know if there was any water left? he said Yes; and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I sent one of the cakes that Friday brought to the Spaniard too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with. When I saw that upon Friday's coming to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat, I went to him, and gave him a handful of raisins: he looked up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance; but was so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand upon his feet; he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ancles were so swelled and so painful to him; so I bade him sit still, and caused Friday to rub his ancles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I observed the poor affectionate creature every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turned his head about, to see if his father was in the same place and posture as he left him sitting; and at last he found he was not to be seen; at which he started up, and, without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went; but when he came, he only found he had laid himself down to ease his limbs: so Friday came back to me presently, and I then spoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him: but Friday, a lusty young fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side or gunnel of the canoe, with his feet in the inside of it, and then lifted them quite in, and set him close to his father, and presently stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too; so he brought them safe into our creek; and leaving them in the boat, runs away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him whither he went? He told me, Go fetch more boat: so away he went, like the wind; for sure never man or horse ran like him, and he had the other canoe in the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land; so he wafted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did; but they were neither of them able to walk; so that poor Friday knew not what to do.

To remedy this, I went to work in my thought, and calling to Friday to bid them sit down on the bank while he came to me, I soon made a kind of hand-barrow to lay them on, and Friday and I carried them up both together upon it between us; but when we got them to the outside of our wall or fortification, we were at a worse loss than before; for it was impossible to get them over, and I was resolved not to break it down: so I set to work again; and Friday and I, in about two hours time, made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and above that with boughs of trees, being in the space without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted: and here we made two beds of such things as I had; viz. of good rice-straw, with blankets laid upon it to lie on, and another to cover them on each bed.

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection which I frequently made, how like a king I looked: first of all, the whole country was my own mere property; so that I had an undoubted right of dominion: 2dly, My people were perfectly subjected: I was absolute lord and lawgiver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion for it, for me: it was remarkable too, I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions. My man Friday was a Protestant, his father a Pagan and a cannibal, and the Spaniard was a Pa-

pist: however, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions: but this by the way.

As soon as I had secured my two weak rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them; and the first thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearling goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed: then I cut off the hind quarter, and, chopping it into small pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish, I assure you, of flesh and broth, having put some barley and rice also into the broth; and as I cooked it without doors, (for I made no fire within my inner wall) so I carried it all into the new tent; and having set a table there for them, I sat down and ate my dinner also with them; and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them, Friday being my interpreter, especially to his father, and indeed to the Spaniard too; for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our muskets and other fire-arms, which, for want of time, we had left upon the place of battle; and the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive; and I also ordered him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty many, and which I could not think of doing myself; nay, I could not bear to see them, if I went that way: all which he punctually performed, and defaced the very appearance of the savages being there; so that when I went again, I could scarce know where it was, otherwise than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects; and first I set Friday to inquire of his father, what he thought of the escape of the savages in that canoe? and whither he might expect a return of them with a power too great for us to resist? His first opinion was, that the savages in the boat never could live out the storm which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drowned or driven south to those other shores, where they were as sure to be devoured, as they were to be drowned if they were cast away; but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore, he said he knew not; but it was his opinion, that they were so dreadfully frighted with the manner of being attacked, the noise, and the fire, that he believed they would tell their people they were all killed by thunder and lightning, and not by the hand of man; and that the two which appeared (viz Friday and I) were two heavenly spirits or furies come down to destroy them, and not men with weapons. That, he said, he knew, because he heard them cry out so in their language to one another; for it was impossible for them to conceive that a man should dart fire, and speak thunder, and kill at a distance, without lifting up the hand, as was done now. And this the savage was in the right; for as I understood since by other hands, the savages of that part never attempted to go over to the island afterwards. They were so terrified with the accounts given by these four men, (for it seems they did escape the sea) that they believed whoever went to that enchanted island, would be destroyed with fire from the gods.

This, however, I knew not, and therefore was under continual apprehensions for a good while, and kept always upon my guard, and all my army; for as there were now four of us, I would have ventured upon a hundred of them fairly in the open field at any time.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing, the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration, having likewise assured by Friday's father, that we might depend upon good usage from their nation on his account, if I would go.

## CHAP. XVII.

*I learn from the Spaniard that there were sixteen more of his Countrymen among the Savages—The Spaniard and Friday's Father, well armed, sail on a Mission to the Continent—I discover an English Ship lying at Anchor off the Island—Her Boat comes on Shore with three Prisoners—The Crew struggle into the Woods, their Boat being aground—Discover myself to the Prisoners, who prove to be the Captain and Mate of the Vessel, and a Passenger—Recure the Mutineers.*

But my thoughts were a little suspended when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood, that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portugueze, who having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace indeed with the savages, but were very much put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their passage; and found they were a Spanish ship bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havanna, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what European goods they could

meet with there; that they had five Portuguese seamen on board, whom they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned when first the ship was lost; and that these escaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived almost starved on the cannibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment.

He told me, they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless; for that they had neither powder nor ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder, but a little which they used at their first landing to provide themselves some food.

I asked him what he thought would become of them there; and if they had formed no design of making any escape? He said, they had many consultations about it; but that having neither vessel, nor tools to build one, or provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair.

I asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape; and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done? I told him with freedom, I feared mostly their treachery and ill usage of me, if I put my life in their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man; nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had received, so much as they did by the advantages they expected: I told him, it would be very hard, that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in New Spain, where an Englishman was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity, or what accident soever, brought him thither; and that I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of the priests, and be carried into the Inquisition. I added, that otherwise I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might, with so many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away either to the Brazils southward, or to the islands or Spanish coast northward: but that if in requital they should, when I had put weapons into their hands, carry me by force among their own people, I might be ill used for my kindness to them, and make my case worse than it was before.

He answered, with a great deal of candour and ingenuity, that their condition was so miserable, and that they were so sensible of it, that he believed they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance; and that if I pleased, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and return again, and bring me their answer: that he would make conditions with them upon their solemn oath, that they would be absolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain; and that they should swear upon the holy Sacraments and Gospel, to be true to me, and go to such Christian country as I should agree to, and no other; and to be directed wholly and absolutely by my orders, till they were landed safely in such country as I intended; and that he would bring a contract from them under their hands for that purpose.

Then he told me, he would first swear to me himself, that he would never stir from me as long as he lived, till I gave him order; and that he would take my side to the last drop of blood, if there should happen the least breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me, they were all of them very civil honest men, and they were under the greatest distress imaginable, having neither weapons or clothes, nor any food, but at the mercy and discretion of the savages; out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country; and that he was sure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances, I resolved to venture to relieve them if possible, and to send the old savage and this Spaniard over to them to treat: but when he had gotten all things in readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was this.

He had been with us now about a month; during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had laid up; which, as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient, at least without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to number four: but much less would it be sufficient, if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen still alive, should come over; and least of all would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America. So he told me, he thought it would be more advisable, to let him and the other two dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow; and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen when they should come; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. You know, says he, the children of Israel, though they rejoiced at first at their being delivered out of Egypt, yet

rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness.

His caution was so seasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfied with his fidelity. So we fell to digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed-time, we had gotten as much land cured and trimmed up as we sowed twenty-two bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice, which was, in short, all the seed we had to spare; nor indeed did we leave ourselves barely sufficient for our own food for the six months that we had to expect our crop, that is to say, reckoning from the time we set our seed aside for sowing; for it is not to be supposed it is six months in the ground in that country.

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of the savages, if they had come, unless their number had been very great, we went freely all over the island, wherever we found occasion; and as here we had our escape or deliverance upon our thoughts, it was impossible, at least for me, to have the means of it out of mine; to this purpose, I marked out several trees, which I thought fit for our work, and I set Friday and his father to cutting them down; and then I caused the Spaniard, to whom I imparted my thoughts on that affair, to oversee and direct their work: I showed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into single planks, and I caused them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two feet broad, thirty-five feet long, and from two inches to four inches thick: what prodigious labour it took up, any one may imagine.

At the same time I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpose I made Friday and the Spaniard to go out one day, and myself with Friday the next day, for we took our turns: and by this means we got about twenty young kids to breed up with the rest; for whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock: but above all, the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at Alicant, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we should have filled sixty or eighty barrels; and these, with our bread, was a great part of our food, and very good living too, I assure you; for it is an exceeding nourishing food.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order; it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but, however, it was enough to answer our end; for from twenty-two bushels of barley, we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels, and the like in proportion of the rice, which was store enough for our food to the next harvest, though all the sixteen Spaniards had been on shore with me; or, if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ship, to have carried us to any part of the world, that is to say, of America. When we had thus housed and secured our magazine of corn, we fell to work to make more wicker-work; viz. great baskets, in which we kept it; and the Spaniard was very handy and dexterous at this part, and often blamed me, that I did not make some things for defence of this kind of work; but I saw no need of it. And now having a full supply of food for all the guests expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he left behind him there: I gave him a strict charge in writing not to bring any man with him, who would not first swear in the presence of himself and of the old savage, that he would no way injure, fight with, or attack the person he should find in the island, who was so kind to send for them, in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by and defend him against all such attempts; and wherever they went, would be entirely under, and subjected to his command; and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands: how we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen or ink, that indeed was a question which we never asked.

Under these instructions, the Spaniard, and the old savage (the father of Friday,) went away in one of the canoes, which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners to be devoured by the savages.

I gave each of them a musket with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball, charging them to be very good husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent occasions.

This was a chearful work, being the first measures used by me in view of my deliverance for now twenty-seven years and some days. I gave them provisions of bread, and of dried grapes, sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for their countrymen for about eight days time; and wishing them a good voyage, I let them go, agreeing with them about a signal they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again, when they came back, at a distance, before they came on shore.

They went away with a fair gale on the

day that the moon was at the full; by my account in the month of October; but as for the exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again; nor had I kept even the number of years so punctually, as to be sure that I was right, though, as it proved when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no less than eight days I waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened, of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my hutch one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud. Master, master, they are come, they are come!

I jumped up, and, regardless of danger, I went out as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove, which (by the way) was by this time grown to be a very thick wood; I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which was not my custom to do; but I was surprised, when, turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat at about a league and a half's distance, standing in for shore, with a shoulder-of-mutton sail, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in. Also I observed presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southernmost end of the island. Upon this I called Friday in, and bid him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we did not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective-glass, to see what I could make of them; and having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of any thing, and to take my view the plainer without being discovered.

I had scarce set my foot on the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and a half's distance from me, S. S. E., but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation it appeared plainly to be an English ship, and the boat appeared to be an English long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in, though the joy of seeing a ship, and one which I had reason to believe was manned by my own countrymen, and consequently friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hung about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me keep upon my guard. In the first place, it occurred to me to consider what business an English ship could have in that part of the world; since it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the English had any traffic; and I knew there had been no storms to drive them in there, as in distress; and that if they were English really, it was most probable that they were here upon no good design; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger which sometimes are given him when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any observation of things can deny; that they are certain discoveries of an invisible world, and a converse of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them seems to be to warn us of danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly agent, (whether supreme, or inferior and subordinate, is not the question,) and that they are given for our good?

The present question abundantly confirms me in the justice of this reasoning; for had I not been made cautious by this secret admonition, come from whence it will, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worse condition than before, as you will see presently.

I had not kept myself long in this posture, but I saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a creek to thrust in at for the convenience of landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts, but run their boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me, which was very happy for me; for otherwise they would have landed just, as I may say, at my door, and would have soon beaten me out of my castle, and, perhaps, have plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen, at least most of them; one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove so. There were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and (as I thought) bound; and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as prisoners; one of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two, I could perceive, lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not to such a degree as the first.

I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it should be; Friday called out to me in English, as well as he could, Oh master! you see English mans eat prisoners as well as savage mans.—Why, said I, Friday, do you think

they are going to eat them then?—Yes, says Friday, they will eat them.—No, no, said I, Friday; I am afraid they will murder them indeed: but you may be sure they will not eat them.

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but stood trembling with the horror of the sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed; nay, once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm with a great cutlass (as the seamen call it) or sword, to strike one of the poor men: and I expected to see him fall every moment, at which all the blood in my body seemed to run chill in my veins.

I wished heartily now for our Spaniard, and the savage that was gone with him; or that I had any way to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men: for I saw no fire-arms they had among them; but it fell out to my mind another way.

After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows ran scattering about the land, as if they wanted to see the country. I observed also, that the three other men had liberty to go where they pleased; but they sat down all three upon the ground very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore, and began to look about me; how I gave myself over for lost, how wildly I looked round me, what dreadful apprehensions I had, and how I lodged in the tree all night for fear of being devoured by wild beasts.

As I knew nothing that night of the supply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ship nearer the land, by the storms and tides, by which I have since been so long nourished and supported; so these three poor desolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the same time they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate.

So little do we see before us in the world, and so much reason have we to depend chearfully upon the great Maker of the world, that he does not leave his creatures so absolutely destitute, but that in the worst circumstances they have always something to be thankful for, and sometimes are nearer their deliverance than they imagine: nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the means by which they seem to be brought to their destruction.

It was just at the top of high water when these people came on shore, and while partly they stood parleying with the prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of place they were in, they had carelessly staid till the tide was quite, and the water was ebbed considerably away, leaving their boat aground.

They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much brandy, fell asleep; however, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed for the rest who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft oozy sand, almost like a quicksand.

In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another (calling them off from the boat), Why, let her alone, Jack, can't ye? she'll float next tide. By which I was fully confirmed in the main in my enquiry, of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself close, not once daring to stir out of my castle, any further than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was, to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could be got float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be more at liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any.

In the mean time I fitted myself up for battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first: I ordered Friday, also, whom I had made an excellent soldier, man with his gun, to load himself with I took myself two fowling pieces, and I gave him three muskets. My figure, indeed, was very fierce; I had my formidable goat-skin coat on, with the great cap I mentioned, a naked sword, two pistols in my belt, and gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said above, not have made any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that in short they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, were all laid down to sleep. The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were, however, set down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and as I could out of sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolved to discover myself them, and learn something of their condition. Immediately I marched in the figure above my man Friday at a good distance behind as formidable for his arms as I, but not king quite so staring a spectre-like figure I did.

I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in Spanish, What are ye, gentlemen?

They started up at the noise, but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made: they made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English: Gentlemen, said I, do not be surprised at me; perhaps you may have a friend near you, when you did not expect it.—He must be sent directly from Heaven then, said one of them very gravely to me, pulling off his hat at the same time, for our condition is past the help of man.—All help is from Heaven, sir, said I: but can you put a stranger in the way how to help you? For you seem to me to be in some great distress: I saw you when you landed; and when you seemed to make application to the brutes that came with you, I saw one of them lift up his sword to kill you.

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one astonished, returned, Am I talking to God or man? Is it a real man or an angel?—Be in no fear about that, sir, said I: if God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better clothed, and armed after another manner than you see me in; pray lay aside your fears; I am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you; you see I have one servant only; we have arms and ammunition; tell us freely can we serve you? What is your case?

Our case, said he, sir, is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near; but in short, sir, I was commander of that ship; my men having mutinied against me, they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me, and at last have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it.

Where are those brutes, your enemies? said I; do you know where they are gone?—There they are, sir, said he, pointing to a thicket of trees; my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all.

Have they any fire-arms? said I: he answered, They had only two pieces, and one which they left in the boat.—Well then, said I, leave the rest to me; I see they are all asleep; it is an easy thing to kill them all; but shall we rather take them prisoners? He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to show any mercy to; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty: I asked him, which they were? He told me, he could not at that distance describe them; but he would obey my orders in any thing I would direct.—Well, said I, let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve farther; so they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

Look you, sir, said I, if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me? He anticipated my proposals, by telling me, that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in every thing; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him; and the two other men said the same.

Well, said I, my conditions are but two: 1. That while you stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will upon all occasions give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine, upon this island, and in the mean time to be governed by my orders.

2. That if the ship is or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England, passage free.

He gave me all the assurance that the invention or faith of a man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands; and besides, would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions as long as he lived.

Well, then, said I, here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball; tell me next what you think is proper to be done. He showed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able; but offered to be wholly guided by me: I told him, I thought it was hard venturing any thing, but the best method I could think of was, to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any were not killed at the first volley, and offered to submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the shot.

He said, very modestly, that he was loath to kill them, if he could help it; but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship, and if they escaped, we should be undone still; for they would go on board, and bring the whole ship's company, and destroy us all.—Well, then, said I, necessity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way to save our lives. However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him, they should go themselves, and manage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet. I asked him, if either of them were the men, who he had said were the heads of the mutiny? He said, No.

—Well, then, said I, you may let them escape, and Providence seems to have wakened them on purpose to save themselves. Now, said I, if the rest escape you, it is your fault.

Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each man a piece in his hand: the two men who were with him, going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen, who was awake, turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then, for the moment he cried out, they fired; I mean the two men, the captain wisely reserving his own piece: they had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up on his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other; but the captain stepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help, he should call upon God to forgive his villainy; and with that word knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more: there were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy. The captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against; only I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday with the captain's mate to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sail, which they did; and by and by, three straggling men, that were (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired; and seeing their captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also; and so our victory was complete.

It now remained that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances: I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement, and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnished with provisions and ammunition: and, indeed, as my whole story is a collection of wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I carried him and his two men into my apartments, leading them in just where I came out, viz. at the top of the house; where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and showed them all the contrivances I had made during my long, long inhabiting the place.

All I showed them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing; but, above all, the captain admired my fortification; and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which, having now been planted near twenty years, and the trees growing much faster than in England, was become a little wood, and so thick, that it was unpassable in any part of it, but at that one side where I had reserved my little winding passage into it: this I told him was my castle, and my residence; but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retire upon occasion, and I would show him that too another time; but at present our business was to consider how to recover the ship. He agreed with me as to that; but told me he was perfectly at a loss what measures to take; for that there were still six-and-twenty hands on board, who having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by desperation; and would carry it on, knowing that, if they were reduced, they should be brought to the gallows as soon as they came to England, or to any of the English colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found it was a very rational conclusion, and that therefore something was to be resolved on very speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprise, as to prevent their landing upon us, and destroying us. Upon this, it presently occurred to me, that in a little while, the boat's crew wondering what was become of their comrades, and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their other boat to see after them; and that then perhaps they might come armed, and be too strong for us: this he allowed was rational.

Upon this I told him, the first thing we had to do was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off; and taking every thing out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim. Accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left on board on purpose for her, and whatever else we found there, which was a bottle of brandy and another of rum

a few biscuit cakes, an horn of powder, and a great lump of sugar in a piece of canvas; the sugar was five or six pounds; all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had had none left for many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore, (the oars, mast, sail, and rudder of the boat were carried before as above,) we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed it was not much in my thoughts, that we could be capable to recover the ship; but my view was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again to carry us away to the Leeward Islands, and call upon our friends the Spaniards in my way, for I had them still in my thoughts.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Ship makes Signals for her Boat—On receiving no answer, she sends another Boat on Shore—Methods by which we secure this Boat's Crew, and recover the Ship.*

WHILE we were thus preparing our designs, and had first by main strength heaved the boat up upon the beach, so high that the tide would not float her off at high water mark; and, besides, had broken a hole in her bottom too big to be quickly stopped, and were sat down musing what we should do; we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ancient, as a signal for the boat to come on board: but no boat stirred; and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all their signals and firings proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them (by the help of our glasses) hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came, and a plain sight of the men, even of their faces; because the tide having set them a little to the east of the other boat, they rowed up under shore, to come to the same place where the other had landed, and where the boat lay.

By this means, I say, we had a full view of them, and the captain knew the persons and characters of all the men in the boat; of whom he said that there were three very honest fellows, who he was sure were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frighted: but that for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew; and were, no doubt, made desperate in their new enterprize; and terribly apprehensive he was, that they would be too powerful for us.

I smiled at him, and told him, that men in our circumstances were past the operations of fear: that seeing almost every condition that could be was better than that we were supposed to be in, we ought to expect that the consequence, whether death or life, would be sure to be a deliverance: I asked him, what he thought of the circumstances of my life, and whether a deliverance were not worth venturing for? And where, sir, said I, is your belief of my being preserved here on purpose to save your life, which elevated you a little while ago? For my part, said I, there seems to be only one thing amiss in all the prospect of it.—What's that? says he.—Why, said I, 'tis that, as you say, there are three or four honest fellows among them, which should be spared; had they been all of the wicked part of the crew, I should have thought God's providence had singled them out to deliver them into your hands: for, depend upon it, every man of them that comes ashore, are our own, and shall die or live as they behave to us.

As I spoke this with a raised voice and chearful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him; so we set vigorously to our business. We had, upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners, and had indeed secured them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with Friday, and one of the three (delivered men) to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods, if they could have delivered themselves: here they left them bound, but gave them provisions, and promised them if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two; but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promised faithfully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful that they had such good usage as to have provisions and a light left them; for Friday gave them candles (such as we made ourselves) for their comfort; and they did not know but that he stood sentinel over them at the entrance.

The other prisoners had better usage; two of them were kept pinioned indeed, because

the captain was not free to trust them; but the other two were taken into my service upon their captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us; so, with them and the three honest men, we were seven men well armed; and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were a-coming, considering that the captain had said, there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, hauling the boat up after them, which I was glad to see; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat at an anchor, some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her; and so we should not be able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, the first thing they did, they ran all to the other boat; and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise to find her stripped as above, of all that was in her, and a great hole in her bottom.

After they had mused a while upon this, they set up two or three great shouts, hallooing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear; but all was to no purpose: then they came all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small arms, which indeed we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring; but it was all one: those in the cave, we were sure, could not hear; and those in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer to them.

They were so astonished at the surprise of this, that, as they told us afterwards, they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let them know there, that the men were all murdered, and the long boat staved: accordingly, they immediately launched the boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amazed, and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again and set sail, giving their comrades up for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recovered: but he was quickly as much frighted the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again; but with this new measure in their conduct, which it seems they consulted together upon; viz. to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country to look for their fellows.

This was a great disappointment to us; for now we were at a loss what to do; for our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us if we let the boat escape, because they would then row away to the ship; and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh, and set sail, and so our recovering the ship would be lost.

However, we had no remedy but to watch and see what the issue of things might present. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill, under which my habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us: we could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fired at them; or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way into the valley and woods, which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay more east, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it: had they thought fit to have come to sleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger, to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs; viz. that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all sally upon them, just in the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed. I liked the proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we still a long time very irresolute what course to take; at length I told them, there would be nothing to be done in my opinion that night; and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the shore, and so might use some stratagem with them in the boat, to get them on shore.

We waited a great while, though very impatient for their removing, and were very easy; when, after long consultations, we saw them start all up, and march down towards the sea: it seems, they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for

and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them go towards the shore, I imagined it to be as it really was; that they had given over their search, and were for going back again; and the captain, as soon as I had told him my thoughts, was ready to sink at the apprehensions of it; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered Friday, and the captain's mate, to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where the savages came on shore when Friday was rescued; and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile's distance, I bade them halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again, and then, keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island, and among the woods, as possible, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed.

They were just going into the boat, when Friday and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering, ran along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up, and set them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone up a good way into the creek, and as it were in an harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for, and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and, crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on shore, and the other being in the boat; the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and, going to start up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides, this was, it seems, one of the three who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us.

In the mean time, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after Friday came back to me before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along; and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not being able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion, when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone: we could hear them call to one another in a most lamentable manner, telling one another they were gotten into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered; or else there were devils or spirits in it, and they should be all carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times, but no answer: after some time we could see them, by the little light there was, run about wringing their hands, like men in despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore, and walk about again, and so the same thing over again.

My men would fain have had me give them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could; and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the other men were very well armed: I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate; and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer; and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, till the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shown himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of the crew; the captain was so

eager, at having the principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him; for they only heard his tongue before: but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting up on their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third ran for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men; viz. myself generalissimo; Friday my lieutenant-general; the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, whom we had trusted with arms.

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms; which fell out just as we desired: for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate; so he calls out, as loud as he could, to one of them, Tom Smith, Tom Smith. Tom Smith answered immediately, Who's that? Robinson? For it seems he knew his voice. The other answered, Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms, and yield, or you are all dead men this moment.

Who must we yield to? where are they? says Smith again.—Here they are, says he; here is our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you this two hours; the boatswain is killed, Will Frye is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost.

Will they give us quarter, then? says Tom Smith, and we will yield.—I'll go and ask, if you promise to yield, says Robinson. So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then calls out, You, Smith, you know my voice, if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives, all but Will Atkins.

Upon this Will Atkins cried out, For God's sake, captain, give me quarter! what have I done? they have all been as bad as I; (which by the way was not true, either; for it seems this Will Atkins was the first man that laid hold of the captain when they first mutinied, and used him barbarously, in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language:) however, the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor's mercy, by which he meant me; for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty men, which, particularly with those three, were in all but eight, came up and seized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them he expostulated with them upon the villainy of their practices with him, and at length, upon the farther wickedness of their design; and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives; as for that, he told them, they were none of his prisoners, but the commander's of the island; that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren uninhabited island; but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an Englishman; that he might hang them all there, if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to England, to be dealt with there as justice required, except Atkins, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death; for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect. Atkins fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the rest begged of him for God's sake, that they might not be sent to England.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows to be hearty in getting possession of the ship; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me: when I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, Captain, the commander calls for you; and presently the captain replied, Tell his excellency I am just a-coming. This most perfectly amused them; and they all believed that the commander was just by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But, in order to execute it with more art, and to be secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins, and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay: this was committed to Friday, and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison; and it was indeed a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The others I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full description; and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behaviour

To these in the morning I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them; in a word, to try them, and tell me, whether he thought they might be trusted or no, to go on board, and surprise the ship. He talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to; and that though the governor had given them quarter for their lives, as to the present action, yet that if they were sent to England, they would all be hanged in chains, to be sure; but that if they would join in such an attempt as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition: they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised, with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world; that they would own him for a father to them as long as they lived.

Well, says the captain, I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it. So he brought me an account of the temper he found them in; and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again, and choose out five of them, and tell them, that they should see that they did not want men; but he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle, (my cave,) as hostages for the fidelity of those five; and that, if they proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive upon the shore.

This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest; however, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition: 1. The captain, his mate, and passenger. 2. Then the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms. 3. The other two whom I kept till now in my bower pinioned; but, upon the captain's motion, had now been released. 4. These five released at last: so that they were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship: for, as for me, and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast; but Friday went twice a day to them, to supply them with necessaries; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where Friday was to take it.

When I showed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them, I was the person the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure that they should not stir any where but by my direction; that if they did, they should be fetched into the castle, and be laid in irons; so that as we never suffered them to see me as governor, so I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them: he made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; and himself, and his mate, and five more, went in the other: and they contrived their business very well; for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made Robinson hail them, and tell them he had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them, and the like; holding them in a chat, till they came to the ship's side: when the captain and the mate, entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt end of their muskets. Being very faithfully seconded by their men, they secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter decks, and began to fasten the hatches to keep them down who were below; when the other boat, and their men, entering at the forechains, secured the forecastle of the ship, and the skuttle which went down into the cook-room, making three men they found there prisoners.

When this was done, and all safe upon the deck, the captain ordered the mate, with three men, to break into the round-house, where the new rebel captain lay, and, having taken the alarm, was gotten up, and with two men and a boy had gotten fire-arms in their hands; and when the mate with a crow split open the door, the new captain and his men fired

boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musket-ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate, calling for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullets entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears; so that he never spoke a word; upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually without any more lives being lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his success; which you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprised with the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of Governor, governor! and presently I knew the captain's voice; when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms: My dear friend and deliverer, says he, there's your ship, for she is all yours, and so are we, and all that belong to her. I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode within a little more than half a mile of the shore: for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her; and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of a little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I first landed my rafts, and so landed just at my door.

I was, at first, ready to sink down with the surprise: for I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me away whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time, I was not able to answer one word; but as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the surprise, and immediately pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he had brought on purpose for me. after I drank it, I sat down upon the ground, and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this while the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as I, only not under any surprise, as I was: for he said a thousand kind tender things to me, to compose and bring me to myself: but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion; at last it broke into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn, and embraced him as my deliverer; and we rejoiced together: I told him, I looked upon him as a man sent from Heaven to deliver me. and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evident, that the eyes of an infinite power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever he pleased.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to Heaven; and what heart could forbear to bless Him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed?

When we had talked a while, the captain told me, he had brought me some little refreshments, such as the ship afforded, and such as the wretches who had been so long his masters had not plundered him of. Upon this he called aloud to the boat, and bids the men bring the things ashore that were for the governor; and indeed it was a present, as if I had been one, not that I was to be carried along with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the island still, and they were to part without me.

First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters; six large bottles of Madeira wine, the bottles held two quarts apiece; two pounds of excellent good tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's store, and six pieces of pork, with a bag of peas, and about a hundred weight of biscuit.

He brought me also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime-juice, and abundance of other things but besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, and a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn but very little. In a word, he clothed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances; but never was any thing in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such clothes at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies passed, and all his good things were brought into my apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had; for it was worth considering whether we might

ture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree; and the captain said, he knew they were such rogues, that there was no obliging them; and if he did carry them away, it must be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to justice at the first English colony he could come at; and I found that the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that, if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island: I should be very glad of that, says the captain, with all my heart.

Well, said I, I will send for them, and talk with them for you: so I cau-ed Friday and the two hostages, for they were now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise; I say, I caused them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men, pinioned as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I came thither dressed in my new habit, and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, and I told them, I had had a full account of their villainous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit farther robberies; but that Providence had ensnared them in their own ways, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digged for others.

I let them know, that by my direction the ship had been seized, that she lay now in the road, and they might see by and by, that their new captain had received the reward of his villainy; for that they might see him hanging at the yard-arm: that as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say, why I should not execute them as pirates taken in the fact, as by my commission they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them answered in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say but this, that when they were taken, the captain promised them their lives, and they humbly implored my mercy: but I told them I knew not what mercy to show them; for, as for myself, I had resolved to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go for England: and as for the captain, he could not carry them to England, other than as prisoners in irons to be tried for mutiny, and running away with the ship; the consequence of which, they must needs know, would be the gallows; so that I could not tell which was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island; if they desired that, I did not care, as I had liberty to leave it: I had some inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could shift on shore. They seemed very thankful for it; said they would much rather venture to stay there, than to be carried to England to be hanged: so I left it on that issue.

However, the captain seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if he durst not leave them there; upon this I seemed to be a little angry with the captain, and told him, that they were my prisoners, not his; and that, seeing I had offered them so much favour, I would be as good as my word; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as I found them; and if he did not like that, he might take them again if he could catch them.

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods, to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some fire-arms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this, I prepared to go on board the ship; but told the captain, that I would stay that night to prepare my things; and desired him to go on board in the mean time, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me: ordering him in the mean time to cause the new captain, who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I sent for the men up to me to my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them of their circumstances: I told them, I thought they had made a right choice; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged: I showed them their captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them, I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them: accordingly I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it; showed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and, in a word, all things necessary to make them easy. I told them the story of the sixteen Spaniards that were to be expected; for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them my fire-arms, viz. five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords: I had about a barrel of powder left; for after the first year or two I used but little, and wasted none. I gave them a description of the way

I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, to make both butter and cheese.

In a word, I gave them every part of my own story; and I told them, I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden-seed, which I told them I would have been very glad of; also I gave them the bag of pease which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day and went on board the ship; we prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night: the next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship for God's sake, for they should be murdered: and begged the captain to take them on board though he hanged them immediately.

Upon this the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were some time after soundly whipped and pickled; after which they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, I went with the boat on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men, to which the captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for: I also encouraged them, by telling them, that if it lay in my way to send a vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

## CHAP. XIX.

*I take leave of the Island, and, after a long Voyage, arrive in England—Go down into Yorkshire, and find the greater part of my Family dead—Resolve to go to Lisbon for information respecting my Plantation at the Brazils—Meet an old Friend there, by whose means I become rich—Set out for England over Land—Much annoyed by Wolves on the road.*

When I took leave of this island, I carried on board for relics the great goat-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless that it was grown rusty, or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; and also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship.

And thus I left the island the nineteenth day of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months, and nineteen days: being delivered from the second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the barco-longo, from among the Moors of Sallee.

In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the eleventh of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years absent.

When I came to England, I was a perfect stranger to all the world, as if I had never been known there: my benefactor, and faithful steward, whom I had left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world, was become a widow the second time, and very low in the world: I made her easy as to what she owed me, assuring her, I would give her no trouble; but, on the contrary, in gratitude to her former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as my little stock would afford, which at that time would indeed allow me to do but little for her. but I assured her, I would never forget her former kindness to me; nor did I forget her, when I had sufficient to help her; as shall be observed in its place.

I went down afterwards into Yorkshire; but my father was dead, and my mother, and all the family extinct; except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers: and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me; so that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that little money I had, would not do much for me as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship, whom I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners, of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men, and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very handsome compliment upon that subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

But after making several reflections upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in the world, I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the Brazils, and what was become of my partner, who, I had reason to suppose, had some years now given me over for dead.

With this view I took shipping for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following; my man

Friday accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions.

When I came to Lisbon, I found out, by inquiry, and to my particular satisfaction, my old friend the captain of the ship, who first took me up at sea, off the shore of Africa: he was now grown old, and had left off the sea, having put his son, who was far from a young man, into his ship, and who still used the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me, and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I soon brought myself to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of our old acquaintance, I inquired, you may be sure, after my plantation and my partner: the old man told me, he had not been in the Brazils for about nine years; but that he could assure me, that when he came away, my partner was living; but the trustees, whom I had joined with him, to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that however, he believed that I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that, upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation, to the procurator fiscal; who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one third to the king, and two thirds to the monastery of St Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored; but he assured me, that the steward of the king's revenue (from lands,) and the provedore, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care all along, that the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I asked him, if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation; and whether he thought it might be worth looking after; or whether, on my going thither, I should meet with no obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety.

He told me, he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was growing exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one half of it; and that to the best of his remembrance, he had heard, that the king's third of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery, or religious house, amounted to above two hundred moidores a year; that, as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also enrolled in the register of the country. Also he told me, that the survivors of my trustees were very fair, honest people, and very wealthy, and he believed I would not only have their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands for my account, being the produce of the farm, while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up, as above, which, as he remembered, was about twelve years.

I showed myself a little concerned and uneasy at this account, and inquired of the old captain, how it came to pass, that the trustees should thus dispose of my effects, when he knew that I had made my will, and had made him, the Portugueze captain, my universal heir, &c.

He told me that was true; but that, as there was no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor, until some certain account should come of my death; and that, besides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a thing so remote: that it was true, he had registered my will, and put in his claim; and could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by procuration, and taken possession of the *ingeino*, (so they called the sugar-house,) and had given his son, who was now at the Brazils, order to do it.

But, says the old man, I have one piece of news to tell you, which perhaps may not be so acceptable to you as the rest; and that is, that believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account to me in your name, for six or eight of the first years of profit, which I received; but there being at that time, says he, great disbursements for increasing the works, building an *ingeino*, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near so much as afterwards it produced; however, says the old man, I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it.

After a few days farther conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the six first years income of my plantation, signed by my partner, and the merchants trustees, being always delivered in goods; viz. tobacco in roll, and sugar in chests, besides rum, molasses, &c., which is the consequence of a sugar-work; and I found by this account, that every year the income considerably increased: but, as above, the disbursement being large, the sum at first was small: however, the old man let me see, that he was debtor to me four hundred and seventy moi-

dores of gold, besides sixty chests of sugar, and fifteen double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship, he having been shipwrecked coming home to Lisbon, about eleven years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship; however, my old friend, says he, you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfied.

Upon this he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me two hundred Portugal moidores in gold; and giving me the writings of his title to the ship which his son was gone to the Brazils in, of which he was a quarter part owner, and his son another, he puts them both in my hands for security of the rest.

I was too much moved with the honesty and kindness of the poor man, to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, and particularly how sincere a friend he was now to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he said to me; therefore first I asked him if his circumstances admitted him to spare so much money at that time, and if it would not straiten him? He told me, he could not say but it might straiten him a little; but, however, it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Every thing the good man said was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he spoke. In short, I took one hundred of the moidores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them; then I returned him the rest, and told him, if ever I had possession of the plantation, I would return the other to him also, as indeed I afterwards did; and that, as to the bill of sale of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means; but that if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reason to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was past, the old man began to ask me, if he should put me in a method to make my claim to my plantation. I told him, I thought to go over to it myself. He said, I might do so if I pleased; but that if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use; and as there were ships in the river of Lisbon, just ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first.

This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place; and then proposed my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never any thing was more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants, on whose account I went to sea, in which were the following particular letters and papers enclosed.

First, There was the account current of the produce of my farm, or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old Portugal captain, being for six years; the balance appeared to be 1174 moidores in my favour.

Secondly, There was the account of four years more while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the administration, as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they call civil *death*; and the balance of this, the value of the plantation increasing, amounted to 3241 moidores.

Thirdly, there was the prior of the Augustines account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being able to account for what was disposed to the hospital, very honestly declared he had 872 moidores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my account. As to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was also a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive; giving me an account how the estate was improved, and what it produced a year, with a particular of the number of squares, or acres, that it contained; how planted, how many slaves there were upon it; and, making two-and-twenty crosses for blessings, told me he had said so many Ave Marias to thank the Blessed Virgin that I was alive; inviting me very passionately to come over and take possession of my own, and in the mean time to give him orders to whom he should deliver my effects, if I did not come myself; concluding with a hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family; and sent me as a present, seven fine leopard skins, which he had, it seems, received from Africa by some other ship which he had sent thither; and who, it seems, had made a better voyage than I. He sent me also five chests of excellent sweetmeats, and a hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite so large as moidores.

By the same fleet my merchant-trustees shipped me 1200 chests of sugar, 800 rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning. It is impossible to express the flutterings of my very heart, when I looked over these letters, and especially when I found all my wealth about me; for as the Brazil ships came all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters brought my goods; and the effects were safe in the Tagus before the letter came to my hand. In a word, I turned pale, and grew sick; and had not the old man run and fetched me a cordial, I believe the sudden surprise of joy had overset nature, and I had died upon the spot.

Nay, after that, I continued very ill, and was so some hours, till a physician being sent for, and something of the real cause of my illness being known, he ordered me to be let blood, after which I had relief, and grew well; but I verily believe, if it had not been eased by the vent given in that manner to the spirits, I should have died.

I was now master all on a sudden of above fifty thousand pounds sterling in money, and had an estate, as I might well call it, in the Brazils, of above a thousand pounds a-year, as sure as an estate of lands in England; and, in a word, I was in a condition which I scarce knew how to understand, or how to compose myself for the enjoyment of.

The first thing I did was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been first charitable to me in my distress, kind to me in the beginning, and honest to me at the end. I showed him all that was sent me; I told him, that, next to the providence of Heaven, which disposes all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay on me to reward him, which I would do a hundred-fold. So I first returned to him the hundred moidores I had received of him; then I sent for a notary, and caused him to draw up a general release or discharge for the four hundred and seventy moidores, which he had acknowledged he owed me, in the fullest and firmest manner possible; after which I caused a procuration to be drawn, empowering him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointing my partner to account to him, and make the returns by the usual fleets to him in my name; and a clause in the end, being a grant of one hundred moidores a-year to him during his life, out of the effects: and fifty moidores a-year to his son after him, for his life. And thus I requited my old man.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that Providence had thus put into my hands; and, indeed, I had more care upon my head now than I had in my silent state of life in the island, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted; whereas I had now a great charge upon me, and my business was how to secure it: I had never a cave to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarnished before any body would meddle with it. On the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or whom to trust with it: my old patron, the captain, indeed, was honest, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my interest in the Brazils seemed to summon me thither; but now I could not tell how to think of going thither till I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me. At first I thought of my old friend the widow, who, I knew, was honest, and would be just to me; but then she was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt; so that, in a word, I had no way but to go back to England myself, and take my effects with me.

I was some months, however, before I resolved upon this; and therefore as I had rewarded the old captain fully, and to satisfaction, who had been my former benefactor, so I began to think of my poor widow, whose husband had been my first benefactor and she, while it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor. So the first thing I did, I got a merchant in Lisbon to write to his correspondent in London, not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money a hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her she should, if I lived, have a farther supply. At the same time, I sent my two sisters in the country, each of them a hundred pounds, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances; one having been married, and left a widow; and the other having a husband not so kind to her as he should be.

But among all my relations or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the Brazils, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazils, and have settled myself there, for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion, which insensibly drew me back; of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the present; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then, having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having pro-

fessed myself a Papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die in.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the Brazils, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me; so I resolved at last to go to England with them, where, if I arrived, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations, that would be faithful to me; and accordingly I prepared to go for England with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I first (the Brazil fleet being just going away) resolved to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence; and first to the prior of St Augustine I wrote a letter full of thanks for his just dealings, and the offer of the eight hundred and seventy-two moidores, which was undisposed of, which I desired might be given, five hundred to the monastery, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, as the prior should direct, desiring the good Padre's prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my two trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty called for; as for sending them any present, they were far above having any occasion of it.

Lastly, I wrote to my partner, acknowledging his industry in the improving the plantation, and his integrity in increasing the stock of the works, giving him instructions for his future government of my part according to the powers I had left with my old patron, to whom I desired him to send whatever became due to me, till he should hear from me more particularly; assuring him, that it was my intention, not only to come to him, but to settle myself there for the remainder of my life. To this I added a very handsome present of some Italian silks for his wife and two daughters, for such the captain's son informed me he had; with two pieces of fine English broadcloth, the best I could get in Lisbon, five pieces of black bays, and some Flanders lace of a good value.

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to England. I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to England by sea at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet the difficulty increased upon me so much, that though I had once shipped my baggage in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be one of the reasons. But let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts in cases of such moment. Two of the ships which I had singled out to go in, I mean more particularly singled out than any other, that is to say, so far in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captain: I say, two of these ships miscarried, viz. one was taken by the Algerines, and the other was cast away on the Start, near Torbay, and all the people drowned except three; so that, in either of those vessels, I had been made miserable, and in which most, it was hard to say.

Having been thus harassed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated every thing, pressed me earnestly not to go by sea; but either to go by land to the Groyne, and cross over the Bay of Biscay to Rochelle, from whence it was but an easy and safe journey by land to Paris, and so to Calais and Dover; or to go up to Madrid, and so all the way by land through France.

In a word, I was so prepossessed against my going by sea at all, except from Calais to Dover, that I resolved to travel all the way by land; which, as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way; and to make it more so, my old captain brought an English gentleman, the son of a merchant in Lisbon, who was willing to travel with me; after which, we picked up two who were English, and merchants also, and two young Portuguese gentlemen, the last going to Paris only: so that we were in all six of us, and five servants, the two merchants and the two Portuguese contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save the charge; and as for me, I got an English sailor to travel with me as a servant, besides my man Friday, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant upon the road.

In this manner I set out from Lisbon: and our company being all very well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof they did me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and indeed was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so shall I trouble you with none of my land journals. But some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey, I must not omit.

When we came to Madrid, we being all of us strangers to Spain, were willing to stay some time to see the court of Spain, and to see what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from Madrid about the middle of October. But when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow was fallen on the French side of

the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to Pampeluna itself, we found it so indeed; and to me, that had been always used to a hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could scarce bear any clothes on, the cold was insufferable; nor, indeed, was it more painful than it was surprising: to come but ten days before out of Old Castile, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot, and immediately to feel a wind from the Pyrenean mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes, was very strange.

Poor Friday was really frighted when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, after we came to Pampeluna, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said, winter was come before its time; and the roads, which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the case in northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being buried alive every step. We staid no less than twenty days at Pampeluna; when (seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over Europe that had been known in many years) I proposed that we should all go away to Fontarabia, and there take shipping for Bourdeaux, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who having been stopped on the French side of the passes, as we were on the Spanish, had found out a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways, that they were not much incommoded with the snow; and where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us, he would undertake to carry us the same way, with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect us from wild beasts: for, he said, upon these great snows, it was frequent for some wolves to show themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, the ground being covered with snow. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would ensure us from a kind of two-legged wolves, which we were told we were in most danger from, especially on the French side of the mountains.

He satisfied us there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go: so we readily agreed to follow him; as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly we all set out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the fifteenth of November; and indeed I was surprised, when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the same road that we came from Madrid, above twenty miles; when having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden, turning to the left, he approached the mountains another way; and though, it is true, the hills and the precipices looked dreadfully, yet he made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, we insensibly passed the height of the mountains, without being much incumbered with the snow; and all on a sudden he showed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gascoigne, all green and flourishing; though indeed they were at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night, so fast, that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy, we should soon be past it all: we found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more north than before; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, out rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of a hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood. Two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half a mile before us, he had been devoured indeed, before we could have helped him: one of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man with that violence, that he had not time, or not presence of mind enough, to draw his pistol, but hallooed and cried out to us most lustily. My man Friday being next to me, I bid him ride up, and see what was the matter. As soon as Friday came in sight of the man, he hallooed, as loud as the other, O master! O master! But, like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the man, and with his pistol shot the wolf that attacked him in the head.

It was happy for the poor man that it was my man Friday; for he, having been used to that kind of creature in his country, had no

fear upon him, but went close up to him, and shot him as above; whereas any of us would have fired at a farther distance, and perhaps either missed the wolf, or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I, and indeed it alarmed all our company. when, with the noise of Friday's pistol, we heard on both sides the dismallest howlings of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps indeed there was not such a few, as that we had no cause of apprehensions.

However, as Friday had killed this wolf, the other, that had fastened upon the horse, left him immediately, and fled, having happily fastened upon his head, where the bosses of the bridle had stuck in his teeth, so that he had not done him much hurt: the man, indeed, was most hurt; for the raging creature had bit him twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and he was just as it were tumbling down by the disorder of the horse, when Friday came up and shot the wolf.

It is easy to suppose, that at the noise of Friday's pistol we all mended our pace, and rid up as fast as the way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to see what was the matter. As soon as we came clear of the trees, which blinded us before, we saw plainly what had been the case, and how Friday had disengaged the poor guide; though we did not presently discern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

## CHAP. XX.

*Strange Battle betwixt Friday and a Bear—Terrible Engagement with a whole Army of Wolves—Arrive in England safely, and settle my Affairs there—I marry, and have a Family.*

But never was a fight managed so hardily, and in such a surprising manner, as that which followed between Friday and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprised and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable. As the bear is a heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, which is swift and light; so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions: first, as to men, who are not his proper prey, I say not his proper prey, because though I can't say what excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow; yet as to men, he does not usually attempt them, unless they first attack him; on the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, if you don't meddle with him, he won't meddle with you: yet then you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road; for he is a very nice gentleman, he won't go a step out of the way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep going on; for sometimes, if you stop, and stand still, and look stedfastly at him, he takes it for an affront; and if you throw or toss any thing at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge; for he will have satisfaction in point of honour, and this is his first quality; the next is. that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, night nor day, till he has his revenge, but follow at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

My man Friday had delivered our guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his horse; for the man was both hurt and frighted, and indeed the last more than the first; when on a sudden, we espied the bear come out of the wood, and a very monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw. We were all a little surprised when we saw him; but when Friday saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: O! O! O! says Friday, three times, pointing to him, O master! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him, me makee you good laugh.

I was surprised to see the fellow so pleased: You fool you, said I, he will eat you up!—Eatee me up! eatee me up! says Friday twice over again; me eatee him up; me make you good laugh; you all stay here, me show you good laugh.—So down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear,) and which he had in his pocket, and gives my other servant his horse, and with his gun away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could understand him: Hark ye, hark ye, says Friday, me speakee wit you.—We followed at a distance; for now being come down to the Gascoigne side of the mountains, we were entered a vast great forest, where the country was plain, and pretty open, though many trees in it scattered here and there.

Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone, and throws at him, and hit him just on the head; but did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall; but it answered Friday's end; for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it pur-

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ly to make the bear follow him, and show us some laugh, as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking devilish long strides, and shuffling along at a strange rate, so as he would put a horse to a middling gallop. Away runs Friday, and takes his course, as if he ran towards us for help; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man; though I was angry at him heartily for bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his own business another way; and especially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out, You dog, said I, is this your making us laugh? Come away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature. He hears me, and cries out, No shoot, no shoot, stand still, you get much laugh; and as the nimble creature ran two feet for the beast's one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak tree, fit for his purpose, he beckoned us to follow, and doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance. The first thing he did, he stopped at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrous heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see any thing to laugh at yet, till seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him. As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker, Ha, says he to us, now you see me teachee the bear dance; so he falls a-jumping, and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back: then indeed we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal: when he sees him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak English, What, you come no farther? Pray you come farther. So he left jumping and shaking the bough: and the bear, just as if he understood what he said, did come a little farther; then he fell a-jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and called to Friday to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, O pray! O pray! no shoot, me shoot by and then; he would have said by and by. However, to shorten the story, Friday danced so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not get out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

But Friday put us out of doubt quickly; for seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther, Well, well, said Friday, you no come farther, me go, me go; you no come to me, me come to you; and upon this he goes out to the smallest end of the bough, where it would bend with his weight, and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet; and away he ran to his gun, takes it up, and stands still.

Well, said I to him, Friday, what will you do now? Why don't you shoot him?—No shoot, says Friday, no yet; me shoot now me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh. And indeed so he did, as you will see presently; for when the bear saw his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind him every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree; then with the same hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely. At this juncture, and just before he could set his hind feet upon the ground, Friday stepped close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him as dead as a stone.

Then the rogue turned about to see if we did not laugh; and when he saw we were pleased by our looks, he falls a laughing himself very loud; So we kill bear in my country, says Friday.—So you kill them? said I; why, you have no guns.—No, says he, no guns, but shoot great much long arrow.

This was, indeed, a good diversion to us; but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew: the howling of wolves ran much in my head; and indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shore of Africa, of which I have said something already, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as Friday would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us; so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the

mountains; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest and plain country, pressed by hunger, to seek for food, and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surprised the country-people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, of which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there; and this was a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset when we entered the first wood, and a little after sunset, when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view: they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of sight in a few moments.

Upon this our guide, who, by the way, was a wretched faint-hearted fellow, bade us keep in a ready posture; for he believed there were more wolves a-coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain: as soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us. The first object we met with was a dead horse, that is to say, a poor horse which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them at work; we could not say, eating of him, but picking of his bones rather; for they had eaten up all the flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast, neither did they take much notice of us; Friday would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more business upon our hands than we were aware of. We were not half gone over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl in the woods, on our left, in a frightful manner; and presently after we saw about a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by experienced officers. I scarce knew in what manner to receive them; but found to draw ourselves in a close line, was the only way; so we formed in a moment; but, that we might not have too much interval, I ordered, that only every other man should fire; and that the others, who had not fired, should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and that then those who had fired at first, should not pretend to load their fusils again, but stand ready, with every one a pistol, for we were all armed with a fusil and a pair of pistols each man; so we were, by this method, able to fire six vollies, half of us at a time; however, at present we had no necessity. for upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified, as well with the noise as with the fire; four of them being shot in the head, dropped; several others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow. I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon, remembering that I had been told, that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all our company to halloo as loud as we could, and I found the notion not altogether mistaken; for upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept going; but we had but little more than loaded our fusils, and put ourselves into a readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood on our left; only that it was farther onward the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, and the night began to be dusky, which made it the worse on our side; but, the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish creatures; and on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves on our left, one behind us, and one on our front, so that we seemed to be surrounded with them; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good large trot; and in this manner we only came in view of the entrance of the wood through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surprised, when, coming near the lane, or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun; and looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and a bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him full speed: indeed the horse had the heels of them; but as we supposed that he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last, and no question but they did.

Here we had a most horrible sight; for, riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcase of another horse, and of two men, devoured by these ravenous creatures. One of them was no doubt the same whom we heard fire a gun, for there lay a gun just by him fired off; but as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, were eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take; but the creatures resolved us soon, for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage: I drew my little troop in among these trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and, keeping that tree before us for a breastwork, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, enclosing our horses in the centre.

We did so, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place: they came on us with a growling kind of a noise, and mounted the piece of timber (which, as I said, was our breastwork,) as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they aimed at. I ordered our men to fire as before, every man; and they took their aim so sure, that indeed they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on like devils, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired our second volley of fusils, we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off; but it was but a moment, for others came forward again, so we fired our vollies of pistols; and I believe in these four firings we killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many; yet they came on again.

I was loath to spend our last shot too hastily; so I called my servant, not my man Friday, for he was better employed; for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he charged my fusil and his own while we were engaged; but, as I said, I called my other man, and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train; he did so, and had but time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some were got up upon it; when I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, set it on fire; and those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire: we dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frighted with the light, which the night, for now it was very dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon which I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout: upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, which we found struggling on the ground, and fell a-cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectation; for the crying and howling they made were better understood by their fellows, so that they fled and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about threescore of them; and had it been daylight, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again; for we had still near a league to go. We heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went, several times; and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain; so in about an hour more we came to the town, where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for, it seems, that, the night before, the wolves and some bears had broken into that village, and put them in a terrible fright; and they were obliged to keep guard night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs so swelled with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; so we were obliged to take a new guide there, and go to Tholouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful, pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them; but when we told our story at Tholouse, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground; but they inquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season; and told us, it was very much we were not all devoured. When we told them how we placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly, and told us it was fifty to one but we had been all destroyed; for it was the sight of the horses that made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey; and that at other times they are really afraid of a gun: but they being excessive hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerness to come at the horses had made them senseless of danger; and that if we had not by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of

the train of powder, mastered them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn to pieces; whereas, had we been content to have sat still on horseback, and fired as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise; and withal they told us, that at last, if we had stood altogether, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off safe, especially having our fire-arms in our hands, and being so many in number.

For my part, I was never so sensible of danger in my life; for seeing above three hundred devils come roaring and open-mouthed to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost; and as it was, I believe I shall never care to cross those mountains again: I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I were sure to meet with a storm once a week. I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through France; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from Tholouse to Paris, and without any considerable stay came to Calais, and landed safe at Dover, the fourteenth of January, after having had a severe cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had in a little time all my new discovered estate safe about me; the bills of exchange, which I brought with me, having been very currently paid.

My principal guide and privy counsellor was my good ancient widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so entirely with every thing, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects; and indeed I was very happy from my beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for Lisbon, and so to the Brazils. But now another scruple came in the way, and that was religion; for as I had entertained some doubts about the Roman religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude; so I knew there was no going to the Brazils for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, without any reserve; except, on the other hand, I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the Inquisition: so I resolved to stay at home, and, if I could find means for it, to dispose of my plantation.

To this purpose I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who in return gave me notice, that he could easily dispose of it there; but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees, who lived in the Brazils, who must fully understand the value of it, who lived just upon the spot, and who I knew to be very rich, so that he believed they would be fond of buying it; he did not doubt, but I should make 4 or 5000 pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him orders to offer it to them, and he did so; and in about eight months more, the ship being then returned, he sent me an account, that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted 33,000 pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon, to pay for it.

In return, I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from Lisbon, and sent it to my old man, who sent me the bills of exchange for 33,000 pieces of eight for the estate; reserving the payment of 100 moidores a year to him (the old man) during his life, and 50 moidores afterwards to his son for his life, which I had promised them; and which the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge. And thus I have given the first part of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of Providence's chequer-work, and of a variety which the world will seldom be able to show the like of: beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave so much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this state of complicated good fortune, I was past running any more hazards, and so indeed I had been, if other circumstances had concurred: but I was inured to a wandering life, had no family, nor many relations; nor, however rich, had I contracted much acquaintance; and though I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep that country out of my head, and had a great mind to be upon the wing again; especially I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know if the poor Spaniards were in being there; and how the rogues I left there had used them.

My true friend the widow earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevailed with me, that almost for seven years she prevented my running abroad; during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care: the eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate, after my decease; the other I put out to a captain of a ship; and after five years, finding him a sensible, brisk, enterprizing young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea; and this young

fellow afterwards drew me in, as old as I was, to farther adventures myself.

In the mean time, I in part settled myself here: for, first of all, I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction; and had three children, two sons and one daughter.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Reflections—Unsettled state of Mind, and Conversation with my Wife thereon—Purchase a Farm in the County of Bedford—Lose my Wife—I determine to revisit my Island, and for that purpose settle all my Affairs in England—Description of the Cargo I carried out with me—Save the Crew of a Vessel burnt at Sea.*

THAT homely proverb used on so many occasions in England, viz. "That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh," was never more verified than in the story of my LIFE. Any one would think, that after thirty-five years affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things; grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy; I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might at sixty-one years of age have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek: if I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me, and for those I had to leave it to, and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do, but to sit still, and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper; particularly, the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination run upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep: in short, nothing could remove it out of my mind; it even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome; for I could talk of nothing else, all my discourse run into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it myself.

I have often heard persons of good judgement say, that all the stir people make in the world about ghosts and apparitions, is owing to the strength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy in their minds; that there is no such thing as a spirit appearing, or a ghost walking, and the like; that people's poring affectionately upon the past conversation of their deceased friends so realizes it to them, that they are capable of fancying, upon some extraordinary circumstances, that they see them, talk to them, and are answered by them, when, in truth, there is nothing but shadow and vapour in the thing; and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour whether there are any such things as real apparitions, spectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the stories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, sick minds, and wandering fancies. But this I know, that my imagination worked up to such a height, and brought me into such excess of vapours, or what else I may call it, that I actually supposed myself oftentimes upon the spot, at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors whom I left upon the island; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them so steadily, though I was broad awake, as at persons just before me; and this I did till I often frightened myself with the images my fancy represented to me. One time in my sleep I had the villainy of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me, by the first Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was surprising: they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them; things that I had never heard of, and that were yet all of them true in fact; but it was so warm in my imagination, and so realized to me, that to the hour I saw them, I could not be persuaded but that it was or would be true; also how I resented it when

the Spaniard complained to me, and how I brought them to justice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged. What there was really in this, shall be seen in its place, for however I came to form such things in my dream, and what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was, I say, very much of it true. I own, that this dream had nothing literally and specifically true; but the general part was so true, the base and villainous behaviour of these three hardened rogues was such, and had been so much worse than all I can describe, that the dream had too much similitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards have punished them severely, so if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and should have been justifiable both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my story.—In this kind of temper I had lived some years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion but what had something or other of this in it; so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured, that if she was dead it would be the first thing I would do; so, as it seemed to her that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction; for if I thought fit, and resolved to go—— Here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her; so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say? but I perceived her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes: Speak out, my dear, said I; are you willing I should go?—No, says she, very affectionately, I am far from willing: but if you are resolved to go, says she, and rather than I will be the only hinderance, I will go with you; for though I think it a preposterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet if it must be, said she again, weeping, I won't leave you; for if it be of Heaven, you must do it; there is no resisting it; and if Heaven makes it your duty to go, he will also make it mine to go with you, or otherwise dispose of me, that I may not obstruct it.

This affectionate behaviour of my wife brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to consider what I was doing; I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myself sedately, what business I had, after threescore years, and after such a life of tedious sufferings and disasters, and closed in so happy and easy a manner, I say, what business had I to rush into new hazards, and put myself upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With those thoughts, I considered my new engagement; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of seeking to increase it; that as to what my wife had said, of its being an impulse from Heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; so after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, *as I believe people may always do in like cases, if they will;* and, in a word, I conquered it; composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with; and particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to engage in some business that might effectually tie me up from any more excursions of this kind; for I found the thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, or any thing of moment immediately before me.

To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and resolved to remove myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it, and the land about it I found was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways suited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland country, I was removed from conversing among ships, sailors, and things relating to the remote part of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep; and setting seriously to work, became in one half year a mere country gentleman; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, enclosing, planting, &c.; and I lived, as I thought, the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles; I could pull up or cut down as I pleased; what I planted was for myself, and what I improved was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of my life, as to this

world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed the middle state of life, which my father so earnestly recommended to me, a kind of heavenly life, something like what is described by the poet upon the subject of a country life:

Free from vices, free from care,
Age has no pains, and youth no snare.

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unforeseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me, inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequence, upon a deep relapse into the wandering disposition; which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me; so that nothing could make any more impression upon me. This blow was the loss of my wife.

It is not my business here to write an elegy upon my wife, to give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the sex by the flattery of a funeral sermon. She was, in a few words, the stay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterprizes, the engine that by her prudence reduced me to that happy compass I was in, from the most extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head as above; and did more to guide my rambling genius, than a mother's tears, a father's instructions, a friend's counsel, or all my own reasoning powers could do. I was happy in listening to her tears, and in being moved by her entreaties, and to the last degree desolate and dislocated in the world by the loss of her.

When she was gone, the world looked outwardly round me, I was as much a stranger in it in my thoughts as I was in the Brazils when I went first on shore; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do; I saw the world busy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other part squandering in vile excesses or empty pleasures equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them; for the men of pleasure every day surfeited of their vice, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance, and the men of labour spent their strength in daily strugglings for bread to maintain the vital strength they laboured with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom the island, where I suffered no more corn to grow, because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them; where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mildewed, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in twenty years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, and which was either to be possessed, or at least hoped for, on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone, I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run before the wind; my thoughts run all away again into the old affair, my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasing innocent amusements of my farm and my garden, my cattle and my family, which before entirely possessed me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taste: in a word, I resolved to leave off housekeeping, let my farm, and return to London; and in a few months after I did so.

When I came to London I was still as uneasy as before; I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said, he is perfectly useless in God's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the rest of his kind whether he be dead or alive. This also was the thing which of all circumstances of life was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life; and I would often say to myself, A state of idleness is the very dregs of life; and indeed I thought I was much more suitably employed when I was twenty-six days making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, as I observed before, I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to Bilboa, being the first he had made; he came to me, and told me, that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the East Indies and to China, as private traders; And now, uncle, says he, if you will go to sea with me, I'll engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the Brazils.

Nothing can be a greater demonstration of a future state, and of the existence of an invisible world, than the concurrence of second causes with the ideas of things which we form in our minds, perfectly reserved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my distemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to say, when that very morning, before he came to me, I had, in a great deal of confusion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumstances in my mind, come to this resolution, viz. that I would go to Lisbon, and consult with my old sea-captain; and so, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself also with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what; when, in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the East Indies.

I paused a while at his words, and looking steadily at him, What devil, said I, sent you this unlucky errand? My nephew started, as if he had been frighted at first; but perceiving I was not much displeased with the proposal, he recovered himself. I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, sir, says he; I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity than most of your brother monarchs in the world.

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, with the prepossession I was under, and of which I have said so much, that I told him in a few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him: but I told him I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. Why, sir, says he, you don't want to be left there again, I hope?—Why, said I, can you not take me up again in your return?—He told me, it could not be possible that the merchants would allow him to come that way with a loaden ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four: Besides, sir, if I should miscarry, said he, and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before.

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island, and finished, fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me: on the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody concerned themselves so much for me, as to persuade me one way or other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children: but it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her, I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence, if I should attempt to stay at home; after which she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs in my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this I made my will, and settled the estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed in such hands, that I was perfectly easy and satisfied they would have justice done them, whatever might befal me; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care; all which she richly deserved, for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better; and as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January, 1694-5, and I, with my man Friday, went on board in the Downs the 8th, having, besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which if I did not find in good condition, I resolved to leave so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there as inhabitants, or at least to set on work there upon my own account while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing; particularly, I carried two carpenters, and a smith, and a very handy, ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic; for he was dexterous at making wheels and hand-mills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he also made anything that was proper to make of earth or of wood: in a word, we called him our Jack of all Trades.

With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides that of his trade; for, as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept an account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and

ese thin English stuffs for clothing the Spaiards that I expected to find there, and nough of them as, by my calculation, might omfortably supply them for seven years: if remember right, the materials which I carried for clothing them, with gloves, hats, shoes, ockings, and all such things as they could ant for wearing, amounted to above two undred pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household-stuff, particularly kitchen tensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c., esides near a hundred pounds more in ironork, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, inges, and every necessary thing I could hink of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, muskets, and fuzees, besides some pistols, a conderable quantity of shot of all sizes, three r four tons of lead, and two pieces of brass annon; and because I knew not what time nd what extremities I was providing for, I arried an hundred barrels of powder, besides words, cutlasses, and the iron part of some ikes and halberts; so that, in short, we had large magazine of all sorts of stores; and I ade my nephew carry two small quarterdeck guns more than he wanted for his ship, o leave behind if there was occasion; that when they came there we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies: and ndeed I at first thought there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped o maintain our possession of the island, as hall be seen in the course of the story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with; and therefore hall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather, happened on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I, who had never made but one voyage, viz. my first voyage to Guinea, in which I might be said to come back again as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me; and that I was born never to be contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway, in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two-and-thirty days: but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty; so that while we lay here we never touched the ship's stores, but rather added to them: here also I took several hogs, and two cows with their calves, which I resolved, if I had a good passage, to put on shore in my island, but we found occasion to dispose otherwise of them.

We set out on the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days; as I remember, it might be about the 20th of February, in the evening late, when the mate having the watch, came into the round-house, and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance. Immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed that there could be no land that way in which the fire showed itself, no, not for five hundred leagues, for it appeared at W. N. W. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and as by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because the farther we sailed the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy we could not perceive any thing but the light for a while: in about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

I was most sensibly touched with this disaster, though not at all acquainted with the persons engaged in it; I presently recollected my former circumstances, in what condition I was in when taken up by the Portugal captain; and how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to this ship must be if they had no other ship in company with them: upon this I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat; for though we could see the flame in the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for day-light; when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately sunk. This was terrible, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boats in the middle of the ocean, which, at present, by reason it was dark, I could not

see: however, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship, where we could, and which we had lanterns for, and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning we discovered the ship's boats, by the help of our perspective-glasses; and found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water: we perceived they rowed, the wind being against them; that they saw our ship, and did the utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our antient, to let them know we saw them; and hung a waft out, as a signal for them to come on board; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In a little more than half an hour we came up with them, and in a word took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children; for there were a great many passengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant-ship of three hundred tons, homeward-bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage by the negligence of the steersman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely put out: but they soon found that some sparks of the first fire had gotten into some part of the ship, so difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their long-boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured themselves from the fire. They had indeed small hope of their lives by getting into these boats at that distance from any land; only, as they said well, that they were escaped from the fire, and had a possibility, that some ship might happen to be at sea, and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass; and were preparing to make the best of their way to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair; for it blew an easy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much provisions and water, as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about twelve days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said, he hoped he might get to the banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases; such as storms to overset and founder them; rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs; contrary winds to keep them out and starve them; that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

In the midst of their consultation, every one being hopeless, and ready to despair, the captain, with tears in his eyes, told me, they were on a sudden surprised with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light: this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice which, as above, I designed it should, viz. that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It was upon the hearing these guns, that they took down their masts and sails; and the sound coming from windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three muskets, one a considerable while after another; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably surprised with seeing our lights, and hearing our guns, which, as I have said, I caused to be fired all the rest of the night: this set them to work with their oars to keep their boats ahead, at least that we might the sooner come up with them: and at last to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstacies, the variety of postures, which these poor delivered people run into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance; grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of head and hands make up the sum of its variety: but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagances in it; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow; some stark raving and downright frantic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing; several singing, some laughing, some crying: many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others sick and vomiting, some swooning, and ready to faint; and a few were crossing themselves, and giving God thanks.

I would not wrong them neither; there might be many that were thankful afterwards, but the passion was too strong for them at first, and they were not able to master it; they were thrown into ecstacies and a kind of frenzy, and so there were but a very few who were composed and serious in their joy.

Perhaps also the case may have some addition to it, from the particular circumstance of the nation they belonged to; I mean the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than of other nations. I am not a philosopher to determine the cause, but nothing I had ever seen before came up to it: the ecstasies poor Friday, my trusty savage, was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the nearest to it; and the surprise of the master, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I saw in Friday, or any where else in my life.

It is farther observable, that these extravagances did not show themselves in that different manner I have mentioned, in different persons only: but all this variety would appear in a short succession of moments, in one and the same person. A man that we saw this minute dumb, and as it were stupid and confounded, should the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic; and the next moment a-tearing his hair, or pulling his clothes to pieces, and stamping them under his feet like a madman; a few minutes after that, we should have him all in tears, then sick, then swooning; and had not immediate help been had, would in a few moments more have been dead; and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greatest part of them; and, if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was strangest was, that the oldest man was the worst.

As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down as dead, to all appearance; not the least sign of life could be perceived in him. Our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ship that believed he was not dead; and at length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible: upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely; in three minutes after the man opened his eyes; and about a quarter of an hour after that he spoke, grew better, and, in a little time, quite well. After the blood was stopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and was, what we called, come to himself; about a quarter of an hour after this they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted, and told him the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumstances in his mind, and this put him into an ecstacy of joy: his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feverish, and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it: the surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep, which, after some time, operated upon him, and he waked next morning perfectly composed and well.

The younger priest behaved himself with great command of his passion, and was really an example of a serious, well-governed mind. At his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance; in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really thinking he had been in a swoon: but he spoke calmly; thanked me; told me he was giving God thanks for his deliverance; begged me to leave him a few moments, and that next to his Maker he would give me thanks also.

I was heartily sorry that I disturbed him, and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him also: he continued in that posture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him, then came to me, as he had said he would, and with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me that had, under God, given him and so many miserable creatures their lives. I told him, I had no room to move him to thank God for it rather than me; for I had seen that he had done that already: but I added, that it was nothing but what reason and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reason as he to give thanks to God, who had blessed us so far as to make us the instruments of his mercy to many of his creatures.

After this the young priest applied himself to his country-folks; laboured to compose them; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason; and with some he had success, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themselves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, in the guiding themselves in all the extravagances of their passions; for if an excess of joy can carry men out to such a length beyond the reach of their reason, what will not the extravagances of anger, rage, and a provoked mind carry us to? And, indeed, here I saw reason for keep-

ing an exceeding watch over our passions of every kind, as well those of joy and satisfaction, as those of sorrow and anger.

We were sometimes disordered by these extravagances among our new guests for the first day; but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, being fatigued and frightened, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shown them, was wanting; the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed that way. The captain and one of the priests came to me the next day; and, desiring to speak with me and my nephew, the commander began to consult with us what should be done with them; and first they told us, that as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough for a return to us for the kindness received. The captain said, they had saved some money, and some things of value in their boats, catched hastily out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get a passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at first word, and to consider what to do with them afterwards: but I over-ruled him in that part; for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country; and if the Portugal captain that took me up at sea had served me so, and took all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the Brazils as I had been at Barbary, the being sold to a Mahometan only excepted; and perhaps a Portugueze is not a much better master than a Turk, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the French captain that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true; but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their case and they in ours; but that we took them up to serve them, not to plunder them; and that it would be a most barbarous thing, to take that little from them which they had saved out of the fire, and then set them on shore and leave them; that this would be first to save them from death, and then kill them ourselves; save them from drowning, and then abandon them to starving; and therefore I would not let the least thing be taken from them. As to setting them on shore, I told them indeed that was an exceeding difficulty to us, for that the ship was bound to the East Indies; and though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, which perhaps was directed by Heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account; nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to pursue his voyage by the way of Brazil; and all I knew he could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward-bound from the West Indies, and get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East Indies: they then entreated me, that seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the banks of Newfoundland, where it was possible I might meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part, and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for indeed I considered, that to carry this whole company to the East Indies would not only be an intolerable severity to the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage, by devouring all our provisions; nor thought it no breach of charter-party, to what an unforeseen accident made absolutely necessary to us, and in which no one could say we were to blame; for the laws of God and nature would have forbid, that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition; and the nature of the thing, as well respecting ourselves, as the poor people, obliged us to see them on shore somewhere or other, for their deliverance; so I consented that we would carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; and, if not, that I would carry them to Martinico, in the West Indies.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good; and as it had blown continually in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to France; for we met several ships bound to Europe, whereof two were French, from St Christopher's; but they had been so long beating up against the wind that they durst take in no passengers for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in; so we were obliged to go on. It was

about a week after this, that we made the banks of Newfoundland, where, to shorten my story, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get provisions to victual themselves with: when I say all the French went on shore, I should remember that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the East Indies, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel: I readily agreed to that; for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards; also four of the seamen entered themselves in our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Steer for the West Indies—Distressing Account of a Bristol Ship, the Crew of which we save in a state of Starvation—Arrive at my Island—Friday's joy on discovering it—Affecting interview betwixt him and his Father on landing—Narrative of the Occurrences on the Island during my absence.*

From hence we directed our course for the West Indies, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes N., and the 19th day of March 1684-5, when we espied a sail, our course S. E. and by S. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us: but could not at first know what to make of her, till after coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her main-topmast, foremast, and bowsprit, and presently she fires a gun as a signal of distress. The weather was pretty good, wind at N. N. W. a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of Bristol bound home from Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; so that, beside the terror of the storm, they were but in an indifferent case for good artists to bring the ship home. They had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they had lost their masts, as above; they told us, they expected to have seen the Bahama Islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east by a strong gale of wind at N. N. W., the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with, but a main course, and a kind of square sail upon a jury-foremast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the Canaries.

But that which was worst of all, was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone; their bread and flesh was quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had, was, their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar enough; some succades or sweatmeats they had at first, but they were devoured; and they had seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid-servant on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began; and, having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen, being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their misery is very hard to describe.

I had perhaps not known this part, if my curiosity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind abated, to go on board the ship: the second mate, who upon this occasion commanded the ship, had been on board our ship; and he told me indeed, that they had three passengers in the great cabin, that they were in a deplorable condition; Nay, says he, I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days; and I was afraid to inquire after them, said he, for I had nothing to relieve them with.

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare; and indeed I had so far over-ruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to Virginia, or any part of the coast of America, to have supplied ourselves; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger, for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them. The mate or commander brought six men with him in his boat, but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit to their oars; the mate himself was very ill, and half starved, for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit they ate.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick, and out of order; so he stopped awhile, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physic; and after he had taken it, he grew better: in the mean time I forgot not the men; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than ate it; they were so exceeding hungry that they were in a manner ravenous, and had no command of themselves; and two of them ate with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible prospect of at my first coming on shore in my island, where I had not the least mouthful of food, or any hopes of procuring it; besides the hourly apprehension I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miserable condition of the ship's company, I could not put out of my thought the story he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin; viz. the mother, her son, and the maid-servant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days; and whom he seemed to confess they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being so great: by which I understood, that they had really given them no food at all; and that therefore they must be perished, and be all lying dead perhaps on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men to refresh them, so I also forgot not the starving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men's taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a little at a time; and by this caution he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see what condition the poor passengers were in, and, if they were alive, to comfort them and give them what refreshment was proper; and the surgeon gave a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this; but, as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery, which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready; but my mate observed his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the men he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force: however, he caused some biscuit cakes to be dipped in the pot, and softened them with the liquor of the meat, which they call brewis, and gave every one one, to stay their stomachs, and told them it was for their own safety that he was obliged to give them but little at a time. But it was all in vain, and had not I come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into the cook-room by force, and torn the meat out of the furnace; for words indeed are of a very small force to an hungry belly: however we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for as, first, the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true, that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them; so that for six or seven days it might be said they had really had no food at all, and for several days before, very little.

The poor mother, who, as the first mate reported, was a woman of good sense and good breeding, had spared all she could so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it; and when the men of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor of deck, with her back up against the side, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth; she opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak; yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating, that it was too late for her, but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him.

However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth; and, as he

maid, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not; but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him: he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it: however, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive, though, by giving him some time after but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid; she lay all along upon the deck hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life: her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of one chair, and she griped it so hard, that we could not easily make her let it go: her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin table; in short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death, and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her mistress, whom she saw dying two or three days before, and whom she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, and with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses; for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after, as shall appear presently.

Whoever shall read these memorandums, must be desired to consider, that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts: however, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main-topmast, and a kind of topmast to his jury-foremast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days, and then having given him five barrels of beef and pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of pease, flour, and what other things we could spare; and taking three casks of sugar and some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age, a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth; greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, and, as it seems, had lost his father but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me, to take him out of the ship; for, he said, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed so they had, that is to say, passively; for they might have spared a small sustenance to the poor helpless widow, that might have preserved her life, though it had been just to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no justice, no right; and therefore is remorseless, and capable of no compassion.

The surgeon told him how far we were going, and how it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps in as bad circumstances, almost, as we found them in; that is to say, starving in the world. He said he mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved his life, and he was sure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was sure if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them whither we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them both on board with all their goods, except eleven hogsheads of sugar, which could not be removed, or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging him to go, as soon as he came to Bristol, to one Mr Rogers, a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceased widow: which I suppose was not done; for I could never learn that the ship came to Bristol; but was, as is most probable, lost at sea, being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion, the first storm she met with afterwards she might founder in the sea; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when I met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the rest of our voyage; but shortening my story for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found

the place; for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the south and east side of the island, as coming from the Brazils; so now coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any land-mark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on shore on several islands in the mouth of the great river Oroonoque, but none for my purpose: only this I learnt by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, viz. that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in, was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island, were not properly those which we call Caribees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of the islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and that they came thither to make salt, and catch some pearl mussels, if they could; but they belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchman's shallop (which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will,) at length I came fair on the south side of my island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday, and asked him, if he knew where he was? He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried, O yes, O there, O yes, O there! pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

Well, Friday, said I, do you think we shall find any body here, or no? and what do you think, shall we see your father?—The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected; and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully. What is the matter, Friday? said I; are you troubled because you may see your father?—No, no, says he, shaking his head, no see him more, no ever more see again.—Why so, said I, Friday? how do you know that?—O no, O no, says Friday, he long ago die; long ago, he much old man.—Well, well, said I, Friday, you don't know: but shall we see any one else then?—The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house, and though we lay half a league off, he cries out, Me see! me see! yes, yes, me see much man there, and there, and there.—I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with a perspective-glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day, and there were five or six men all together stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of it.

As soon as Friday had told me he saw people, I caused the English ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek; so I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me; and hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular both of myself and those that I left there, and who was on that account extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guest there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood near high water, we rowed directly in to the creek; and the first man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat; for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off of the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him; and if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, lifted him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him; then stood and looked at him as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lay down upon the ground, and got up again, and stared at him; one would have thought the fellow bewitched: but it would have made a dog laugh to see how the next day his passion run out another way

in the morning he walked along the shore, to and again, with his father, several hours, always leading him by the hand as if he had been a lady; and every now and then would come to fetch something or other for him from the boat, either a lump of sugar, or a dram, a biscuit, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and made a thousand antic postures and gestures; and all the while he did this he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in Christians to their parents in our parts of the world, one would be tempted to say there hardly would have been any need of the fifth commandment

But this is a digression; I return to my leading. It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, whom, as I said, I knew very well, was he whose life I saved: he came towards the boat attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also; and he did not only not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion, of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him. Seignor, said I, in Portugueze, do you not know me? At which he spoke not a word; but giving his musket to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, came forward, and embraced me, telling me, he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen, as of an angel from Heaven sent to save his life: he said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements. So I walked along with him; but, alas! I could no more find the place again than if I had never been there, for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, in ten years time they were grown so big, that, in short, the place was inaccessible, except by such windings and blind ways as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them, what put them upon all these fortifications? He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island, especially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone; he told me he could not but have some satisfaction in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion, that one time or other he should see me again: but nothing that ever befel him in his life, he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he said he had a long story to tell me; the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small. And, says he, had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory; and with that he crossed himself upon the breast. But, sir, says he, I hope you will not be displeased when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers. I answered, I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of every thing first, and left the other in a state of subjection, as they deserved: but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it for I knew they were a parcel of refractory, ungovernable villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was saying this, came the man whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more: in the dress they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. First he turned to me, and pointing to them, said, These, sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you; and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been sailors, and ordinary fellows, and I the like, but really as if they had been ambassadors or noblemen, and I a monarch or a great conqueror: their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly majestic gravity, which very well became them: and in short they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in the island after my going away, is so remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will, in most of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them

with great delight to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expense of ten thousand Said I's, and Said he's, and He told me's, and I told him's, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstances in which I left the island, and which the persons were in of whom I am to speak. At first it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in, and in order to succour them for the present, and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterward.

When I sent them away, I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much less had I any foreknowledge of what after happened, I mean of an English ship coming on shore there to fetch them off; and it could not but be a very great surprise to them when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I inquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather and a smooth sea; for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him (it seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in having been dead some time:) they were, he said, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him, as they did all the rest of their prisoners; that when he told them the story of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them; and their astonishment, they said, was something like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court; but when he showed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the provisions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

The first business was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to stick so much upon the honest part of it, but to trespass upon their friendly savages, and to borrow two large canoes or periaguas, on pretence of going out a-fishing, or for pleasure

In these they came away the next morning; it seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready, for they had no baggage, neither clothes, or provisions, or any other thing in the world, but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks absent, and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the island; leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor Spaniards' great grief and disappointment you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did, was, that when the Spaniards came on shore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; also they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up my tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did; all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom understood English well enough; nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with anything else, for they agreed very well for some time: they gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my method, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs; for as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their supper for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, would the other but have left them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long; but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither: the differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating; but

at last it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common sense; and though, it is true, the first relation of it came from the Spaniards themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation; and this was that I forgot to set down among the rest, that just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would turn to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some ugly dangerous words the second time, he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ship.

This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do it, frighted some other men in the ship; and some of them had put it in the heads of the rest, that the captain only gave them good words for the present till they should come to some English port, and that then they should be all put into a gaol, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate and satisfy the men, and tell them, that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and after passing my honour's word to them, they appeared easy, and the more so, when I caused the two men who were in irons to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm. Next morning we found that our two men, who had been laid in irons, had stole each of them a musket and some other weapons; what powder or shot they had we knew not; and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery on shore.

As soon as we found this, I ordered the long-boat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the rogues; but they could neither find them, nor any of the rest; for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. The mate was once resolved, in justice to their roguery, to have destroyed their plantations, burnt all their household stuff and furniture, and left them to shift without it; but having no order, he let all alone, left every thing as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

These two men made their number five: but the other three villains were so much wickeder than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they, for a good while, be persuaded to give them any food: as for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came first on shore, the business began to go forward; the Spaniards would have persuaded the three English brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it: so the two poor fellows lived by themselves, and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortable, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more to the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

Here they built two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the pease which I had left them, they dug, and planted, and enclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well: their first crop of corn was on the ground, and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread or other eatables; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in a little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it; and, damn them, they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jested at first, and asked them to come and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded: and one of them merrily told them, if they were ground-landlords, he hoped if

they built tenements upon the land, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of all landlords, grant them a long lease; and bid them go fetch a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the three, damning and raging, told them they should see they were not in jest; and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he takes a fire-brand and claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly set it on fire; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he turned upon him with a pole he had in his hand; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muskets; and the man that was first struck at with the pole knocked the fellow down who began the quarrel, with the stock of his musket, and that before the other two could come to help him; and then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The others had fire-arms with them too; but one of the two honest men, bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them if they offered to move hand or foot they were all dead men, and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms; but seeing him resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and, indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow: however, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids and a she goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store; and in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Narrative continued—Insolence of three of the Englishmen to the Spaniards—They are disarmed and brought to order—A great Body of Savages land upon the Island—They turn out to be two adverse Nations met there by chance—A bloody Battle between them—Several of the vanquished Party secured by the Spaniards.*

It happened that the day before, two of the Spaniards, having been in the woods, had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom, for distinction, I call the honest men; and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat, and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, he took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, though in gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them, how they could be so cruel, they being harmless inoffensive fellows, and as they were putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal to bring things to such perfection as they had.

One of the Englishmen returned very briskly, What had they to do there? That they came on shore without leave, and that they should not plant or build upon the island; it was none of their ground.—Why, says the Spaniard, very calmly, Seignior Inglese, they must not starve.—The Englishman replied, like a true rough-hewn tarpaulin, They might starve and be damned, they should not plant nor build in that place.—But what must they do then, Seignior? says the Spaniard.—Why, other of the brutes returned, Do! d—n them, they should be servants, and work for them.—But how can you expect that of them? they are not bought with your money; you have

no right to make them servants.—The Englishman answered, The island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themselves; and with that swore by his Maker, that he would go and burn all their new huts; they should build none upon their land.

Why, Seignior, says the Spaniard, by the same rule, we must be your servants too.—Ay, says the bold dog, and so you shall too, before we have done with you; mixing two or three G—d d—mme's in the proper intervals of his speech. The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called Will Atkins, Come, Jack, let us go and have the other brush with them; we will demolish their castle. I will warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our dominions.

Upon this they were all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the Spaniards too, when opportunity offered; but the Spaniards, it seems, did not so perfectly understand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two Englishmen's part.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night; and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves The case was this: they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the poor men when they were asleep; and they acknowledged it afterwards, intending to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out: and, as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came thither, and found the men gone, Atkins, who it seems was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, Ha! Jack, here's the nest; but d—n them, the birds are flown. They mused awhile to think what should be the occasion of their going abroad so soon, and suggested presently, that the Spaniards had given them notice of it; and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another, that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation; they did not set fire indeed to any thing, but they pulled down both their houses, and pulled them so limb from limb, that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood; they tore all their little collected household-stuff in pieces, and threw every thing about in such a manner, that the poor men found, afterwards, some of their things a mile off from their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; pulling up the enclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, sacked and plundered every thing, as completely as a herd of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three: so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout, resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder, than they themselves could do to meet: for, as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again: we shall see their differing conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, fleering in his face, says he to him, And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners.—The Spaniard, who, though quite a civil man, was as brave as a man could desire to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while; and then, having no weapon in his hand, stepped gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe; at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately: he missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before

he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped and took the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him; when the rest of the Spaniards being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and giving the Spaniards better words, would have had their arms again; but the Spaniards, considering the feud that was between them and the other two Englishmen, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably, they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were not more capable to hear reason than to act reason; but being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms: but the Spaniards, despising their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for if they did, they would shoot them, as they would do ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they should certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them; but away they went, swearing and raging like furies of hell. As soon as they were gone, came back the two men in passion and rage enough also, though of another kind; for, having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed, as above, it will easily be supposed they had provocation enough: they could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find, that three men should thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

The Spaniards indeed despised them, and especially having thus disarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two Englishmen resolved to have their remedy against them, what pains soever it cost to find them out.

But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them, that they were already disarmed: they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with fire-arms, and perhaps kill them: But, said the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us; for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with them, without having a full satisfaction for you; and upon this condition we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your defence.

The two Englishmen yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the Spaniards protested, they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last; For, said they, we are not so many of us; here is room enough for us all, and it is a great pity we should not be all good friends. At length they did consent, and waited for the issue of the thing, living for some days with the Spaniards; for their own habitation was destroyed.

In about five days time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles' eggs all that while, came back to the grove; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly, but told them, they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and so very grossly by them (the Spaniards,) that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two Englishmen, and the rest; but, however, they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed that they were very hard put to it; for it seems, as they were to wait this half-hour for an answer, they begged he would send them out some bread in the mean time; which he did, and sent them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh, and a broiled parrot, which they ate very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour's consultation they were called in, and a long debate had about them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now. Upon the whole, the Spaniards acted the moderators between them; and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows two huts, one to be of the same dimensions, and the other larger than they were before;

also to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it; and, in a word, to restore every thing in the same state as they found it, as near as they could; for entirely it could not be, the season for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being possible to be recovered.

Well, they all submitted to this: and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together again; only that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work; I mean, not for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased; however, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would but live sociably and friendly together, and study in the whole the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased; and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them their arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had these arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as insolent and troublesome as before; but however, an accident happened presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all; they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spaniard governor, as I call him, that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; and his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any sleep; in short, he lay a great while; but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise: as they lay, being so many of them, upon goat-skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they made for themselves, and not in hammocks, and ship-beds, as I did, who was but one, so they had little to do, when they were willing to rise, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but, being dark, he could see little or nothing; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear star-light night; and, hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to any thing like rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and, calling, asked who it was that was up? The governor told him how it had been with him. Say you so? says the other Spaniard; such things are not to be slighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief working, says he, near us; and presently he asked him, Where are the Englishmen?—They are all in their huts, says he, safe enough.—It seems, the Spaniards had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place, where the three Englishmen, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. Well, says the Spaniard, there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience; I am satisfied our spirits embodied have converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Come, says he, let us go out and look abroad; and if we find nothing at all in it to justify our trouble, I'll tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it.

In a word, they went out to go to the top of the hill, where I used to go; but they, being strong, and in good company, nor alone, as I was, used none of my cautions to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them, to go up a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised with seeing a light as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one, or two, but of a great number.

In all the discoveries I had made of the savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them making the least discovery of there being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any necessity they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that they that got away were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared as soon as possible, nor did ever any that had seen me escape to tell any one else, except it were the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they should go home, and bring more help.

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of those men, that so great a number came now together; or whether they came

ignorantly, and by accident, on their usual bloody errand, the Spaniards could not, it seems, understand: but whatever it was, it had been their business, either to have concealed themselves, and not have seen them at all; much less to have let the savages have seen that there were any inhabitants in the place; but to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats: but this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt but that the governor, and the man with him, surprised with this sight, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in, and they again as readily took the alarm; but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where they were, but that they must all run out to see how things stood.

While it was dark indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at some distance from one another. What they were doing they knew not, and what to do themselves they knew not; for, first, the enemy were too many; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

The Spaniards were in no small consternation at this sight; and as they found that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt, but, first or last, some of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon some other place, where they would see the tokens of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little less than starving them, if they should have been destroyed; so the first thing they resolved upon, was to dispatch three men away before it was light, viz. two Spaniards and one Englishman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savages all together in one body, and at a distance from their canoes, they resolved, if there had been an hundred of them, to have attacked them; but that could not be obtained, for there were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beaten their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at last, while it was dark, to send the old savage (Friday's father) out as a spy, to learn if possible something concerning them, as what they came for, and what they intended to do, and the like. The old man readily undertook it, and stripping himself quite naked, as most of the savages were, away he went. After he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word that he had been among them undiscovered, that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another, and had had a great battle in their own country, and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were by mere chance landed in the same island for the devouring their prisoners, and making merry; but their coming so by chance to the same place had spoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as daylight began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling the story, when they could perceive, by the unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen: he told them their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but to lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and the rest would go away; and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen, their curiosity was so importunate upon their prudentials, that they must run out and see the battle; however, they used some caution, viz. they did not go openly past by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be seen by them; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce, and if I might believe the Englishmen, one of them said he could perceive that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirits, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours before they could guess which party would be beaten; but then that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear weakest, and after some time more, some of them began to fly, and this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove before their dwelling for shelter, and thereby involuntarily discover the place, and that by consequence the pursuers should do the like in search for them. Upon this they resolved, that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came in

gone they should sally out over the wall, and kill them, so that if possible not one should return to give an account of it; they ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stock of the musket, not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.

As they expected, it fell out: three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter. The scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition to our men's great satisfaction, viz. that the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives; but sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round and come in behind them, surprise and take them prisoners; which was done: the residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes and got off to sea; the victors retired, and made no pursuit, or very little, but drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed were by way of triumph, and so the fight ended; and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their island again free to themselves, their fight was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den, and viewing the field of battle, they found about two-and-thirty dead men upon the spot; some were killed with great long arrows, several of which were found sticking in their bodies, but most of them were killed with their great wooden swords, sixteen or seventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows. These swords were great unwieldy things, and they must be very strong men that used them; most of those men that were killed with them had their heads mashed to pieces, as we may say, or, as we call it in English, their brains knocked out, and several of their arms and legs broken; so that it is evident they fight with inexpressible rage and fury. They found not one wounded man that was not stone dead; for either they stay by their enemy till they have quite killed them, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen for a great while; the sight had filled them with horror, and the consequence appeared terrible to the last degree, especially upon supposing that some time or other they should fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they professed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three English brutes I have been speaking of, and for a great while after they were very tractable, and went about the common business of the whole society well enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country; but some time after this they fell all into such simple measures again as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I had observed; and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them; and as slaves they did well enough; but they did not take their measures with them as I did by my man Friday, viz. to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instructed them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind usage and affectionate arguings; but as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part: Being all now good friends (for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled them,) they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant it in some more proper place for their safety, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn.

Upon this, after long debate, it was conceived that they should not remove their habitation, because that some time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I should send any one to seek them, I would be sure to direct them on that side, where if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go away too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper to both, and where indeed there was land enough; however, upon second thoughts they altered one part of that resolution too, and resolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there; and so, if one part was destroyed, the other might be saved; and one piece of prudence they used, which it was very well they did; viz. that they never trusted these three savages, which they had taken prisoners, with knowing any thing of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much less of the cave there, which they kept in case of necessity as a safe retreat; and thither they carried also the two barrels of powder which I had left them at my coming away.

But however they resolved not to change their habitation; yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it first with a wall and fortification, and then with a grove of trees; so, seeing their safety consisted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before: to this purpose, as I had planted trees (or rather thrust in stakes which in time all grew to be trees) for some good distance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even into the very ooze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout. These stakes also being of a wood very forward to grow, as I had noted formerly, they took care to have generally very much larger and taller than those which I had planted, and placed them so very thick and close, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any considerable way into the plantation. As for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that, in a word, it stood like a palisado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impossible to penetrate it but with a little army to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close.

But this was not all: for they did the same by all the ground to the right hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill, leaving no way, not so much as for themselves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, and then lifted up and placed again from the first stage up to the top; which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to assist it, could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived, nor was it less than what they afterwards found occasion for; which served to convince me, that as human prudence has authority of Providence to justify it, so it has, doubtless, the direction of Providence to set it to work, and would we listen carefully to the voice of it, I am fully persuaded we might prevent many of the disasters which our lives are now by our own negligence subjected to: but this by the way.

I return to the story: They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages; they had indeed an alarm given them one morning, which put them in a great consternation; for some of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the west side, or rather end of the island, which, by the way, was that end where I never went, for fear of being discovered, they were surprised with seeing above twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore.

They made the best of their way home in hurry enough, and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night to make observation; but they had the good luck to be mistaken, for wherever the savages went, they did not land at that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Fresh broils betwixt the turbulent Englishmen and the Spaniards—The English make a Voyage to the Main Land, and return in twenty-two Days—Particulars of the Voyage—Description of the Men and Women they brought with them—The Country discovered by an unlucky accident to the Savages, who invade the Island, but are defeated.*

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen, one of which, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves which I mentioned they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, and would a little untractable in his showing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt in which he bore it by his side, and fell upon him, the poor savage, not to correct him but to kill him. One of the Spaniards who was by, seeing him go to the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet which he aimed at his head, but struck him his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, as

entreating him not to murder the poor man, clapt in between him and the savage to prevent the mischief.

The fellow being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel which he had in his hand (for they were working in the field about the corn-land,) knocked the brute down; another of the Englishmen running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down, and then two Spaniards more came to help their man, and a third Englishman fell upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except the third Englishman: he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the last Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, what should be done with them? they had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, that they knew not what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard, who was governor, told them in so many words, that if they had been his own countrymen he would have hanged them all; for all laws and all governors were to preserve society, and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled out of it; but as they were Englishmen, and that it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgement of the other two Englishmen, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest Englishmen stood up, and said they desired it might not be left to them; For, says he, I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows; and with that gives an account how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their sleep.

When the Spanish governor heard this, he calls to Will Atkins: How, Seignior Atkins, says he, will you murder us all? What have you to say to that?—That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and, G-d d-mn him, they would do it still before they had done with them.—Well but, Seignior Atkins, said the Spaniard, what have we done to you that you will kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent your killing us? Must we kill you, or will you kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins? says the Spaniard, very calmly and smiling.

Seignior Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it, that had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. The two Englishmen, and the Spaniard who saved the poor savage, were of the opinion that they should hang one of the three for an example to the rest; and that particularly it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet; and indeed there was some reason to believe he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard still said, No, it was an Englishman that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an Englishman to death though he had murdered half of them; nay, he said, if he had been killed himself by an Englishman, and had time left to speak, it should be that they should pardon him.

This was so positively insisted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no gainsaying it; and as merciful counsels are most apt to prevail, where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it; but then it was to be considered what should be done to keep them from the mischief they designed; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used for preserving the society from danger. After a long debate it was agreed, first, that they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they could, by themselves; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse with them, speak with them, or have any thing to do with them; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, that they should die without mercy, and would shoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it, and turning to the two honest Englishmen, said, Hold, you must reflect, that it will be long ere they can raise corn and

cattle of their own, and they must not starve: we must therefore allow them provisions. So he caused to be added, that they should have a proportion of corn given them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids given them, as well for present subsistence as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the field; such as six hatchets, an axe, a saw, and the like; but they should have none of these tools or provisions unless they would swear solemnly that they would not hurt or injure any of the Spaniards with them, or of their fellow Englishmen.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away or to stay; but as there was no remedy they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they should settle themselves, to plant and live by themselves; and some provisions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out an habitation or plantation: it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N. E., much about the place where I providentially landed in my first voyage when I was driven out to sea, the Lord alone knows whither, in my foolish attempt to surround the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, being close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already to the three sides of it; so that by planting others it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dry goat-skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon their giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could spare; some pease, barley, and rice, for sowing, and, in a word, any thing they wanted but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards, and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling: and this humbled them much; so they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did, and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn and other things from the rain; but it was but a poor place at best compared to mine, and especially as mine was then; for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic took these rogues, which, together with the former villainy they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances; and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the savages came, and would try if they could not seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so as to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The project was not so preposterous if they had gone no farther; but they did nothing and proposed nothing but had either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event; and if I may give my opinion, they seemed to lie under a blast from Heaven; for if we will not allow a visible curse to pursue visible crimes, how shall we reconcile the events of things with divine justice? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy that brought them to the state they were in; and as they showed not the least remorse for the crime, but added new villainies to it, such as particularly that piece of monstrous cruelty of wounding a poor slave, because he did not, or perhaps could not, understand to do what he was directed, and to wound him in such a manner as, in question, made him a cripple all his life, and in a place where no surgeon or medicine could be had for his cure; and what was still worse, the murderous intent, or, to do justice to the crime, the intentional murder, for such to be sure it was, as was afterwards the formal design they all laid to murder the Spaniards in cold blood, and in their sleep.

But I leave observing, and return to the story: The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms desired to be admitted to speak with them: the Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this, that they were tired of living in the manner they did, that they were not handy enough to make

the necessaries they wanted, and that having no help, they found they should be starved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and gave them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main, and seek their fortune, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them; but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them that they would be starved or murdered, and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work, and would not work: and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them, and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or no.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves, and that though they could ill spare their fire-arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer; and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men, and therefore was rather too big for them to manage; but as they had a fair breeze and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough: they had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together, and away they went merrily enough; the Spaniards called after them, *Bon veajo*; and no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The Spaniards would often say to one another, and the two honest Englishmen who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived now those three turbulent fellows were gone; as for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts could be imagined; when, behold, after twenty-two days absence, one of the Englishmen being abroad upon his planting work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, two of them with guns upon their shoulders.

Away runs the Englishman, as if he was bewitched, and came, frighted and amazed to the governor Spaniard, and tells him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, he could not tell who. The Spaniard, pausing a while, says to him, How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are savages to be sure.—No, no, says the Englishman, they are men in clothes, with arms.—Nay then, says the Spaniard, why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm.

While they were debating thus, came the three Englishmen, and standing without the wood which was new planted, hallooed to them; they presently knew their voices, and so all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, viz. What could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in; and inquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, viz. that they reached the land in two days, or something less, but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island: that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand north, and several more west; and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; that they found the people were courteous and friendly to them, and they gave them several roots, and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable: and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and inquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way, and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people, that lived almost every way, who, as they made known by signs to them, used to eat men; but as for themselves, they said that they never ate men or women, except only such as they took in the wars; and then

they owned that they made a great feast, and ate their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired when they had a feast of that kind, and they told them two moons ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war, and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners; but the others mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify, that the next morning at sun-rising they would bring some for them; and accordingly the next morning they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port town to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do; to refuse the prisoners, would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not; however, upon some debate, they resolved to accept of them, and in return they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with; and then tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the prisoners into the boat for our men.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But having taken their leave with all the respect and thanks that could well pass between people, where, on either side, they understood not one word they could say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was impossible to make them understand any thing; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them: they first of all unbound them, but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the same thing; then they concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill; if they looked at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded it was to see whether he or she was fattest and fittest to kill first; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them where their new family was? And being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come to beg some victuals for them; they (the Spaniards) and the other two Englishmen, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place and see them, and did so, and Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound; for when they had brought them on shore they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their escape; there, I say, they sat, all of them stark naked. First, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well shaped, straight and fair limbs, about thirty or thirty-five years of age, and five women; whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above twenty-four or twenty-five, and the fifth a tall comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for handsome women even in London itself, having very pleasant, agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be clothed, and dressed, as they called it, though that dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed; of which hereafter.

The sight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our Spaniards, who were (to give them a just character) men of the best behaviour, of the most calm, sedate temper, and perfect good humour that ever I met with; in particular, of the most modesty, as will presently appear: I say, the sight was very uncouth, to see three naked men, and five naked women, all together bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that human nature could be supposed to be, viz. to be expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then

be eaten up like a fatted calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in and see first if he knew any of them, and then if he understood any of their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them, that the men into whose hands they were fallen were Christians; that they abhorred eating of men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed. As soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such a joy, and by such awkward and several ways, as is hard to describe, for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman who was their interpreter was bid, in the next place, to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away to save their lives? At which they all fell a-dancing; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them would presently be attended with some inconveniency, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them, whether as servants, or as women? One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, I am not going to restrain you from it; you are your own masters as to that: but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels among you, and I desire it of you for that reason only, viz. that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women as a woman, or wife, he shall take but one; and that, having taken one, none else should touch her; for though we cannot marry any of you, yet it is but reasonable, that while you stay here, the woman any of you takes should be maintained by the man that takes her, and should be his wife; I mean, says he, while he continues here; and that none else should have any thing to do with her.—All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Englishmen asked the Spaniards if they designed to take any of them? But every one answered, No; some of them said they had wives in Spain; and the others did not like women that were not Christians; and all together declared, that they would not touch one of them; which was an instance of such virtue as I have not met with in all my travels. On the other hand, to be short, the five Englishmen took them every one a wife; that is to say, a temporary wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within; the three servants, which they had taken in the late battle of the savages, lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplying all the rest with food, and assisting them in any thing as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of this story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows, should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the others: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves; for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first, went away by himself to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first took her that was reckoned the homeliest and the oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it; but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business that they were to expect assistance in as much as any thing else, and she proved the best wife in the parcel.

When the poor women saw themselves in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now going to be devoured: accordingly, when the English sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world; nor was it possible for the Englishmen to satisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who instantly let them know, that the five men who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done this, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them: and in a few hours they had built them every one a new hut or tent for

their lodging apart; for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household-stuff, and provisions. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separate as before: and thus my island was peopled in three places, and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth observing, that as it often happens in the world (what the wise ends of God's providence are in such a disposition of things I cannot say,) the two honest fellows had the two worst wives; and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, or any one else, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives: not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour; for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another observation I must make, to the honour of a diligent application on the one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the several improvements, planting, and management of the several little colonies, the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison; they had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted, and the reason was, because, according to my rule, nature dictated that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed every thing else, was easy to be seen at first view.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place nothing was to be seen but a wood; and though they had their plantation twice demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shown in its place; yet they had restored all again, and every thing was flourishing and thriving about them: they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen any thing of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had also formed themselves a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they secured their wives and children so as they could never be found; they having, by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood, which, as I said, grew so easily, made a grove impassable except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went in by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilized by their new settlement, compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity, yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true, they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them: "I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was overgrown with thorns;" for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen; whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place: "The diligent hand maketh rich;" for every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the others, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and having learnt the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the other Englishmen, who, as I said, was a cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husbands' victuals very nicely; whereas the other could not be brought to understand it; but then the husband, who, as I said, had been cook's mate, did it himself; but as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles' eggs, and caught fish and birds; in a word, any thing but labour, and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But now I come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or me; and the origin of the story was this:

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians, or savages, call them which you please; and there is no room to doubt that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves; but that par-

was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it as I did; but having been made sensible, by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to show themselves; only placing a scout in a proper place, to give notice when the boats went off to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages, that there were inhabitants there, which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground; it was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that, like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do; the Spaniard governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked, but he professed he knew not what to do; as for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood; for as to them, the poor creatures had done no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no just quarrel against them to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these Spaniards, observe, that let all the accounts of Spanish cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they will, I never met with seventeen men, of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous, as these Spaniards; and, as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the insufferable usage of the three Englishmen; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above. After some consultation they resolved upon this, that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor Spaniard recollected, that the three savages had no boat; and that if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone that way.

Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still; so they resolved to awaken them, and take them prisoners; and they did so. The poor fellows were strangely frighted when they were seized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten; for it seems those people think all the world do as they do, eating men's flesh; but they were soon made easy as to that; and away they carried them.

It was very happy for them that they did not carry them home to their castle; I mean to my palace under the hill: but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work; such as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c.; and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after in some other boats or canoes of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow got safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how weak and few they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, as it was very happy he had not, how many they were or where they lived, nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shown him any other of their retired places, such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sun-

rise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped: but the case differed now very much; for two men to fifty were too much odds. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed, and as they landed about a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men whom they brought with the women, who, it seems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard farther.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle into the wood, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all, for they went directly to the place.

When the poor frighted men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three, who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and in the mean time they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance, yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far but that, from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could see all their huts and household-stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, and to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station for a while, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search for prey, and in particular for the people, of whom it plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, so they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow, and vastly large; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see what might offer.

They had not stood there long, but two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther, they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance, running another way; for, in a word, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand and keep their posture, or fly; but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be lost; so they resolved to stand them then, and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which were near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the two first, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party, by which the two and the five that followed would be separated; at length they resolved to let the two first pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two first savages also confirmed them in this resolution, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might kill them all three; to which purpose, the man who was to fire put three or four bullets into his piece, and having a fair loop-hole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he laid

a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw, that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim; for as the savages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, in a word he fired, and hit two of them directly; the foremost was killed out-right, being shot in the head; the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second; and being dreadfully frighted, though not much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frighted with the noise than sensible of their danger, stood still at first: for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was, the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming and making, every sort, a several kind of noise, according to their kind, just as it was when I fired the first gun that, perhaps, was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to that place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, it is very rational to believe, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that thunder from their gods, had killed those two, and wounded him. This, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, so they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as heard of a gun; neither knew they any thing of killing or wounding at a distance with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reasonably believe that they would not have stood so unconcerned in viewing the fate of their fellows without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them, and singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them; the fifth, frighted even to death though not hurt, fell with the rest; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step, and they were under some surprise when they came to the place, and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them two very little hurt, and one not at all: this obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets; and first they made sure of the runaway savage that had been the cause of all the mischief, and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain. Then the man that was not hurt at all came and kneeled down to them with his two hands held up, and made piteous moan to them by gestures and signs for his life, but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However, they signified to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope-twine which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his feet fast together, and his hands behind him, and there they left him; and with what speed they could make after the other two which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few goods they had left, lay. They came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley towards the sea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, who as they supposed was delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough to be sure; for though the savages were their own country-folks, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came thither, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near

the place, but had not found it; for indeed it was inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, unless the persons seeking it had been directed by those that knew it, which these were not; they found, therefore, every thing very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort of seven of the Spaniards coming to their assistance; the other ten with their servants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country; but they did not spread so far. With the seven Spaniards came one of the savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly, and with them also came the savage whom the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them, where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had done the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burden to them; and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they thought they were under an absolute necessity to kill them for their own preservation: however, the Spaniard governor would not consent to it; but ordered, that they should be sent out of the way to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them and give them food: which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but taking five of the Spaniards, and themselves, with four muskets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages. And first they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was easy to see that some more of the savages had been there; for they attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over; from thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they had stood and seen their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages: they then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation; but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry at first that there was no way to come at them to give them a parting blow, but upon the whole were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to do any thing good, yet, as soon as they heard of it (for they living remote, knew nothing till all was over,) came and offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days to restore their habitations, and make necessaries for them; and thus in a little time they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther satisfaction of seeing three of the savages canoes come driving on shore, and at some distance from them, with two drowned men; by which they had reason to believe that they had met with a storm at sea, which had overset some of them, for it blew very hard the night after they went off.

However, as some might miscarry, so on the other hand enough of them escaped to inform the rest, as well of what they had done, as of what happened to them; and to what them on to another enterprise of the same nature, which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for except what the first man had told them of inhabitants, they could say little to it of their own knowledge; for they never saw one man, and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

## CHAP. XXV.

*The Island is invaded by a formidable Fleet of Savages——A terrible Engagement, in which the Cannibals are utterly routed——Thirty-seven Wretches, the survivors, are saved, and employed by my People as Servants——Description of Will Atkins' ingenious Contrivances for his Accommodation.*

It was five or six months after this before they heard any more of the savages, in which time our men were in hopes they had not forgot their former bad luck, or had given over the hopes of better; when on a sudden they were invaded with a most formidable fleet of no less than twenty-eight canoes, full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such-like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that, in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and

at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would much more be so now, while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved, first of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards; and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants any where as possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened: these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore, directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small indeed; but that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number neither: the whole account, it seems, stood thus:—first, as to men:

17 Spaniards.
3 Englishmen.
1 Old Friday, or Friday's father.
3 Slaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful.
3 Other slaves, who lived with the Spaniards.

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29

To arm these they had:
11 Muskets.
5 Pistols.
3 Fowling-pieces.
5 Muskets, or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen whom I reduced.
2 Swords.
3 Old halberts.

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29

To their slaves they did not give either musket or fusil, but they had every one an halbert, or a long staff, like a quarter-staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon but they would come into the fight, and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages when the first action happened, which I have spoken of, where the Indians fought with one another; and the women had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor, whom I have described so often, commanded the whole; and William Atkins, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedness, was a most daring bold fellow, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation; only that Will Atkins, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them pass by, and then fire into the middle of them; and as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat, as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards where they stood, having a thicket of trees all before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order, and Will Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their muskets with six or seven bullets apiece, about as big as pistol bullets. How many they killed or wounded they knew not; but the consternation and surprise was inexpressible among the savages, who were frighted to the last degree, to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it. When in the middle of their fright, William Atkins and his other three let fly again among the thickest of them; and in less than a minute the first three, being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had William Atkins and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do, or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, viz. that they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them: but William Atkins staying to load again, discovered the cheat; some of the savages, who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind; and though Atkins and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women. This slave was

a most gallant fellow, and fought most desperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed staves and an hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, Atkins wounded, and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three vollies upon them, retreated also; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than so many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud; and it was observed, that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Englishman that were killed, behind them; and the savages, when they came up to them, killed them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs and wooden swords, like true savages. But finding our men were gone, they did not seem inclined to pursue them, but drew themselves up in a kind of ring, which is, it seems, their custom, and shouted twice in token of their victory; after which, they had the mortification to see several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had him march, and charge them again all together at once: but the Spaniard replied, Seignior Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight: let them alone till morning; all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood, and so we shall have the fewer to engage.

The advice was good; but Will Atkins replied merrily, That's true, Seignior, and so shall I too; and that's the reason I would go on while I am warm.—Well, Seignior Atkins, says the Spaniard, you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on; but I think it best to stay till morning: so they waited.

But as it was a clear moonlight night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noise among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered. This they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Englishmen, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and the sea-side, westward, and turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution upon them; in half a minute more, eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them all together. They had in each body eight persons; that is to say, twenty-four, whereof were twenty-two men, and the two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the fire-arms equally in each party, and so of the halberts and staves. They would have had the women keep back; but they said they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could. The savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together: they would have fought if they had seen us; and as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time, but running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the butt ends of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets; and laid about them so well, that in a word they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution; and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about one hundred and eighty of them: the rest, being frighted out of their wits, scoured through the woods and over the hills with all the speed that fear and nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the sea-side, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet, for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea-ward, so that it was impossible for them to put off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory,

got little rest that night; but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages were fled, and see what posture they were in. This necessarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovering life; a sight disagreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery.

However, there was no need to give any order in this case; for their own savages, who were their servants, dispatched those poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miserable remains of the savages' army lay, where there appeared about one hundred still: their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musket-shot of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to be fired without ball, to alarm them; this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, viz. whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem took; for as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yawling away, with a kind of an howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At first our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea; but they did not then consider that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes as not to be resisted; or, at least, to come so many and so often, as would quite desolate the island, and starve them. Will Atkins, therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case. His advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there desperate; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir about their business, and have their plantations continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them they had better have to do with one hundred men than with one hundred nations; that, as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he showed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it; so they went to work immediately with the boats, and getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire; but they were so wet that they would scarce burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, *Oa, Oa, Waramokoa*, and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood any thing of; but as they made pitiful gestures and strange noises, it was easy to understand they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never return thither again.

But our men were now satisfied, that they had no way to preserve themselves, or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if ever so much as one of them got back into their country to tell the story, the colony was undone; so that, letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed them every one that the storm had not destroyed before; at the sight of which, the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the island like distracted men; so that, in a word, our men did not really know at first what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, consider, that while they made those people thus desperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the same time upon their plantations; for though, it is true, they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley; yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot; tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe, and did our men an inestimable damage, though to themselves not one farthing's-worth of service.

Though our men were able to fight them

upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single for fear of being surrounded with their numbers: the best was, they had no weapons; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable, but at the same time our men were also brought to very hard circumstances by them; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not; the only refuge they had now was, the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there. The three Englishmen, William Atkins and his comrades, were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temples, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the same barbarous fellow who cut the poor savage slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered the Spaniards.

I look upon their case to have been worse at this time than mine was at any time after I first discovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the method of planting and raising my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may say, an hundred wolves upon the island, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could be very hardly come at themselves.

The first thing they concluded when they saw what their circumstances were, was, that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-east, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another; then that they would daily hunt and harass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced the number; and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant, and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this they followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frighted they were, that they kept out of sight farther and farther, till at last our men following them, and every day almost killing and wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; especially the Spaniard governor, who was the most gentleman-like, generous-minded man that ever I met with in my life; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them, and see if they might be brought to some conditions that might be depended upon, to save their lives, and do us no spoil.

It was some time before any of them could be taken; but being weak, and half-starved, one of them was at last surprised, and made a prisoner: he was sullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction that they should keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond them, to injure or prejudice others; and that they should have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence; and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and hear what they said to it, assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately, they should all be destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them; upon which twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, and three Indian slaves, and old Friday, marched to the place where they were; the three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, and some rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the sun, and three live goats; and they were ordered up to the side of an hill, where they sat down, ate the provisions very thankfully, and were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds; and thereby lived when I came to the island, and I was to see them.

They had taught them both to plant rice, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them,

they wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation: they were confined to a neck of land surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island; they had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; for they had a piece of land about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself; and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; and there they lived, the most subjected innocent creatures that were ever heard of.

After this the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquility with respect to the savages, till I came to revisit them, which was in about two years. Not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal, unnatural feasts; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those that came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or inquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard for them to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them to my return, at least that was worth notice. The Indians, or savages, were wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any of the Indians coming to them, because they would not have their settlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, viz. that they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets; but they soon outdid their masters; for they made abundance of most ingenious things in wicker-work; particularly all sorts of baskets, sieves, bird-cages, cupboards, &c., as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at such work when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissars, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of these tools they were so very handy, that they came at last to build up their huts, or houses, very handsomely: radding, or working it up like basket-work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd; but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat, as against all sorts of vermin; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild savages to come and do the like for them; so that when I came to see the two Englishmen's colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive; and as for Will Atkins, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket work as I believe was never seen. It was one hundred and twenty paces round on the outside, as I measured by my steps: the walls were as close worked as a basket, in pannels or squares, thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven feet high: in the middle was another not above twenty-two paces round, but built stronger, being eight-square in its form, and in the eight corners stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces, joined together with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid before the roof of eight rafters, very handsome I assure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron spikes, which he had made himself too, out of the old iron that I had left there. And indeed this fellow showed abundance of ingenuity in several things which he had no knowledge of; he made himself a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himself charcoal for his work, and he formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but especially hooks, staples and spikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the house: after he pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he worked it up between the rafters with basket-work, so firm, and thatched that over again so ingeniously with rice-straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. Indeed he owned that the savages made the basket-work for him.

The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the thirty-two angles to the top posts of the inner house, being about twenty feet distant: so that there was a space like a walk within the outer wicker wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided into six apartments, for that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door: first, into the entry, or coming into the main tent; and another door into the space or walk that was round it; so that this walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for a retreat, but to store up any necessaries which the family had occasion for. These six spaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: as soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner

house; but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went first into a large room or storehouse, twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long, and through that into another not quite so long: so that in the outer circle were ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and served as closets or retired rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouses or barns, or what you please to call them, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was never seen in the world; nor an house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built. In this great bee-hive lived the three families; that is to say, Will Atkins and his companions; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children; for she was, it seems, big with child when he died, and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of every thing, I mean as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c., and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore; so that they all lived well enough, though it was true, they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, viz. that, as for religion, I don't know that there was any thing of that kind among them; they pretty often indeed put one another in mind that there was a God, by the very common method of seamen, viz. swearing by his name; nor were their poor, ignorant, savage wives much the better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them; for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them was, that they had taught them to speak English pretty well; and all the children they had, which were near twenty in all, were taught to speak English too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There were none of those children above six years old when I came thither; for it was not much above seven years that they had fetched these five savage ladies over, but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or less: I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child; and the mothers were all a good sort of well-governed, quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, mighty observant and subject to their masters, I cannot call them husbands; and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or at least by the consequence of my coming among them.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*I hold Conversations with the Spaniards, and learn the History of their Situation among the Savages from which I relieved them—I inform the Colony for what purpose I am come, and what I mean to do for them—Distribution of the Stores I brought with me—The Priest I saved at Sea solemnizes the Marriages of the Sailors and Female Indians, who had hitherto lived together as Man and Wife.*

HAVING thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagate Englishmen, I must say something of the Spaniards, who were the main body of the family, and in whose story there are some incidents also remarkable enough.

I had a great many discourses with them about their circumstances when they were among the savages; they told me readily, that they had no instances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country; that they were a poor, miserable, dejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, they had yet so abandoned themselves to despair, and so sunk under the weight of their misfortunes, that they thought of nothing but starving. One of them, a grave and very sensible man, told me he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wise men to give themselves up to their misery, but always to take hold of the helps which reason offered, as well for present support, as for future deliverance; he told me that grief was the most senseless insignificant passion in the world; for that it regarded only things past, which were generally impossible to be recalled or to be remedied, but had no view to things to come, and had no share in any thing that looked like deliverance, but rather added to the affliction than proposed a remedy; and upon this he repeated a Spanish proverb, which though I cannot repeat in just the same words that he spoke it, yet I remember I made it into an English proverb of my own, thus:

> In trouble to be troubled,
> Is to have your trouble doubled.

He then ran on in remarks upon all the little improvements I had made in my solitude;

my unwearied application, as he called it, and how I had made a condition, which, in its circumstances, was at first much worse than theirs, a thousand times more happy than theirs was, even now when they were all together. He told me it was remarkable that Englishmen had a greater presence of mind in their distress than any people that ever he met with; that their unhappy nation, and the Portugueze, were the worst men in the world to struggle with misfortues; for that their first step in dangers, after common efforts are over, was always to despair, lie down under it and die, without rousing their thoughts up to proper remedies for escape.

I told him their case and mine differed exceedingly; that they were cast upon the shore without necessaries, without supply of food, or of present sustenance, till they could provide it; that it is true, I had this disadvantage and discomfort, that I was alone; but then the supplies I had providentially thrown into my hands, by the unexpected driving of the ship on shore, was such a help as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himself as I had done.—Seignior, says the Spaniard, had we poor Spaniards been in your case, we should never have gotten half those things out of the ship as you did. Nay, says he, we should never have found means to have gotten a raft to carry them, or to have gotten a raft on shore without boat or sail; and how much less should we have done, said he, if any of us had been alone!—Well, I desired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the history of their coming on shore, where they landed. He told me they unhappily landed at a place where there were people without provisions; whereas, had they had the common sense to have put off to sea again, and gone to another island a little farther, they had found provisions, though without people; there being an island that way, as they had been told, where there were provisions, though no people; that is to say, that the Spaniards of Trinidad had frequently been there, and filled the island with goats and hogs at several times, where they have bred in such multitudes, and where turtle and sea-fowls were in such plenty, that they could have been in no want of flesh, though they had found no bread; whereas here they were only sustained with a few roots and herbs, which they understood not, and which had no substance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them sparingly enough, and who could treat them no better unless they would [illegible] cannibals, and eat men's flesh, which was the great dainty of the country.

They gave me an account how many ways they strove to civilize the savages they were with, and to teach them rational customs in the ordinary way of living, but in vain; and how they retorted it upon them as unjust, that they who came thither for assistance and support, should attempt to set up for instructors of those that gave them bread; intimating, it seems, that none should set up for the instructors of others but those who could live without them.

They gave me dismal accounts of the extremities they were driven to; how sometimes they were many days without any food at all, the island they were upon being inhabited by a sort of savages that live more indolent, and for that reason were less supplied with the necessaries of life than they had reason to believe others were in the same part of the world; and yet they found that these savages were less ravenous and voracious than those who had better supplies of food.

Also they added, that they could not but see with what demonstrations of wisdom and goodness the governing providence of God directs the event of things in the world, which they said appeared in their circumstances; for if, pressed by the hardships they were under, and the barrenness of the country where they were, they had searched after a better place to live in, they had then been out of the way of the relief that happened to them by my means.

Then they gave me an account how the savages whom they lived among expected them to go out with them into their wars; and it was true, that as they had fire-arms with them, had they not had the disaster to lose their ammunition, they should not have been serviceable only to their friends, but have made themselves terrible both to friends and enemies; but being without powder and shot, and in a condition that they could not in reason deny to go out with their landlords to their wars, when they came in the field of battle they were in a worse condition than the savages themselves, for they neither had bows nor arrows, nor could they use those the savages gave them, so that they could do nothing but stand still and be wounded with arrows, till they came up to the teeth of their enemy; and then indeed the three halberts they had were of use to them, and they would often drive a whole little army before them with those halberts and sharpened sticks put into the muzzles of their muskets: but that for all this, they were sometimes surrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows; till at last they found the way to make themselves large targets of wood, which they covered with skins of wild beasts, whose names they knew not, and these covered them from the arrows of the savages; that notwithstanding these, they were sometimes

in great danger, and were once five of them knocked down together with the clubs of the savages, which was the time when one of them was taken prisoner, that is to say, the Spaniard whom I had relieved; that at first they thought he had been killed, but when afterwards they heard he was taken prisoner, they were under the greatest grief imaginable, and would willingly have all ventured their lives to have rescued him.

They told me, that when they were so knocked down, the rest of their company rescued them, and stood over them fighting till they were come to themselves, all but he who they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberts and pieces, standing close together in a line, through a body of above a thousand savages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great sorrow, because it was with the loss of their friend; whom the other party, finding him alive, carried off with some others, as I gave an account in my former.

They described, most affectionately, how they were surprised with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, who they thought had been devoured by wild beasts of the worst kind, viz. by wild men; and yet how more and more they were surprised with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a Christian in a place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough to contribute to their deliverance.

They described how they were astonished at the sight of the relief I sent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not seen since their coming to that miserable place; how often they crossed it, and blessed it as bread sent from heaven; and what a reviving cordial it was to their spirits to taste it, as also of the other things I had sent for their supply. And, after all, they would have told me something of the joy they were in at the sight of a boat and pilots to carry them away to the person and place from whence all these new comforts came; but they told me it was impossible to express it by words, for their excessive joy driving them to unbecoming extravagancies, they had no way to describe them but by telling me that they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their passion suitable to the sense that was upon them; that in some it worked one way, and in some another; and that some of them, through a surprise of joy, would burst out into tears; others be half mad, and others immediately faint. This discourse extremely affected me, and called to my mind Friday's ecstacy when he met his father, and the poor people's ecstacy when I took them up at sea, after their ship was on fire; the mate of the ship's joy when he found himself delivered in the place where he expected to perish; and my own joy, when after twenty-eight years captivity, I found a good ship ready to carry me to my own country. All these things made me more sensible of the relation of these poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the state of things as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages; or that, if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; so that they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard whom I called governor, about their stay in the island; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some and leave others, who perhaps would be unwilling to stay if their strength was diminished.

On the other hand I told them, I came to establish them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them; that I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience as their defence; and that I had such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things in which at present they were to seek.

They were all together when I talked thus to them: and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and could shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship and union of interest, so that there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

William Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good humour, said, they had not with afflictions enough to make them all number, and enemies enough to make them all friends; that for his part he would live and die with them; and was so far from designing any thing against the Spaniards, that he owned they had done nothing to him but what his own bad humour made necessary, and what he would have done, and perhaps much worse, in their case; and that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them; and was very willing and desirous of living on terms of entire friendship and union with them; and would do any thing that lay in his

power, to convince them of it: and as for going to England, he cared not if he did not go thither these twenty years.

The Spaniards said, they had indeed at first disarmed and excluded William Atkins and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, as they had let me know; and they appealed to me for the necessity they were under to do so; but that William Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had showed himself so faithful to, and concerned for, the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessaries, as any of them; and that they had testified their satisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himself; and as they had an entire confidence in him and all his countrymen, so they acknowledged they had merited that confidence by all the methods that honest men could merit to be valued and trusted; and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another.

Upon these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together, and indeed we made a splendid feast. I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore and dress our dinner, and the old cook's mate we had on shore assisted. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of the ship's provision, with our punch-bowl, and materials to fill it; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of English beer; things that neither the Spaniards nor the Englishmen had tasted for many years, and which, it may be supposed, they were exceeding glad of.

The Spaniards added to our feast five whole kids, which the cooks roasted; and three of them were sent, covered up close, on board our ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I showed them that there was sufficient for them all; and desired that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to say, equal when made up. At first, I distributed linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts; and, at the Spaniards' request, afterwards made them up six; these were exceeding comfortable to them, having been wise, as I may say, they had long since forgot the use of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin English stuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat like a frock, which I judged fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose; and ordered, that whenever they decayed, they should make more, as they thought fit. The like for pumps, shoes, stockings, and hats, &c.

I cannot express what pleasure, what satisfaction, sat upon the countenances of all these poor men when they saw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnished them. They told me I was a father to them; and that, having such a correspondent as I was, in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me, particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people; but above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name any thing that was more needful to them; and the tailor, to show his concern for them, went to work immediately, and, with my leave, made them every one a shirt the first thing he did; and, which was still more, he taught the women not only how to sew and stitch, and use the needle, but made them assist to make the shirts for their husbands and for all the rest.

As for the carpenters, I scarce need mention how useful they were; for they took in pieces all my clumsy unhandy things, and made them clever convenient tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers, shelves, and every thing they wanted of that kind.

But to let them see how nature made artificers at first, I carried the carpenters to see William Atkins's basket-house, as I called it, and they both owned they never saw an instance of such natural ingenuity before, nor any thing so regular and so handily built, at least of its kind; and one of them, when he saw it, after musing a good while, turning about to me, I am sure, says he, that man has no need of us; you need do nothing but give him tools.

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs; and to every separate place a pick-axe, a crow, a broad axe, and a saw; always appointing, that as often as any were broken, or worn out, they should be supplied, without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind.

Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissars, and all sorts of tools and iron-work, they had without tale as they required; for no man would care to take more than he wanted, and he must be a fool that would

waste or spoil them on any account whatever. And for the use of the smith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms which I brought them, was such, even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them; for now they could march, as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion: and were able to fight a thousand savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation, which also they could not miss of, if they had occasion.

I carried on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also: she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively, that every one gave her a good word. She had, indeed, an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself; but she bore it with patience. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business nor acquaintance in the East Indies, or reason for taking so long a voyage; I say, considering all this, both of them came to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to it readily, and they had a little plot of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, palisaded like Atkins's, and adjoining to his plantation. Their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room, a part to lodge in, and a middle tent, like a great storehouse, to lay all their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two Englishmen moved their habitation to the same place, and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more; viz. the Spaniards, with old Friday, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city, and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world; for I verily believe a thousand men might have ranged the island a month, and if they had not known there was such a thing, and looked on purpose for it, they would not have found it; for the trees stood so thick and so close, and grew so fast matted into one another, that nothing but cutting them down first could discover the place, except the two narrow entrances, where they went in and out, could be found, which was not very easy. One of them was just down at the water's edge, on the side of the creek; and it was afterwards above two hundred yards to the place; and the other was up the ladder at twice, as I have already formerly described it; and they had a large wood thick planted, also on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all discovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not easy to be discovered, to enter on that side.

The other colony was that of Will Atkins, where there were four families of Englishmen, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children; three savages that were slaves; the widow and children of the Englishman that was killed; the young man and the maid; and (by the way,) we made a wife of her also before we went away. There were also the two carpenters and the tailor, whom I brought with me for them; also the smith, who was a very necessary man to them, especially as the gunsmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man, whom I called Jack of all Trades, who was himself as good almost as twenty men, for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow; and before I went away, we married him to the honest maid that came with the youth in the ship, whom I mentioned before.

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the French ecclesiastic, that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew whom I took at sea. It is true, this man was a Roman, and perhaps it may give offence to some hereafter, if I leave any thing extraordinary upon record of a man, whom, before I begin, I must, (to set him out in just colours) represent in terms very much to his disadvantage in the account of Protestants; as, first, that he was a Papist: secondly, a Popish priest; and thirdly, a French Popish priest.

But justice demands of me to give him due character; and I must say he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost every thing he did. What then can one say against my being very sensible of the value of such a man, notwithstanding his profession? though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others who shall read this, that he was mistaken.

The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the East Indies, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation; and he first began with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable.

Sir, says he, you have not only, under God, (and at that he crossed his breast) saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility have taken me into your family, giving me

opportunity of free conversation. Now, sir, says he, you see by my habit what my profession is, and I guess by your nation what yours is. I may think it is my duty, and doubtless it is so, to use my utmost endeavours on all occasions to bring all the souls that I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Catholic doctrine; but as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound, in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the points of religion in which we may not agree, farther than you shall give me leave.

I told him, his carriage was so modest that I could not but acknowledge it; that it was true, we were such people as they call heretics, but that he was not the first Catholic that I had conversed with without falling into any inconveniences, or carrying the questions to any height in debate; that he should not find himself the worse used for being of a different opinion from us; and if we did not converse without any dislike on either side, upon that score, it would be his fault, not ours.

He replied, that he thought our conversation might be easily separated from disputes; that it was not his business to cap principles with every man he discoursed with; and that he rather desired me to converse with him as a *gentleman* than as a *religieux*; that if I would give him leave at any time to discourse upon religious subjects, he would readily comply with it; and that then he did not doubt but I would allow him also to defend his own opinions as well as he could; but that without my leave he would not break in upon me with any such thing.

He told me farther, that he would not cease to do all that became him in his office as a priest, as well as a private Christian, to procure the good of the ship, and the safety of all that was in her; and though perhaps we would not join with him, and he could not pray with us, he hoped he might pray for us, which he would do upon all occasions. In this manner we conversed; and as he was of a most obliging gentleman-like behaviour, so he was, if I may be allowed to say so, a man of good sense, and, as I believe, of great learning.

He gave me a most diverting account of his life, and of the many extraordinary events of it; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world, and particularly this was very remarkable, viz. that during the voyage he was now engaged in, he had the misfortune to be five times shipped and unshipped, and never to go to the place whither any of the ships he was in were at first designed: that his first intent was to have gone to Martinico, and that he went on board a ship bound thither at St Maloes; but being forced into Lisbon in bad weather, the ship received some damage by running a-ground in the mouth of the river Tagus, and was obliged to unload her cargo there: that finding a Portugueze ship there, bound to the Madeiras, and ready to sail, and supposing he should easily meet with a vessel there bound to Martinico, he went on board in order to sail to the Madeiras; but the master of the Portugueze ship, being but an indifferent mariner, had been out in his reckoning, and they drove to Fyal; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn, and therefore resolved not to go to the Madeiras, but to load salt at the isle of May, to go away to Newfoundland. He had no remedy in the exigence but to go with the ship, and had a pretty good voyage as far as the Banks (so they call the place where they catch the fish,) where, meeting with a French ship bound from France to Quebec, in the river of Canada, and from thence to Martinico, to carry provisions, he thought he should have an opportunity to complete his first design. But when we came to Quebec, the master of the ship died, and the ship proceeded no farther. So the next voyage he shipped himself for France, in the ship that was burnt when we took them up at sea, and then shipped them with us for the East Indies, as I have already said. Thus he had been disappointed in five voyages, all, as I may call it, in one voyage, besides what I shall have occasion to mention farther of the same person.

But I shall not make digressions into other men's stories, which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affairs in the island. He came to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the island, and it happened to be just when I was going to visit the Englishmen's colony at the farthest part of the island; I say, he came to me, and told me with a very grave countenance, that he had for two or three days desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which he hoped would not be displeasing to me, because he thought it might, in some measure, correspond with my general design, which was the prosperity of my new colony, and perhaps might put it, at least more than he yet thought it was, in the way of God's blessing.

I looked a little surprised at the last part of his discourse, and turning a little short, How, sir, said I, can it be said that we are not in the way of God's blessing, after such visible assistances and wonderful deliverances

as we have seen here, and of which I have given you a large account?

If you had pleased, sir, said he, with a world of modesty, and yet with great readiness, to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been displeased, much less to think so hard of me, that I should suggest, that you have not had wonderful assistances and deliverances; and I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's blessing, and your design is exceeding good, and will prosper. But, sir, said he, though it were more so than is even possible to you, yet there may be some among you that are not equally right in their actions; and you know that in the story of Israel, one Achan, in the camp, removed God's blessing from them, and turned his hand so against them, that thirty six of them, though not concerned in the crime, were the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that punishment.

I was sensibly touched with this discourse, and told him his inference was so just, and the whole design seemed so sincere, and was really so religious in its own nature, that I was very sorry I had interrupted him, and begged him to go on; and in the mean time, because it seemed that what we had both to say might take up some time, I told him I was going to the Englishmen's plantation, and asked him to go with me, and we might discourse of it by the way. He told me he would more willingly wait on me thither, because there, partly, the thing was acted which he desired to speak to me about. So we walked on, and I pressed him to be free and plain with me in what he had to say.

Why then, sir, says he, be pleased to give me leave to lay down a few propositions as the foundation of what I have to say, that we may not differ in the general principles, though we may be of some differing opinions in the practice of particulars. First, sir, though we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion, (and it is very unhappy that it is so, especially in the case before us, as I shall show afterwards,) yet there are some general principles in which we both agree; viz. first, that there is a God, and that this God, having given us some stated general rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting to do what he has commanded, or by doing what he has expressly forbidden; and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily owned by us all, that the blessing of God does not ordinarily follow a presumptuous sinning against his command; and every good Christian will be affectionately concerned to prevent any that are under his care, living in a total neglect of God and his commands. It is not your men being Protestants, whatever my opinion may be of such, that discharges me from being concerned for their souls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they should live in as little distance from, and enmity with their Maker as possible; especially if you give me leave to meddle so far in your circuit.

I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him I granted all he had said; and thanked him that he would so far concern himself for us; and begged he would explain the particulars of what he had observed, that, like Joshua (to take his own parable,) I might put away the accursed thing from us.

Why then, sir, says he, I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things which, if I am right, must stand in the way of God's blessing upon your endeavours here, and which I should rejoice, for your sake, and their own, to see removed. And, sir, says he, I promise myself that you will fully agree with me in them all as soon as I name them; especially because I shall convince you that every one of them may with great ease, and very much to your satisfaction, be removed.

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities, but went on: First, sir, says he, you have here four Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require; and therefore are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, and living in adultery. To this, sir, says he, I know you will object, that there was no clergyman or priest of any kind, or of any profession, to perform the ceremony; nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. And I know this, sir, what the Spaniard governor has told you, I mean of the agreement that he obliged them to make when they took these women, viz. that they should choose them out by consent, and keep separately to them; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreement with the women as wives, but only an agreement among themselves, to keep them from quarrelling.

But, sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony (so he called it, being a Roman) consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract to compel the man and woman at all times to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the man to abstain from all other women, to expect no other contract while these subsist; and

all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them and their children; and to oblige the women to the same, or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side.

Now, sir, says he, these men may, when they please, or when occasion presents, abandon these women, disown their children, leave them to perish, and take other women and marry them whilst these are living. And here he added, with some warmth, How, sir, is God honoured in this unlawful liberty? And how shall a blessing succeed your endeavours in this place, however good in themselves, and however sincere in your design, while these men, who at present are your subjects, under your absolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?

I confess I was struck at the thing itself, but much more with the convincing arguments he supported it with. For it was certainly true, that though they had no clergyman on the spot, yet a formal contract on both sides, made before witnesses, and confirmed by any token which they had all agreed to be bound by, though it had been but the breaking a stick between them, engaging the men to own those women for their wives upon all occasions, and never to abandon them or their children, and the women to the same with their husbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the sight of God; and it was a great neglect that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off with my young priest by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here; and they had lived so many years with them now, that if it was adultery, it was past remedy, they could do nothing in it now.

Sir, says he, asking your pardon for such freedom, you are right in this; that it being done in your absence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime. But I beseech you, flatter not yourself that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your uttermost now to put an end to it. How can you think, but that, let the time past lie on whom it will, all the guilt for the future will lie entirely upon you? Because it is certainly in your power now to put an end to it, and in nobody's power but yours.

I was so dull still, that I did not take him right, but I imagined that, by putting an end to it, he meant that I should part them, and not suffer them to live together any longer; and I said to him I could not do that by any means, for that it would put the whole island in confusion. He seemed surprised that I should so far mistake him. No, sir, says he, I do not mean that you should separate them, but legally and effectually marry them now. And, sir, as my way of marrying may not be so easy to reconcile them to, though it will be as effectual even by your own laws; so your way may be as well before God, and as valid among men; I mean by a written contract signed by both man and woman, and by all the witnesses present; which all the laws of Europe would decree to be valid.

I was amazed to see so much true piety, and so much sincerity of zeal, besides the unusual impartiality in his discourse, as to his own party or church, and such a true warmth for the preserving people that he had no knowledge of, or relation to; I say, for preserving them from transgressing the laws of God; the like of which I had indeed not met with anywhere. But recollecting what he had said of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew would stand too, I returned it back upon him, and told him I granted all that he had said to be just, and on his part very kind; that I would discourse with the men upon the point now when I came to them. And I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all; which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in England, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. What was afterwards done in this matter, I shall speak of by itself.

I then pressed him to tell me what was the second complaint which he had to make, acknowledging I was very much his debtor for the first, and thanked him heartily for it. He told me he would use the same freedom and plainness in the second, and hoped I would take it as well; and this was, that, notwithstanding these English subjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with these women for almost seven years, and had taught them to speak English, and even to read it, and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable understanding, and capable of instruction; yet they had not to this hour taught them any thing of the Christian religion; no not so much as to know that there was a God, or a worship, or in what manner God was to be served; or that their own idolatry, and worshipping they knew not who, was false and absurd.

This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to an account for; and, perhaps, at last take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. I am persuaded, says he, had those men lived in the savage country whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worship the devil, than any of these men, so far as I can see, has taken with them to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, sir, said he, though I do not acknowledge your

religion, or you mine, yet we should be all glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion; that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things which we all believe; they had at least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true church, than they are now in the public profession of idolatry and devil-worship.

I could hold no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an excess of passion.—How far, said I to him, have I been from understanding the most essential part of a Christian, viz. to love the interest of the Christian church, and the good of other men's souls! I scarce have known what belongs to being a Christian.—O, sir, do not say so, replied he; this thing is not your fault.—No, said I; but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you?—It is not too late yet, said he; be not too forward to condemn yourself.—But what can be done now? said I; you see I am going away.—Will you give me leave, said he, to talk with these poor men about it?—Yes, with all my heart, said I, and I will oblige them to give heed to what you say too.—As to that, said he, we must leave them to the mercy of Christ; but it is our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them: and if you will give me leave, and God his blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls shall be brought home into the great circle of Christianity, if not into the particular faith that we all embrace; and that even while you stay here.—Upon this I said, I shall not only give you leave, but give you a thousand thanks for it. What followed on this account, I shall mention also again in its place.

I now pressed him for the third article in which we were to blame.—Why, really, says he, it is of the same nature, and I will proceed (asking your leave) with the same plainness as before; it is about your poor savages yonder, who are, as I may say, your conquered subjects. It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be, received among all Christians, of what church, or pretended church soever, viz. that Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. It is on this principle that our church sends missionaries into Persia, India, and China; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyage, and the most dangerous residence among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, sir, you have an opportunity here to have six or seven-and-thirty poor savages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, their Maker and Redeemer, that I wonder how you can pass by such an occasion of doing good, which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life.

I was now struck dumb indeed, and had not one word to say; I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for God and religion before me, let his particular principles be of what kind soever. As for me, I had not so much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before, and I believe should not have thought of it; for I looked upon these savages as slaves, and people whom, had we any work for them to do, we would have used as such, or would have been glad to have transported them to any other part of the world; for our business was to get rid of them, and we would all have been satisfied if they had been sent to any country, so they had never seen their own. But to the case: I say I was confounded at his discourse, and knew not what answer to make him. He looked earnestly at me, seeing me in some disorder; Sir, said he, I shall be very sorry, if what I have said gives you any offence.—No, no, said I, I am offended with nobody but myself; but I am perfectly confounded, not only to think that I should never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know, sir, said I, what circumstances I am in; I am bound to the East Indies, in a ship freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an insufferable piece of injustice to detain their ship here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages upon the owners' account. It is true, I agreed to be allowed twelve days here, and if I stay more I must pay 3*l.* sterling *per diem* demurrage; nor can I stay upon demurrage above eight days more, and I have been here thirteen days already; so that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unless I would ruin myself to be left behind here again; in which case, if this single ship should miscarry in any part of her voyage, I should be just in the same condition that I was left in here at first, and from which I have been so wonderfully delivered.

He owned the case was very hard upon me as to my voyage, but laid it home upon my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven-and-thirty souls was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for!—I was not so sensible of that as he was, and I reasoned upon him thus: Why, sir, it is a noble thing indeed to be an instrument in God's hand to convert seven-and-thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ; but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to that work, so that it seems naturally to fall into the way

of your profession, how is it then that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as he walked along, and putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow: I most heartily thank God, and you, sir, says he, for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken disappointed voyage as I have met with, that I have dropped at last into so glorious a work.

I discovered a kind of rapture in his face while he spoke this to me; his eyes sparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went as if he had been falling into fits; in a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in such a work. I paused a considerable while before I could tell what to say to him, for I was really surprised to find a man of such sincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of men, not of his profession only, but even of any profession whatsoever. But after I had considered it a while, I asked him seriously if he was in earnest, and that he would venture, on the single consideration of an attempt on those poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted island for perhaps his life, and at last might not know whether he should be able to do them any good or not?

He turned short upon me, and asked me what I called a venture? Pray, sir, said he, what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the East Indies for?—Nay, said I, that I know not, unless it was to preach to the Indians.—Doubtless it was, said he, and do you think if I can convert these seven-and-thirty men to the faith of Christ, it is not worth my time, though I should never be fetched off the island again? Nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? Yes, sir, says he, I would give Christ and the Blessed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of saving the souls of these poor men, though I was never to set my foot off this island, or see my native country any more. But since you will honour me, says he, with putting me into this work (for which I will pray for you all the days of my life,) I have one humble petition to you, said he, besides.—What is that? said I.—Why, says he, it is, that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for without some help I cannot speak to them, or they to me.

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons. He had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him if he outlived me, as it was probable he would. Then I knew that as I had bred Friday up to be a Protestant, it would quite confound him to bring him to embrace another profession; and he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old master was a heretic, and would be damned; and this might in the end ruin the poor fellow's principles, and so turn him back again to his first idolatry.

However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this: I told him I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday on any account whatever; though a work that to him was of more value than his life, ought to me to be of much more value than the keeping or parting with a servant. But on the other hand, I was persuaded that Friday would by no means consent to part with me; and then to force him to it without his consent, would be manifest injustice, because I had promised I would never put him away, and he had promised and engaged to me that he would never leave me unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at it; for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told him Friday's father had learnt Spanish, which I found he also understood, and he should serve him for an interpreter; so he was much better satisfied, and nothing could persuade him but he would stay to endeavour to convert them; but Providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

I come back now to the first part of his objections. When we came to the Englishmen, I sent for them altogether; and after some accounts given them of what I had done for them, viz. what necessary things I had provided for them, and how they were distributed, which they were sensible of, and very thankful for; I began to talk to them of the scandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had already taken of it; and arguing how unchristian and irreligious a life it was, I first asked them if they were married men or bachelors? They soon explained their condition to me, and showed me that two of them were widowers, and the other three were single men or bachelors. I asked them with what conscience they could take these women, and lie with them as they had done, call them their wives, and have so many children by them, and not be married lawfully to them?

They all gave me the answer that I expected, viz. that there was nobody to marry them; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives; and to keep them and own them as their wives; and they thought, as things stood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been married by a parson, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them, that no doubt they were married in the sight of God, and were bound in conscience to keep them as their wives; but that the laws of men being otherwise, they might pretend they were not married, and so desert the poor women and children hereafter; and that their wives being poor, desolate women, friendless and moneyless, would have no way to help themselves: I therefore told them, that unless I was assured of their honest intent, I could do nothing for them; but would take care that what I did should be for the women and children without them; and that unless they would give some assurances that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they should continue together as man and wife; for that it was both scandalous to men and offensive to God, who they could not think would bless them, if they went on thus.

All this passed as I expected; and they told me, especially Will Atkins, who seemed now to speak for the rest, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and as modest, and did to the utmost of their skill as much for them and for their children as any women could possibly do, and they would not part with them on any account: and Will Atkins for his own particular added, if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to England, and to make him captain of the best man of war in the navy, he would not go with him if he might not carry his wife and children with him; and if there was a clergyman in the ship, he would be married to her now with all his heart.

This was just as I would have it. The priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off. So, to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and if he was sincere I would have him married the next morning, and bade him consider of it, and talk with the rest. He said, as for himself, he need not consider of it at all, for he was ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me; and he believed they would be willing also. I then told him that my minister was a Frenchman, and could not speak English, but that I would act the clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was a Papist or Protestant, which was indeed what I was afraid of. But I say they never inquired about it. So we parted; I went back to my clergyman, and Will Atkins went in to talk with his companions. I desired the French gentleman not to say any thing to them till the business was thorough ripe, and I told him what answer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter, they all came to me, and told me, they had been considering what I had said; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company; and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased; for they were far from desiring to part from their wives; and that they meant nothing but what was very honest when they chose them. So I appointed them to meet me the next morning, and that in the mean time they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law; and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them that they should not forsake them whatever might happen.

The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as indeed they had reason to be; so they failed not to attend all together at my apartment next morning, where I brought out my clergyman: and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of England, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of France; yet having a black vest, something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister; and as for his language, I was interpreter.

But the seriousness of his behaviour to them, and the scruple he made of marrying the women because they were not baptized, and professed Christians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person; and there was no need, after that, to inquire whether he was a clergyman or no.

Indeed I was afraid his scruple would have been carried so far as that he would not have married them at all: nay, notwithstanding all I was able to say to him, he resisted me, though modestly, yet very steadily; and at last refused absolutely to marry them, unless he had first talked with the men and the women too; and though at first I was a little backward to it, yet at last I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the sincerity of his design.

When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design; that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them as I had desired: but that before he could do it he must take

the liberty to talk with them. He told them that in the sight of all different men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in an open adultery; and that it was true that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually separating them from one another now, could put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, viz. that of marrying one that is a professed Christian, to a savage, an idolater, and a heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not see that there was time left for it to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to profess the name of Christ, whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told them he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves; that they had but little knowledge of God or his ways, and therefore he could not expect that they had said much to their wives on that head yet; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavours with their wives to persuade them to become Christians, and would, as well as they could, instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages; nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion, and was indeed expressly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own, to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind; and I always very faithfully distinguished between what I said from myself, and what were the clergyman's words. They told me, it was very true what the gentleman had said, that they were but very indifferent Christians themselves, and that they had never talked to their wives about religion. —Lord, sir, says Will Atkins, how should we teach them religion? Why, we know nothing ourselves; and besides, sir, said he, should we go to talk to them of God, and Jesus Christ, and heaven and hell, it would be to make them laugh at us, and ask us what we believe ourselves? and if we should tell them we believe all the things that we speak of to them, such as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil, they would ask us, where we intended to go ourselves who believed all this, and yet are such wicked fellows, as we indeed are: why, sir, said Will, 'tis enough to give them a surfeit of religion, at first hearing: folks must have some religion themselves before they pretend to teach other people.—Will Atkins, said I to him, though I am afraid what you say has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife that she is in the wrong? that there is a God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear nor speak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can destroy all that he has made; that he rewards the good, and punishes the bad; that we are to be judged by him, at last, for all we do here? You are not so ignorant but even nature itself will teach you that all this is true; and I am satisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourself.

That's true, sir, said Atkins; but with what face can I say any thing to my wife of all this, when she will tell me immediately it cannot be true?

Not true! said I; what do you mean by that? —Why, sir, said he, she will tell me it cannot be true, that this God (I shall tell her of) can be just, or can punish or reward, since I am not punished and sent to the devil, that have been such a wicked creature as she knows I have been, even to her, and to every body else; and that I should be suffered to live, that have been always acting so contrary to what I must tell her is good, and to what I ought to have done.

Why truly, Atkins, said I, I am afraid thou speakest too much truth; and with that I let the clergyman know what Atkins had said, for he was impatient to know. O! said the priest, tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents. He wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be so much the better qualified to instruct his wife; he will then be able to tell her, that there is not only a God, and that he is the just rewarder of good and evil; but that he is a merciful Being, and, with infinite goodness and long-suffering, forbears to punish those that offend; waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live; that he often suffers wicked men to go on a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution; that it is a clear evidence of God, and of a future state, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their punishment, till they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the last judgment: let him but repent for himself, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife.

I repeated all this to Atkins, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily af-

fected with it: when being eager, and hardly suffering me to make an end—I knew all this, master, says he, and a great deal more; but I han't the impudence to talk thus to my wife, when God and my own conscience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence against me, that I have lived as if I had never heard of God, or a future state,-or any thing about it; and to talk of my repenting, alas! (and with that he fetched a deep sigh, and I could see that tears stood in his eyes,) 'tis past all that with me.—Past it, Atkins! said I; what dost thou mean by that?—I know well enough what I mean, sir, says he; I mean it is too late; and that is too true.

I told my clergyman word for word what he said. The poor zealous priest (I must call him so; for, be his opinion what it will, he had certainly a most singular affection for the good of other men's souls; and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own)—I say, this zealous, affectionate man could not refrain tears also: but recovering himself, he said to me, Ask him but one question: Is he easy that it is too late, or is he troubled and wishes it were not so?—I put the question fairly to Atkins; and he answered with a great deal of passion, How could any man be easy in a condition that certainly must end in eternal destruction? That he was far from being easy; but that, on the contrary, he believed it would one time or the other ruin him.

What do you mean by that? said I.—Why, he said, he believed he should, one time or another, cut his own throat, to put an end to the terror of it.

The clergyman shook his head, with a great concern in his face, when I told him all this; but turning quick to me upon it, said, If that be his case, you may assure him it is not too late; Christ will give him repentance. But pray, says he, explain this to him, that as no man is saved but by Christ, and the merit of his passion, procuring divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to sin beyond the power or reach of divine mercy? Pray tell him, there may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, and when God may refuse to hear; but that 'tis never too late for men to ask mercy; and we that are Christ's servants are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jesus Christ, to all those that sincerely repent: so that 'tis never too late to repent.

I told Atkins all this, and he heard me with great earnestness; but it seemed as if he turned off the discourse to the rest; for he said to me he would go and have some talk with his wife: so he went out a while, and we talked to the rest. I perceived they were all stupidly ignorant as to matters of religion; much as I was when I went rambling away from my father; and yet that there were none of them backward to hear what had been said; and all of them seriously promised that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavour to persuade them to turn Christians.

The clergyman smiled upon me when I reported what answer they gave, but said nothing a good while; but at last shaking his head, We that are Christ's servants, says he, can go no farther than to exhort and instruct; and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 'tis all we can do; we are bound to accept their good words: but believe me, sir, said he, whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call William Atkins, I believe he is the only sincere convert among them; I take that man to be a true penitent. I won't despair of the rest; but that man is perfectly struck with the sense of his past life; and I doubt not but when he comes to talk of religion to his wife, he will talk himself effectually into it; for attempting to teach others is sometimes the best way of teaching ourselves. I knew a man, added he, who, having nothing but a summary notion of religion himself, and being wicked and profligate to the last degree in his life, made a thorough reformation in himself by labouring to convert a Jew: and if that poor Atkins begins but once to talk seriously of Jesus Christ to his wife, my life for it he talks himself into a thorough convert, makes himself a penitent; and who knows what may follow?

Upon this discourse, however, and their promising as above to endeavour to persuade their wives to embrace Christianity, he married the other three couple; but Will Atkins and his wife were not yet come in. After this my clergyman waiting a while, was curious to know where Atkins was gone; and turning to me, says he, I entreat you, sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here and look; I dare say we shall find this poor man somewhere or other talking seriously with his wife, and teaching her already something of religion.—I began to be of the same mind; so we went out together, and I carried him a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so thick set, as that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in than to see out; when, coming to the edge of the wood, I saw Atkins, and his tawny savage wife, sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse. I stopped short till my clergyman came up

to me, and then having showed him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while.

We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun, and to every quarter of the heavens; then down to the earth, then out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. Now, says my clergyman, you see my words are made good; the man preaches to her; mark him; now he is telling her that our God has made him, and her, and the heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees, &c.—I believe he is, said I.—Immediately we perceived Will Atkins start up upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands; we supposed he said something, but we could not hear him; it was too far off for that: he did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman very attentive, but whether she said any thing or no we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks; and I could hardly forbear myself; but it was a great affliction to us both, that we were not near enough to hear any thing that passed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer, for fear of disturbing them; so we resolved to see an end of this piece of still conversation, and it spoke loud enough to us without the help of voice. He sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked again earnestly to her, and two or three times we could see him embrace her passionately; another time we saw him take out his handkerchief and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again, with a kind of transport very unusual; and after several of these things, we saw him on a sudden jump up again and lend her his hand to help her up, when immediately leading her by the hand a step or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued so about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud, St Paul, St Paul, behold he prayeth!—I was afraid Atkins would hear him; therefore I entreated him to withhold himself a while, that we might see an end of the scene, which to me, I must confess, was the most affecting, and yet the most agreeable, that ever I saw in my life. Well, he strove with himself, and contained himself for a while, but was in such raptures of joy to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Christian, that he was not able to contain himself. He wept several times; then throwing up his hands, and crossing his breast, said over several things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for so miraculous a testimony of the success of our endeavours: some he spoke softly, and I could not well hear; others audibly; some in Latin, some in French; then two or three times the tears of joy would interrupt him, that he could not speak at all. But I begged that he would compose himself, and let us more narrowly and fully observe what was before us, which he did for a time, and the scene was not ended there yet; for after the poor man and his wife were risen again from their knees, we observed he stood talking still eagerly to her; and we observed by her motion that she was greatly affected with what he said, by her frequent lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breast, and such other postures as usually express the greatest seriousness and attention. This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away too; so that we could see no more of them in that situation.

I took this interval to talk with my clergyman; and first I told him, I was glad to see the particulars we had both been witnesses to; that though I was hard enough of belief in such cases, yet that I began to think it was all very sincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they both might be; and I hoped such a beginning would have yet a more happy end: And who knows, said I, but these two may in time, by instruction and example, work upon some of the others?—Some of them! said he, turning quick upon me, ay, upon all of them: depend upon it, if those two savages (for *he* has been but little better, as you relate it) should embrace Jesus Christ, they will never leave till they work upon all the rest; for true religion is naturally communicative, and he that is once made a Christian will never leave a Pagan behind him, if he can help it.—I owned it was a most Christian principle to think so, and a testimony of a true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him. But, my friend, said I, will you give me liberty to start one difficulty here? I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which you show for the turning the poor people from their Paganism to the Christian religion; but how does this comfort you, while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic church, without which, you believe, there is no salvation; so that you esteem these but heretics still; and, for other reasons, as effectually lost as the Pagans themselves?

To this he answered, with abundance of candour and Christian charity, thus: Sir, I am a Catholic of the Roman church, and a priest of the order of St Benedict, and I embrace all the principles of the Roman faith. But yet, if you will believe me, and this I

do not speak in compliment to you, or in respect to my circumstances and your civilities; I say, nevertheless, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity: I dare not say, though I know it is our opinion in general, yet I dare not say, that you cannot be saved; I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ, so far as to think that he cannot receive you into the bosom of his church, in a manner to us imperceivable, and which it is impossible for us to know; and I hope you have the same charity for us. I pray daily for your being all restored to Christ's church, by whatsoever methods he, who is all wise, is pleased to direct. In the mean time, sure you will allow it to consist with me, as a Roman, to distinguish far between a Protestant and a Pagan; between him that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith; and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer at all; and if you are not within the pale of the Catholic church, we hope you are nearer being restored to it than those that know nothing at all of God or his church. I rejoice, therefore, when I see this poor man, who, you say, has been a profligate, and almost a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jesus Christ, as we suppose he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that God, from whom every such work proceeds, will sensibly touch his heart, and bring him to the further knowledge of the truth in his own time; and if God shall influence this poor man to convert and instruct the ignorant savage, his wife, I can never believe that he shall be cast away himself; and have I not reason then to rejoice, the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Christ, though they may not be brought quite home into the bosom of the Catholic church, just at the time when I may desire it; leaving it to the goodness of Christ to perfect his work in his own time, and his own way? Certainly I would rejoice if all the savages in America were brought, like this poor woman, to pray to God, though they were to be all Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans and heathens; firmly believing, that He, who had bestowed that first light upon them, would farther illuminate them with a beam of his heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of his church, when he should see good.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Sincere and worthy Character of the Priest—Dialogue with Will Atkins and myself—Conversation betwixt Atkins and his Indian Wife on the Subject of Religion—Her Baptism—Settlement of the Commonwealth.*

I WAS astonished at the sincerity and temper of this truly pious Papist, as much as I was oppressed by the power of his reasoning; and it presently occurred to my thoughts, that if such a temper was universal, we might be all Catholic Christians, whatever church or particular profession we joined to, or joined in; that a spirit of charity would soon work us all up into right principles; and, in a word, as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics, so I told him, I believed, had all the members of his church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants; and there we left that part, for we never disputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way; and, taking him by the hand, My friend, said I, I wish all the clergy of the Roman church were blessed with such moderation, and an equal share of your charity. I am entirely of your opinion; but I must tell you, that if you should preach such doctrine in Spain or Italy, they would put you into the Inquisition.

It may be so, said he; I know not what they might do in Spain and Italy; but I will not say they would be the better Christians for that severity; for I am sure there is no heresy in too much charity.

Well, as Will Atkins and his wife were gone, our business there was over; so we went back our own way; and when we came back we found them waiting to be called in. Observing this, I asked my clergyman, if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush, or no; and it was his opinion we should not; but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us: so we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourselves; and I began with him thus:

Will Atkins, said I, pr'ythee what education had you? What was your father?

*W. A.* A better man than ever I shall be, sir; my father was a clergyman.

*R. C.* What education did he give you?

*W. A.* He would have taught me well, sir, but I despised all education, instruction, or correction, like a beast as I was.

*R. C.* It is true, Solomon says, "He that despiseth reproof is brutish."

*W. A.* Ay, sir, I was brutish indeed; I murdered my father: for God's sake, sir, talk no more about that, sir; I murdered my poor father.

*Priest.* Ha! a murderer?

[Here the priest started (for I interpreted every word as he spoke it,) and looked pale: it seems he believed that Will had really killed his own father.]

*R. C.* No, no, sir, I do not understand him so.—Will Atkins, explain yourself: you did not kill your father, did you, with your own hands?

*W. A.* No, sir; I did not cut his throat; but I cut the thread of all his comforts, and shortened his days; I broke his heart by the most ungrateful, unnatural return, for the most tender, affectionate treatment that ever father gave, or child could receive.

*R. C.* Well, I did not ask you about your father to extort this confession; I pray God give you repentance for it, and forgive you that and all your other sins: but I asked you, because I see that, though you have not much learning, yet you are not so ignorant as some are in things that are good; that you have known more of religion a great deal, than you have practised.

*W. A.* Though you, sir, did not extort the confession that I make about my father, conscience does; and whenever we come to look back upon our lives, the sins against our indulgent parents are certainly the first that touch us; the wounds they make lie deepest; and the weight they leave will lie heaviest upon the mind, of all the sins we can commit.

*R. C.* You talk too feelingly and sensibly for me, Atkins; I cannot bear it.

*W. A.* *You* bear it, master! I dare say you know nothing of it.

*R. C.* Yes, Atkins, every shore, every hill, nay, I may say every tree in this island, is witness to the anguish of my soul for my ingratitude, and base usage of a good tender father; a father much like yours by your description; and I murdered my father as well as you, Will Atkins; but think, for all that, my repentance is short of yours too, by a great deal.

[I would have said more, if I could have restrained my passions; but I thought this poor man's repentance was so much sincerer than mine, that I was going to leave off the discourse and retire; for I was surprised with what he said; and thought, that, instead of my going about to teach and instruct him, the man was made a teacher and instructor to me, in a most surprising and unexpected manner.]

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly affected with it, and said to me, Did I not say, sir, that when this man was converted, he would preach to us all? I tell you, sir, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no need of me, he will make Christians of all in the island. But having a little composed myself, I renewed my discourse with Will Atkins.

But, Will, said I, how comes the sense of this matter to touch you just now?

*W. A.* Sir, you have set me about a work that has struck a dart through my very soul; I have been talking about God and religion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a Christian of her; and she has preached such a sermon to me as I shall never forget while I live.

*R. C.* No, no; it is not your wife has preached to you; but when you were moving religious arguments to her, conscience has flung them back upon you.

*W. A.* Ay, sir, with such a force as is not to be resisted.

*R. C.* Pray, Will, let us know what passed between you and your wife; for I know something of it already.

*W. A.* Sir, it is impossible to give you a full account of it: I am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to express it: but let her have said what she will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you of it, that I resolve to amend and reform my life.

*R. C.* But tell us some of it. How did you begin, Will? for this has been an extraordinary case, that is certain; she has preached a sermon indeed, if she has wrought this upon you.

*W. A.* Why, I first told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reasons were that men and women were obliged to enter into such compacts, as it was neither in the power of one or other to break; that otherwise, order and justice could not be maintained, and men would run from their wives, and abandon their children, mix confusedly with one another and neither families be kept entire, nor inheritances be settled by a legal descent.

*R. C.* You talk like a civilian, Will. Could you make her understand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no such thing among the savages, but marry any how, without any regard to relation, consanguinity, or family; brother and sister, nay, as I have been told, even the father and daughter, and the son and the mother.

*W. A.* I believe, sir, you are misinformed; my wife assures me of the contrary, and that they abhor it. Perhaps for any further relations they may not be so exact as we are; but she tells me they never touch one another, in the near relations you speak of.

*R. C.* Well, what did she say to what you told her?

*W. A.* She said she liked it very well; and it was much better than in her country.

*R. C.* But did you tell her what marriage was?

*W. A.* Ay, ay, there began all our dialogue. I asked her, if she would be married to me our way? She asked me, what way that was? I told her, marriage was appointed of God:

and here we had a strange talk together indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

[N. B. This dialogue between W. Atkins and his wife, as I took it down in writing just after he told it me, was as follows.]

*Wife.* Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

*W. A.* Yes, my dear, God is in every country.

*Wife.* No your God in my country; my country have the great old Benamuckee God.

*W. A.* Child, I am very unfit to show you who God is; God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.

*Wife.* No makee de earth; no you God makee de earth; no makee my country.

[W. A. laughed a little at her expression of God not making her country.]

*Wife.* No laugh: why laugh me? This no ting to laugh.

[He was justly reproved by his wife, for she was more serious than he at first.

*W. A.* That's true, indeed; I will not laugh any more, my dear.

*Wife.* Why you say, you God make all?

*W. A.* Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you, and me, and all things; for he is the only true God; there is no God but he; he lives for ever in heaven.

*Wife.* Why you no tell me long ago?

*W. A.* That's true, indeed; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with any thing before, but have lived without God in the world myself.

*Wife.* What, have you de great God in your country, you no know him? No say O to him? No do good ting for him? That no possible!

*W. A.* It is too true though, for all that: we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that he had no power on earth.

*Wife.* But why God let you do so? Why he no makee you good live?

*W. A.* It is all our own fault.

*Wife.* But you say me he is great, much great, have much great power; can make kill when he will: why he no makee kill when you no serve him? no say O to him? no be good mans?

*W. A.* That is true; he might strike me dead, and I ought to expect it; for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true: but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deserve.

*Wife.* But then do not you tell God tankee for that too?

*W. A.* No, indeed; I have not thanked God for his mercy, any more than I have feared God for his power.

*Wife.* Then you God no God; me no tink, believe he be such one, great much power, strong; no makee kill you, though you makee him much angry?

*W. A.* What! will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God! What a dreadful creature am I! And what a sad truth is it, that the horrid lives of Christians hinder the conversion of heathens!

*Wife.* How me tink you have great much God up there (*she points up to heaven*), and yet no do well, no do good ting? Can he tell? Sure he no tell what you do.

*W. A.* Yes, yes, he knows and sees all things; he hears us speak, sees what we do, knows what we think, though we do not speak.

*Wife.* What! he no hear you swear, curse, speak the great damn?

*W. A.* Yes, yes, he hears it all.

*Wife.* Where he then the muchee great power strong?

*W. A.* He is merciful; that is all we can say for it; and this proves him to be the true God: he is God, and not man; and therefore we are not consumed.

[Here Will Atkins told us he was struck with horror, to think how he could tell his wife so clearly that God sees, and hears, and knows the secret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do; and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.]

*Wife.* Merciful! what you call dat?

*W. A.* He is our father and maker; and he pities and spares us.

*Wife.* So then he never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked; then he no great himself, or no great able.

*W. A.* Yes, yes, my dear; he is infinitely good, and infinitely great, and able to punish too; and sometimes, to show his justice and vengeance, he lets fly his anger to destroy sinners, and make examples; many are cut off in their sins.

*Wife.* But no makee kill you yet; then he tell you, may be, that he no makee you kill, so you make de bargain with him, you do bad ting, he no be angry at you, when he be angry at other mans?

*W. A.* No, indeed, my sins are all presumptions upon his goodness; and he would be infinitely just if he destroyed me, as he has done other men.

*Wife.* Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead! What you say to him for that? You no tell him tankee for all that too!

*W. A.* I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that is true.

*Wife.* Why he no makee you much good better? You say he makee you.

*W. A.* He made me, as he made all the

world; 'tis I have deformed myself, and abused his goodness, and have made myself an abominable wretch.

*Wife.* I wish you makee God know me; I no makee him angry; I no do bad wicked ting.

[Here Will Atkins said his heart sunk within him, to hear a poor untaught creature desire to be taught to know God, and he such a wicked wretch that he could not say one word to her about God, but what the reproach of his own carriage would make most irrational to her to believe; nay, that already she could not believe in God, because he that was so wicked was not destroyed.]

*W. A.* My dear, you mean, you wish I could teach you to know God, not God to know you, for he knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

*Wife.* Why then he know what I say to you now; he know me wish to know him; how shall me know who makee me?

*W. A.* Poor creature, he must teach thee, I cannot teach thee; I'll pray to him to teach thee to know him; and to forgive me, that I am unworthy to teach thee.

[The poor fellow was in such an agony at her desiring him to make her know God, and her wishing to know him, that he said he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to pardon his sins, and accept of his being the unworthy instrument of instructing her in the principles of religion; after which he sat down by her again, and their dialogue went on.]

N. B. This was the time when we saw him kneel down and lift up his hands.

*Wife.* What you put down the knee for? What you hold up the hand for? What you say? Who you speak to? What is that?

*W. A.* My dear, I bow my knees in token of my submission to Him that made me: I said O to him, as you call it, and as you say your old men do to their idol Benamuckee; that is, I prayed to him.

*Wife.* What you say O to him for?

*W. A.* I prayed to him to open your eyes and your understanding, that you may know him, and be accepted by him.

*Wife.* Can he do that too?

*W. A.* Yes, he can; he can do all things.

*Wife.* But he no hear what you say?

*W. A.* Yes, he has bid us pray to him; and promised to hear us.

*Wife.* Bid you pray! When he bid you? How he bid you? What you hear him speak?

*W. A.* No, we do not hear him speak; but he has revealed himself many ways to us.

[Here he was at a great loss to make her understand that God had revealed himself to us by his word; and what his word was; but at last he told it her thus:]

*W. A.* God has spoken to some good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words; and God has inspired good men by his spirit; and they have written all his laws down in a book.

*Wife.* Me no understand that: where is book?

*W. A.* Alas! my poor creature, I have not this book; but I hope I shall, one time or other, get it for you to read it.

[Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpressible grief, that he had not a Bible.]

*Wife.* But how you makee me know that God teachee them to write that book?

*W. A.* By the same rule that we know him to be God.

*Wife.* What rule? what way you know?

*W. A.* Because he teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy, and tends to make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy; and because he forbids, and commands us to avoid, all that is wicked, that is evil in itself, or evil in its consequences.

*Wife.* That me would understand, that me fain see; if he reward all good thing, punish all wicked thing, he teachee all good thing, forbid all wicked thing, he makee all thing, he give all thing; he hear me when I say O to him, as you go to do just now; he makee me good if I wish be good; he spare me, no makee kill me when I no be good; all this you say he do: yes, he be great God; me take, think, believe him be great God; me say O to him too with you, my dear.

Here the poor man said he could forbear no longer; but raising her up, made her kneel by him; and he prayed to God aloud to instruct her in the knowledge of himself by his Spirit; and that, by some good providence, if possible, she might some time or other come to have a Bible, that she might read the word of God, and be taught by him to know him.

[This was the time that we saw him lift her up by the hand, and saw him kneel down by her, as above.]

They had several other discourses, it seems, after this, too long to set down here; and particularly she made him promise, that, since he confessed his own life had been a wicked, abominable course of provocation against God, he would reform it, and not make God angry any more, lest he should make him dead, as she called it, and then she should be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and lest he should be miserable, as he had told her wicked men should be after death.

This was a strange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly the young

clergyman: he was indeed wonderfully surprised with it; but under the greatest affliction imaginable that he could not talk to her; that he could not speak English to make her understand him and as she spoke but very broken English, he could not understand her. However, he turned himself to me, and told me, that he believed there must be more to do with this woman than to marry her. I did not understand him at first, but at length he explained himself, viz. that she ought to be baptized.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it presently: No, no; hold, sir, said he; though I would have her baptized by all means, yet I must observe, that Will Atkins, her husband, has indeed brought her, in a wonderful manner, to be willing to embrace a religious life; and has given her just ideas of the being of a God, of his power, justice, and mercy; yet I desire to know of him, if he has said any thing to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners; of the nature of faith in him, and the redemption by him; of the Holy Spirit,-the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state.

I called Will Atkins again, and asked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his own conscience so reproached him with his horrid, ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions, that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather contemn religion than receive it: but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, that, if I would but discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction, that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her. But sure such a sermon was never preached by a popish priest in these latter ages of the world; and, as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian, without the errors of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the Roman bishops were, before the church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notions of a God, but with joy and faith, with an affection, and a surprising degree of understanding, scarce to be imagined, much less to be expressed; and at her own request she was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I entreated him, that he would perform that office with some caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the Roman church, if possible; because of other ill consequences which might attend a difference among us in that very religion which we were instructing the other in. He told me, that as he had no consecrated chapel, nor proper things for the office, I should see he would do it in a manner that I should not know by it that he was a Roman Catholic himself, if I had not known it before, and so he did; for saying only some words over to himself in Latin, which I could not understand, he poured a whole dishful of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in French very loud, *Mary* (which was the name her husband desired me to give her, for I was her godfather), *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; so that none could know any thing by it what religion he was of: he gave the benediction afterwards in Latin; but either Will Atkins did not know but it was in French, or else did not take notice of it at that time.

As soon as this was over, he married them; and after the marriage was over, he turned himself to Will Atkins, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him, by a resolution to reform his life; told him it was in vain to say he repented, if he did not forsake his crimes; represented to him, how God had honoured him with being the instrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the Christian religion; and that he should be careful he did not dishonour the grace of God; and that if he did, he would see the heathen a better Christian than himself; the savage converted, and the instrument cast away!

He said a great many good things to them both, and then recommended them, in a few words, to God's goodness; gave them the benediction again, I repeating every thing to them in English: and thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant, agreeable day to me, that ever I passed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet; his thoughts hung continually upon the conversion of the thirty-seven savages, and fain he would have staid upon the island to have undertaken it: but I convinced him, first, that his undertaking was impracticable in itself;

ad secondly, that, perhaps, I could put it in-
o a way of being done in his absence, to his
atisfaction; of which by and by.

Having thus brought the affair of the island
o a narrow compass, I was preparing to go
on board the ship, when the young man, whom
I had taken out of the famished ship's com-
pany, came to me, and told me, he understood
I had a clergyman with me, and that I had
caused the Englishmen to be married to the
savages whom they called wives; that he had
a match too, which he desired might be finish-
ed before I went, between two Christians,
which he hoped would not be disagreeable
to me.

I knew this must be the young woman who
was his mother's servant, for there was no
other Christian woman on the island. So I
began to persuade him not to do any thing of
that kind rashly, or because he found himself
in this solitary circumstance. I represented
that he had some considerable substance in
the world, and good friends, as I understood
by himself, and by his maid also; that the
maid was not only poor, and a servant, but
was unequal to him, she being twenty-six or
twenty-seven years old, and he not above
seventeen or eighteen; that he might very
probably, with my assistance, make a remove
from this wilderness, and come into his own
country again, and that then it would be a
thousand to one, but he would repent his
choice, and the dislike of that circumstance
might be disadvantageous to both. I was go-
ing to say more, but he interrupted me, smi-
ling; and told me, with a great deal of mo-
desty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he
had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his
present circumstances being melancholy and
disconsolate enough, and was very glad to
hear that I had some thoughts of putting them
in a way to see their own country again; and
that nothing should have set him upon stay-
ing there, but that the voyage I was going
was so exceeding long and hazardous, and
would carry him quite out of the reach of all
his friends; that he had nothing to desire of
me, but that I would settle him in some little
property of the island where he was; give him
a servant or two, and some few necessaries,
and he would settle himself here like a plant-
er, waiting the good time when, if ever I re-
turned to England, I would redeem him, and
hoped I would not be unmindful of him when
I came to England; that he would give me
some letters to his friends in London, to let
them know how good I had been to him, and
what part of the world, and what circumstan-
ces I had left him in; and he promised me,
that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation,
and all the improvements he had made upon
it, let the value be what it would, should be
wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered,
considering his youth, and was the more
agreeable to me, because he told me positive-
ly the match was not for himself. I gave
him all possible assurances, that, if I lived to
come safe to England, I would deliver his let-
ters, and do his business effectually, and that
he might depend I would never forget the
circumstances I left him in. But still I was
impatient to know who was the person to be
married; upon which he told me it was my
Jack of all Trades and his maid Susan.

I was most agreeably surprised when he
named the match; for indeed I had thought
it very suitable. The character of that man
I have given you already; and as for the
maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober,
and religious young woman; had a very good
share of sense; was agreeable enough in
her person; spoke very handsomely, and to
the purpose; always with decency and good
manners, and not backward to speak when
any thing required it, or impertinently for-
ward to speak when it was not her business;
very handy and housewifely in any thing that
was before her; an excellent manager, and
fit indeed to have been governess to the
whole island; she knew very well how to
behave herself to all kind of folks she had
about her, and to better if she had found any
there.

The match being proposed in this manner,
we married them the same day; and as I
was father at the altar, as I may say, and
gave her away, so I gave her a portion; for
I appointed her and her husband a handsome
large space of ground for their plantation;
and indeed this match, and the proposal the
young gentleman made to me, to give him a
small property in the island, put me upon
parcelling it out among them, that they might
not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them I left to
Will Atkins, who indeed was now grown a
most sober, grave, managing fellow, perfectly
reformed, exceeding pious and religious, and,
as far as I may be allowed to speak positive-
ly in such a case, I verily believe was a true
sincere penitent.

He divided things so justly, and so much
to every one's satisfaction, that they only de-
sired one general writing under my hand for
the whole, which I caused to be drawn up,
and signed and sealed to them, setting out
the bounds and situation of every man's plant-
ation, and testifying that I gave them there-
by, severally, a right to the whole possession
and inheritance of the respective plantations
or farms, with their improvements, to them

and their heirs; reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation after eleven years, if I, or any one from me, or in my name, came to demand it, producing an attested copy of the same writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them, I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themselves; only made them promise me to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another: and so I prepared to leave them.

One thing I must not omit, and that is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it was but odd to have seven-and-thirty Indians live in a nook of the island, independent, and indeed unemployed; for, excepting the providing themselves food, which they had difficulty enough in doing sometimes, they had no manner of business or property to manage: I proposed therefore to the governor Spaniard, that he should go to them with Friday's father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves, or take them into their several families as servants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being absolute slaves; for I would not admit them to make them slaves by force by any means, because they had their liberty given by capitulation, and as it were articles of surrender, which they ought not to break.

They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very chearfully along with him; so we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as servants in the several families we had settled; and thus my colony was in a manner settled as follows: The Spaniards possessed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantation all along the side of the brook which made the creek that I have so often described, as far as my bower; and as they increased their culture, it went always eastward. The English lived in the north-east part, where Will Atkins and his comrades began, and came on southward and southwest, towards the back part of the Spaniards; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in, if they found occasion, so that they need not jostle one another for want of room.

All the west end of the island was left uninhabited, that, if any of the savages should come on shore there, only for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go; if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them; and no doubt but they were often ashore and went away again, for I never heard that the planters were attacked and disturbed any more.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*I entertain the prospect of converting the Indians—Amiable Character of the Young Woman we saved in a famished State at Sea—Her own Relation of her Sufferings from Hunger—Sail from the Island for the Brazils—Encounter and rout a whole Fleet of Savages—Death of Friday—Arrival at Brazil.*

It now came into my thoughts, that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman that the work of converting the savages might perhaps be set on foot in his absence to his satisfaction, and I told him that now I thought it was put in a fair way; for the savages being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed presently in that; If, said he, they will do their part; but how, says he, shall we obtain that of them?—I told him we would call them all together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one by one, which he thought best; so we divided it—he to speak to the Spaniards, who were all Papists, and I to the English, who were all Protestants; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise that they would never make any distinction of Papist or Protestant in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians, but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jesus Christ; and they likewise promised us, that they would never have any differences or disputes one with another about religion.

When I came to Will Atkins's house, (I may call it so, for such a house, or such a piece of basket-work, I believe was not standing in the world again!) I say, when I came thither, I found the young woman I have mentioned above, and William Atkins's wife, were become intimates; and this prudent and religious young woman had perfected the work Will Atkins had begun; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new-baptized savage woman was made such a Christian as I have seldom heard of any like her, in all my observation or conversation in the world.

It came next into my mind in the morning before I went to them, that among all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left a Bible, in which I showed myself less considering for them than my good friend the widow was for me, when she sent me the cargo of 100*l.* from Lisbon, where she procured up three Bibles and a Prayer-book. However, the good woman's charity had a great

extent than ever she imagined, for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those, that made much better use of them than I had done.

I took one of the Bibles in my pocket, and when I came to William Atkins's tent, or house, I found the young woman and Atkins's baptized wife had been discoursing of religion together (for William Atkins told it me with a great deal of joy.) I asked if they were together now? And he said yes; so I went into the house and he with me, and we found them together, very earnest in discourse: O sir, says William Atkins, when God has sinners to reconcile to himself, and aliens to bring home, he never wants a messenger: my wife has got a new instructor—I knew I was unworthy, as I was incapable of that work—that young woman has been sent hither from Heaven—she is enough to convert a whole island of savages.—The young woman blushed, and rose up to go away, but I desired her to sit still; I told her she had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bless her in it.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not ask, but I put my hand in my pocket, and pulled out my Bible. Here, said I to Atkins, I have brought you an assistant, that perhaps you had not before.—The man was so confounded, that he was not able to speak for some time; but recovering himself, he takes it with both hands, and turning to his wife, Here, my dear, says he, did not I tell you, our God, though he lives above, could hear what we said? Here is the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled down under the bush; now God has heard us, and sent it.—When he had said thus, the man fell in such transports of passionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was surprised, and was like to have run into a mistake that none of us were aware of; for she firmly believed God had sent the book upon her husband's petition: it is true that providentially it was so, and might be taken so in a consequent sense; but I believed it would have been no difficult matter at that time to have persuaded the poor woman to have believed that an express messenger came from Heaven on purpose to bring that individual book; but it was too serious a matter to suffer any delusion to take place: so I turned to the young woman, and told her we did not desire to impose upon the new convert in her first and more ignorant understanding of things, and begged her to explain to her that God may be very properly said to answer our petitions, when in the course of his providence such things are in a particular manner brought to pass as we petitioned for; but we do not expect returns from Heaven in a miraculous and particular manner; and that it is our mercy it is not so

This the young woman did afterwards effectually; so that there was, I assure you, no priestcraft used here; and I should have thought it one of the most unjustifiable frauds in the world to have had it so: but the surprise of joy upon Will Atkins is really not to be expressed; and there we may be sure was no delusion. Sure no man was ever more thankful in the word for any thing of its kind than he was for this Bible, and I believe never any man was glad of a Bible from a better principle; and though he had been a most profligate creature, desperate, headstrong, outrageous, furious, and wicked to a great degree, yet this man is a standing rule to us all for the well instructing children, viz. that parents should never give over to teach and instruct, or ever despair of the success of their endeavours, let the children be ever so obstinate, refractory, or to appearance insensible of instruction; for if ever God in his providence touches the consciences of such, the force of their education returns upon them, and the early instruction of parents is not lost, though it may have been many years laid asleep, but some time or other they may find the benefit of it.

Thus it was with this poor man. However ignorant he was, or divested of religion and Christian knowledge, he found he had some to do with now more ignorant than himself; and that the least part of the instruction of his good father, that could now come to his mind, was of use to him.

Among the rest it occurred to him, he said, how his father used to insist much upon the inexpressible value of the Bible, the privilege and blessing of it to nations, families, and persons; but he never entertained the least notion of the worth of it till now, when, being to talk to heathens, savages, and barbarians, he wanted the help of the written oracle for his assistance.

The young woman was very glad of it also for the present occasion, though she had one, and so had the youth, on board our ship, among the goods which were not yet brought on shore. And now, having said so many things of this young woman, I cannot omit telling one story more of her and myself, which has something in it very informing and remarkable.

I have related to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced; how her mistress was starved to death, and did die on board that unhappy ship we met at sea; and how the whole ship's company being reduced to the

last extremity, the gentlewoman and her son, and this maid, were first hardly used as to provisions, and at last totally neglected and starved; that is to say, brought to the last extremity of hunger.

One day, being discoursing with her upon the extremities they suffered, I asked her if she could describe, by what she felt, what it was to starve, and how it appeared? She told me she believed she could, and she told her tale very distinctly thus:

First, sir, said she, we had for some days fared exceeding hard, and suffered very great hunger, but now at last we were wholly without food of any kind except sugar, and a little wine, and a little water. The first day after I had received no food at all, I found myself towards evening, first empty and sickish at my stomach, and nearer night mightily inclined to yawning, and sleepy; I lay down on a couch in the great cabin to sleep, and slept about three hours, and awaked a little refreshed, having taken a glass of wine when I lay down. After being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myself empty, and my stomach sickish again, and lay down again, but could not sleep at all, being very faint and ill; and thus I continued all the second day with a strange variety—first hungry, then sick again, with retchings to vomit. The second night, being obliged to go to bed again without any food more than a draught of fair water, and being asleep, I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, and that the market was mightily stocked with provisions; that I bought some for my mistress, and went and dined very heartily.

I thought my stomach was full after this, as it would have been after, or at a good dinner; but when I waked, I was exceedingly sunk in my spirits to find myself in the extremity of famine; the last glass of wine we had I drank, and put sugar into it, because of its having some spirit to supply nourishment; but there being no substance in the stomach for the digesting office to work upon, I found the only effect of the wine was to raise disagreeable fumes from the stomach into the head; and I lay, as they told me, stupid and senseless, as one drunk, for some time.

The third day in the morning, after a night of strange and confused, inconsistent dreams, and rather dozing than sleeping, I awaked ravenous and furious with hunger; and I question, had not my understanding returned and conquered it, I say, I question whether, if I had been a mother, and had had a little child with me, its life would have been safe or no.

This lasted about three hours, during which time I was twice raging mad as any creature in Bedlam, as my young master told me, and as he can now inform you.

In one of these fits of lunacy or distraction, whether by the motion of the ship, or some slip of my foot I know not, I fell down, and struck my face against the corner of a pallet-bed, in which my mistress lay, and with the blow the blood gushed out of my nose, and the cabin-boy bringing me a little bason, I sat down and bled into it a great deal, and as the blood ran from me I came to myself, and the violence of the flame or the fever I was in abated, and so did the ravenous part of the hunger.

Then I grew sick, and retched to vomit, but could not, for I had nothing in my stomach to bring up. After I had bled some time I swooned, and they all believed I was dead; but I came to myself soon after, and then had a most dreadful pain in my stomach, not to be described, not like the colic, but a gnawing eager pain for food; and towards night it went off with a kind of earnest wishing or longing for food, something like, as I suppose, the longing of a woman with child. I took another draught of water with sugar in it, but my stomach loathed the sugar, and brought it all up again; then I took a draught of water without sugar, and that stayed with me, and I laid me down upon the bed, praying most heartily that it would please God to take me away; and composing my mind in hopes of it, I slumbered awhile, and then waking, thought myself dying, being light with vapours from an empty stomach: I recommended my soul to God, and earnestly wished that somebody would throw me into the sea.

All this while my mistress lay by me, just, as I thought, expiring, but bore it with much more patience than I, and gave the last bit of bread she had to her child, my young master, who would not have taken it, but she obliged him to eat it, and I believe it saved his life.

Towards the morning I slept again, and first when I awaked I fell into a violent passion of crying, and after that had a second fit of violent hunger, so that I got up ravenous, and in a most dreadful condition. Had my mistress been dead, so much as I loved her, I am certain I should have eaten a piece of her flesh with as much relish, and as unconcerned, as ever I did the flesh of any creature appointed for food; and once or twice I was going to bite my own arm. At last I saw the bason in which was the blood I had bled at my nose the day before; I ran to it, and swallowed it with such haste, and such a greedy appetite, as if I had wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it should be taken from me now.

Though, after it was down, the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger, and I drank a draught of fair water, and was composed and refreshed for some hours after it. This was the fourth day; and thus I held it till towards night, when, within the compass of three hours, I had all these several circumstances over again, one after another, viz. sick, sleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the stomach, then ravenous again, then sick again, then lunatic then crying, then ravenous again, and so every quarter of an hour; and my strength wasted exceedingly. At night I laid me down, having no comfort but in the hope that I should die before morning.

All this night I had no sleep, but the hunger was now turned into a disease, and I had a terrible colic and griping, wind instead of food having found its way into my bowels; and in this condition I lay till morning, when I was surprised a little with the cries and lamentations of my young master, who called out to me that his mother was dead. I lifted myself up a little, for I had not strength to rise, but found she was not dead, though she was able to give very little signs of life.

I had then such convulsions in my stomach for want of some sustenance, that I cannot describe them, with such frequent throes and pangs of appetite, that nothing but the tortures of death can imitate; and this condition I was in when I heard the seamen above cry out, A sail! a sail! and halloo and jump about as if they were distracted.

I was not able to get off from the bed, and my mistress much less, and my master was so sick that I thought he had been expiring; so we could not open the cabin-door, or get any account what it was that occasioned such a combustion; nor had we any conversation with the ship's company for two days, they having told us they had not a mouthful of any thing to eat in the ship; and they told us afterwards they thought we had been dead.

It was this dreadful condition we were in when you were sent to save our lives; and how you found us, sir, you know as well as I, and better too.

This was her own relation; and is such a distinct account of starving to death, as I confess I never met with, and was exceeding entertaining to me. I am the rather apt to believe it to be a true account, because the youth gave me an account of a good part of it; though I must own not so distinct and so feelingly as his maid, and the rather because it seems his mother fed him at the price of her own life: but the poor maid, though her constitution being stronger than that of her mistress, who was in years, and a weakly woman too, she might struggle harder with it; I say, the poor maid might be supposed to feel the extremity something sooner than her mistress, who might be allowed to keep the last bits something longer than she parted with any to relieve the maid. No question, as the case is here related, if our ship, or some other, had not so providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unless they had prevented it by eating one another; and even that, as their case stood, would have served them but a little while, they being five hundred leagues from any land, or any possibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened. But this is by the way; I return to my disposition of things among the people.

And first, it is to be observed here, that for many reasons I did not think fit to let them know any thing of the sloop I had framed, and which I thought of setting up among them; for I found, at least at my first coming, such seeds of division among them, that I saw it plainly, had I set up the sloop, and left it among them, they would, upon very light disgust, have separated, and gone away from one another; or perhaps have turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober and religious people, as I intended it to be; nor did I leave the two pieces of brass cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter-deck guns, that my nephew took extraordinary, for the same reason: I thought they had enough to qualify them for a defensive war, against any that should invade them; but I was not to set them up for an offensive war, or to encourage them to go abroad to attack others, which, in the end, would only bring ruin and destruction upon themselves and all their undertakings. I reserved the sloop, therefore, and the guns, for their service another way, as I shall observe in its place.

I have now done with the island: I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again the fifth day of May, having been five-and-twenty days among them; and, as they were all resolved to stay upon the island till I came to remove them, I promised to send some further relief from the Brazils, if I could possibly find an opportunity; and particularly I promised to send them some cattle, such as sheep, hogs, and cows; for as to the two cows and calves which I brought from England, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at sea, for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the Bay of All Saints, in the Brazils, in about

twenty-two days; meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this, that about three days after we sailed being becalmed, and the current setting strong to the N. N. E., running, as it were, into a bay or gulf on the land-side, we were driven something out of our course .. and once or twice our men cried, Land, to the westward; but whether it was the continent, or islands, we could not tell by any means.

But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were, covered towards the land with something very black, not being able to discover what it was; but after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perspective, cried out, it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and spoke a little hastily, calling the fellow a fool, or some such word: Nay, sir, says he, don't be angry, for it is an army, and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, and they are coming towards us too apace, and full of men.

I was a little surprised then, indeed, and so was my nephew, the captain; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said two or three times we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse; however, I bade him not be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we came so near as to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; so I gave orders to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails. As for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear from them but fire; and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture: this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready, with sheet and buckets, to put out any fire these savages might endeavour to fix upon the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us; but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians: my mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thousand canoes; the most we could make of them, when they came up, being about 126; and a great many of them too; for some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which they had, doubtless, never seen before; nor could they, at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up, however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats, not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it; for five or six of their large canoes came so near our long-boat, that our men beckoned with their hands to them to keep back, which they understood very well, and went back; but at their retreat about 500 arrows came on board us from those boats; and one of our men in the long-boat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of a fence, like waist boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of us, and pretty near; so near that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design. I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with; and in a little time more they rowed somewhat farther off to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near, that they could hear us speak. Upon this, I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and make all our guns ready; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant; which accordingly he did: whether they understood him or not, that I know not; but, as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost, or nighest boat to us, turned their canoes from us; and, stooping down, showed us their naked backsides; just a if, in English (saving your presence), they had bid us kiss ———. Whether this was a defiance or challenge, we knew not; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or a signal to the rest; but immediately Friday cried out, they were going to shoot; and unhappily for him (poor fellow!) they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very nigh him; such unlucky marksmen they were.

I was so enraged with the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five gun

to be loaded with small shot, and four with great; and gave them such a broadside as they had never had in their lives before, to be sure.

They were not above half a cable's length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their canoes were overset as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backsides to us, gave us no great offence; neither did I know for certain whether that, which would pass for the greatest contempt among us, might be understood so by them or not; therefore, in return, I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns with powder only, which I knew would fright them sufficiently: but when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor Friday, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who, indeed, so well deserved it; I not only had been justified before God and man, but would have been very glad, if I could, to have overset every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded at this broadside; but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude: there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split, and overset in all, and the men all set a-swimming; the rest, frighted out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot: so I suppose that they were many of them lost; and our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, above an hour after they were all gone.

Our small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many; but, in short, we never knew any thing how it went with them; for they fled so fast, that, in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes; nor did we ever see the rest any more; for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the Brazils.

We had a prisoner indeed, but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat nor speak; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death: but I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him and turn him into the long-boat, and make him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him, if he would not speak; nor would that do, but they really did throw him into the sea, and came away from him; and then he followed them, for he swam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said. However, at last, they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever design they should drown him.

We were now under sail again; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive, for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion; but it could not be, so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said, and it was a long while before we could make him understand any thing; but in time, our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable; afterwards we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and spoken in the throat, in such a hollow and odd manner that we could never form a word from him; and we were all of opinion that they might speak that language as well if they were gagged, as otherwise; nor could we perceive that they had any occasion either for teeth, tongue, lips, or palate; but formed their words just as a hunting-horn forms a tune, with an open throat: he told us, however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little English, that they were going with their kings, to fight a great battle. When he said kings, we asked him, how many kings? He said there were five nation (we could not make him understand the plural s), and that they all joined to go against two nation. We asked him, What made them come up to us? He said, To makee te great wonder look.—Where it is to be observed, that all those natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, they always add two e's at the end of the words where we use one, and place the accent upon the last of them; as *makee*, *takee*, and the like; and we could not break them off it; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him; poor honest Friday! We buried him with all decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him: and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We now went away with a fair wind for Brazil, and, in about twelve days time, we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the Line, being the north-easternmost land of all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made the Cape St Augustine, and in three days came to an anchor off the Bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never did a ship come to this part that had less business than I had; and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore. Not my partner himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchant trustees, nor the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could obtain me that favour: but my partner, remembering that I had given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monastery of the Augustines, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, went to the monastery, and obliged the prior that then was to go to the governor, and beg leave for me presently, with the captain, and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more; and this upon condition absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, or to carry any person away without licence.

They were so strict with us, as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore three bales of English goods, such as fine broad-cloths, stuffs, and some linen, which I had brought for a present to my partner.

He was a very generous, broad-hearted man, though (like me) he came from little at first; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him any thing, he sent me on board a present of fresh provisions, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals in gold. But I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broad-cloth, English stuffs, lace, and fine Hollands. Also, I delivered him about the value of a 100*l.* sterling, in the same goods, for other uses; and I obliged him to set up the sloop which I had brought with me from England, as I have said, for the use of my colony, in order to send the refreshments I intended to my plantation.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*I dispatch a Number of additional Recruits, and a Quantity of extra Stores to the Island, and take my leave of it for ever—I determine to go with the Ship to the East Indies—Arrival at Madagascar—Dreadful Occurrences there.*

ACCORDINGLY he got hands, and finished the sloop in a very few days, for she was already framed; and I gave the master of her such instructions as he could not miss the place; nor did he miss it, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him soon loaded with the small cargo I had sent them; and one of our seamen, that had been on shore with me there, offered to go with the sloop, and settle there, upon my letter to the governor Spaniard, to allot him a sufficient quantity of land for a plantation; and giving him some clothes, and tools for his planting work, which he said he understood, having been an old planter in Maryland, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

I encouraged the fellow, by granting all he desired; and, as an addition, I gave him the savage whom we had taken prisoner of war, to be his slave, and ordered the governor Spaniard to give him his share of every thing he wanted, with the rest.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me, there was a certain very honest fellow, a Brazil planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the church: I know not what the matter is with him, says he, but, on my conscience, I think he is a heretic in his heart, and he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the Inquisition; that he would be very glad of such an opportunity to make his escape, with his wife and two daughters; and if I would let them go to the island, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a small stock to begin with; for the officers of the Inquisition had seized all his effects and estate, and he had nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves; and, adds he, though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands, for he will assuredly be burnt alive if he does.

I granted this presently, and joined my Englishman with them; and we concealed the man, and his wife and daughters, on board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea; and then, (having put all their goods on board the sloop some time before,) we put them on board the sloop, after she was got out of the bay.

Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner; and their stock, indeed, was much alike rich in tools, and in preparations, for a farm; but nothing to begin with, but as above. However, they carried over with them (which was worth all the rest) some materials for planting sugar-canes, with some plants of canes; which he (I mean the Portugal man) understood very well.

Among the rest of the supplies sent my tenants in the island, I sent them, by this sloop, three milch-cows and five calves, about twenty-two hogs among them, three sows big with pig, two mares, and a stone-horse.

For my Spaniards, according to my promise, I engaged three Portugal women to go; and recommended it to them to marry them, and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor persecuted man had two daughters, and there

ere but five of the Spaniards that wanted; he rest had wives of their own, though in nother country.

All this cargo arrived safe, and, as you may asily suppose, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now (with this addition) etween sixty and seventy people, besides little children; of which there were a great many. I found letters at London from them all, by way of Lisbon, when I came back to England, being sent back to the Brazils by this sloop; of which I shall take some notice in its place.

I have now done with my island, and all manner of discourse about it; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read only of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much less by those of other men, to beware of the like; not cooled by almost forty years misery and disappointments; not satisfied with prosperity beyond expectation; not made cautious by affliction and distress beyond imitation.

I had no more business to go to the East Indies, than a man at full liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the turnkey at Newgate, and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there, and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and gone directly to the island; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people; took a patent from the government here, to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England, which, to be sure, I might have obtained; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants and people to plant, and, taking possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it in the name of England, and increased it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back loaded with good rice, as I might also have done in six months time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply; had I done this, and staid there myself, I had, at least, acted like a man of common sense: but I was possessed with a wandering spirit, secured all advantages, pleased myself with being the patron of these people I had placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation: but I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name; but left it as I found it, belonging to no man, and the people under no discipline or government but my own; who, though I had an influence over them as father and benefactor, had no authority or power to act or command one way or other, farther than voluntary consent moved them to comply: yet even this, had I staid there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them, and came thither no more, the last letters I had from any of them, were by my partner's means, who afterwards sent another sloop to the place; and who sent me word, though I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly, were malcontent with their long stay there; that Will Atkins was dead; that five of the Spaniards were come away; and that though they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had had some skirmishes with them; that they begged of him to write to me to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their own country again before they died.

But I was gone a wild-goose chace indeed, and they who will have any more of me, must be content to follow me through a new variety of follies, hardships, and wild adventures; wherein the justice of Providence may be duly observed, and we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires, make the strongest of our wishes to be our affliction, and punish us most severely with those very things which we think it would be our utmost happiness to be allowed in.

Let no wise man flatter himself with the strength of his own judgment, as if he were able to choose any particular station of life for himself. Man is a short-sighted creature, sees but a very little way before him; and as his passions are none of his best friends, so his particular affections are generally his worst counsellors.

I say this with respect to the impetuous desire I had from a youth to wander into the world, and how evident it now was that this principle was preserved in me for my punishment. How it came on, the manner, the circumstance, and the conclusion of it, it is easy to give you historically, and with its utmost variety of particulars. But the secret ends of Divine Providence, in thus permitting us to be hurried down the stream of our own desires, are only to be understood of those who can listen to the voice of Providence, and draw religious consequences from God's justice, and their own mistakes.

Be it I had business or no business, away I went. It is no time now to enlarge any farther upon the reason or absurdity of my own conduct; but to come to the history—I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I shall only add here, that my honest and

truly pious clergyman left me here; a ship being ready to go to Lisbon, he asked me leave to go thither; being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me, if I had gone with him!

But it was too late now; all things Heaven appoints are best. Had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the Second Part of the Travels and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; so I must leave here the fruitless exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage.

From the Brazils we made directly away over the Atlantic Sea to the Cape de Bonne Esperance, or, as we call it, the Cape of Good Hope; and had a tolerable good voyage, our course generally south-east; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds. But my disasters at sea were at an end; my future rubs and cross events were to befal me on shore; that it might appear the land was as well prepared to be our scourge as the sea, when Heaven, who directs the circumstances of things, pleases to appoint it to be so.

Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions after she arrived at the Cape; only being limited to a certain number of days for stay, by charter party, at the several ports she was to go to. This was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it at all; my nephew, the captain, and the supercargo, adjusting all those things between them as they thought fit.

We made no stay at the Cape longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel: we were indeed informed that a French man of war of fifty guns, and two large merchant-ships, were gone for the Indies; and as I knew we were at war with France, I had some apprehensions of them; but they went their own way, and we heard no more of them.

I shall not pester my account, or the reader, with descriptions of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compass, latitudes, meridian distances, trade-winds, situation of ports, and the like; such as almost all the histories of long navigation are full of, and which make the reading tiresome enough, and are perfectly unprofitable to all that read, except only to those who are to go to those places themselves.

It is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at, and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and, in particular, very well armed with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them awhile; they treated us very civilly; and for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissars, &c. they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, middling in size, but very good in flesh, which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for our present spending, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here for some time after we had furnished ourselves with provisions; and I, that was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on shore as often as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening, and the people, who by the way are very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us at a distance. As we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger; but when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree and stuck them up at a distance from us, which, it seems, is a mark in the country not only of truce and friendship, but when it is accepted, the other side set up three poles or boughs also, which is a signal that they accept the truce too; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass beyond their three poles towards them, nor they come past your three poles or boughs towards you; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles, and all the space between your poles and theirs is allowed, like a market, for free converse, traffic, and commerce. When you go thither you must not carry your weapons with you; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and lances all at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles, and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening when we went on shore, that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but all was very friendly and civil. They brought with them several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had; their women also brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet; and we made us a little tent or hut of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all that night.

I know not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest; and the boat lying at an anchor about a stone's cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore, and getting some

boughs of trees to cover us also in the boat, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay on board, under the cover of the branches of the trees, all night.

About two o'clock in the morning, we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on the shore, calling out for God's sake to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the same time I heard the firing of five muskets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over; for, it seems, the natives here were not so easily frighted with guns as the savages were in America, where I had to do with them.

All this while I knew not what was the matter; but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fusils we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore; but our men were in too much haste; for, being come to the shore, they plunged into the water to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fusils with them: the rest, indeed, had pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse was, that while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were fain to barricade the side of the boat up with the benches and two or three loose boards, which, to our great satisfaction, we had by mere accident, or providence rather, in the boat.

And yet had it been daylight, they are, it seems, such exact marksmen, that if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us. We had, by the light of the moon, a little sight of them as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows; and having got ready our fire-arms, we gave them a volley, and we could hear by the cries of some of them, that we had wounded several; however, they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, which we suppose was that they might see the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor, or set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot.

We made signals of distress to the ship, which though she rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glasses perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us; and weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat with ten hands in her to assist us; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in. However, they stood in nearer to us; and one of the men taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made the line fast to the boat, upon which we slipt our little cable, and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of the reach of the arrows, we all the while lying close behind the barricade we had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that she could lay her side to the shore, we ran along just by them, and we poured in a broadside among them, loaded with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets, and such stuff, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havoc among them.

When we were got on board, and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and indeed our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, put me upon it; for he said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out, viz. that an old woman, who had come to sell us some milk, had brought it within our poles, with a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman (whether she was mother to the young woman or no they could not tell) was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her, at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight, among the trees, it being almost dark. The old woman went away without her, and, as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from; who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had been all destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance that was thrown at him, just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied out of the tent we had made; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him; made our boat sail

up shore and down shore several leagues, but in vain; so we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been the less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more, to try if I could learn any thing of him or them. It was the third night after the action, that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what mischief we had done, and how the game stood on the Indian side. I was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought indeed to have been sure that the men I went with had been under my command before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous, as I was brought into it without my knowledge or desire.

We took twenty stout fellows with us as any in the ship, besides the supercargo and myself; and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the Indians stood drawn up the evening before. I landed here, because my design, as I have said, was chiefly to see if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them, or of the mischief we had done them: and I thought if we could surprise one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again by way of exchange.

We landed without any noise, and divided our men into two companies, whereof the boatswain commanded one, and I the other. We neither could hear nor see any body stir when we landed; so we marched up, one body at a distance from the other, to the field of battle. At first we could see nothing, it being very dark; but by and by our boatswain, that led the first party, stumbled and fell over a dead body. This made them halt there awhile; for knowing by the circumstances that they were at the place where the Indians had stood, they waited for my coming up. Here we concluded to halt till the moon began to rise, which we knew would be in less than an hour, and then we could easily discern the havoc we had made among them. We told two-and-thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Some had an arm, and some a leg shot off, and one his head; those that were wounded we supposed they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we could come at the knowledge of, I was for going on board again; but the boatswain and his party often sent me word, that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where these dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and desired me to go along with them, and if they could find them, as they still fancied they should, they did not doubt, they said, getting a good booty, and it might be they might find Thomas Jeffrys there, that was the man's name we had lost.

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them; for I would have commanded them instantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run, who had a ship and a ship's loading in our charge, and a voyage to make, which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up (for I was sitting on the ground) in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go, and when I still refused positively, began to grumble, and say they were not under my command, and they would go. Come, Jack, says one of the men, will you go with me? I will go for one. Jack said he would; and another followed, and then another; and, in a word, they all left me but one, whom, with much difficulty too, I persuaded to stay; so the supercargo and I, with one man, went back to the boat, where, I told them, we would stay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as should be left; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of Thomas Jeffrys.

They told me, like seamen, they would warrant it they would come off again, and they would take care, &c. So away they went. I entreated them to consider the ship and the voyage; that their lives were not their own, and that they were intrusted with the voyage in some measure; that if they miscarried, the ship might be lost for want of their help, and that they would not answer it to God and man. I said a great deal more to them on that head, but I might as well have talked to the main mast of the ship; they were mad upon their journey; only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; said they would be very cautious, and they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour at farthest. for the Indian town, they said, was not above half a mile off; though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away as above; and though the attempt was desperate, and such as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it warily as well as boldly. They were gallantly armed, that is true; for they had every man a fusil or musket, a bayonet, and every man a pistol; some of them had broad cutlasses, some of them hangers, and the boatswain and two more had pole axes; besides all which, they had among them thirteen hand-grenadoes. Bolder fellows, and better provided

never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out, their chief design was plunder, and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance, which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all. When they came to the few Indian houses, which they thought had been the town, which were not above half a mile off, they were under a great disappointment; for there were not above twelve or thirteen houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not. They consulted therefore what to do, and were some time before they could re-solve; for, if they fell upon these, they must cut all their throats, and it was ten to one but some of them might escape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one escaped, he would run away, and raise all the town, so they should have a whole army upon them. Again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left those untouched (for the people were all asleep), they could not tell which way to look for the town.

However, the last was the best advice; so they resolved to leave those houses, and look for the town as well as they could. They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree; this they presently concluded would be a good guide to them; for they said the cow certainly belonged to the town before them, or the town behind them, and if they untied her, they should see which way she went: if she went back, they had nothing to say to her, but if she went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her; so they cut the cord, which was made of twisted flags, and the cow went on before them. In a word, the cow led them directly to the town, which, as they reported, consisted of above two hundred houses or huts; and in some of these they found several families living together.

Here they found all silent; as profoundly secure as sleep and a country that had never seen an enemy of that kind could make them. Upon this they called another council to consider what they had to do, and in a word they resolved to divide themselves into three bodies, and to set three houses on fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to seize them and bind them; if any resisted, they need not be asked what to do then, and so to search the rest of the houses for plunder; but resolved to march silently first through the town, and see what dimensions it was of, and consider if they might venture upon it or no.

They did so, and desperately resolved that they would venture upon them; but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them that were a little before the rest called out aloud, and told them they had found Thomas Jeffrys; they all ran up to the place, and so it was indeed, for there they found the poor fellow, hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut. There was an Indian house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the principal Indians, who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our shot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that house, but knew not their number.

The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, as before, that they swore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an Indian who came into their hands should have quarter; and to work they went immediately, and yet not so madly as by the rage and fury they were in might be expected. Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire; but after a little search they found that would be to no purpose, for most of the houses were low, and thatched with flags or rushes, of which the country is full: so they presently made some wild-fire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palms of their hands; and in a quarter of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places, and particularly that house where the Indians were not gone to bed. As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frighted creatures began to rush out to save their lives, but met with their fate in the attempt, and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe; the house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for an hand grenado, and threw it among them, which at first frighted them; but when it burst, made such havoc among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In short, most of the Indians who were in the open part of the house, were killed or hurt with the grenado, except two or three more, who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two more kept with the bayonets in the muzzles of their pieces, and dispatched all who came that way. But there was another apartment in the house, where the prince or king, or whatsoever he was, and several others, were; and they kept in till the house, which was by this time all of a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were smothered or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could master them; but the fire began to waken them fast enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies; for the fire grew so raging, all the houses being made of light combustible stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them.

and their business was to follow the fire for the surer execution. As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frighted them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing to one another to remember Thomas Jeffrys.

While this was doing, I must confess I was very uneasy, and especially when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be just by me.

My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men too, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in; especially hearing the guns too, for by this time they began to use their fire-arms. A thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo, what should become of us; and at last, though he could ill spare any more men, yet, not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himself, comes on shore to me.

He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat with no more than two men, for one had been left to keep the boat; and though he was glad that we were well, yet he was in the same impatience with us to know what was doing, for the noise continued, and the flame increased. I confess it was next to an impossibility for any men in the world to restrain their curiosity of knowing what had happened, or their concern for the safety of the men. In a word, the captain told me he would go and help his men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the safety of the ship, and the danger of the voyage, the interest of the owners and merchants, &c. and told him I would go, and the two men, and only see if we could, at a distance, learn what was like to be the event, and come back and tell him.

It was all one to talk to my nephew, as it was to talk to the rest before; he would go, he said, and he only wished he had left but ten men in the ship, for he could not think of having his men lost for want of help; he had rather, he said, lose the ship, the voyage, and his life, and all: and so away went he.

Nor was I any more able to stay behind now than I was to persuade them not to go before; so, in short, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more from the ship, leaving the long boat at an anchor; and that when they came back, six men should keep the two boats, and six more come after us, so that he left only sixteen men in the ship; for the whole ship's company consisted of sixty-five men, whereof two were lost in the first quarrel which brought this mischief on.

Being now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the ground we trod on, and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of the guns were surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were now quite of another nature, and filled us with horror. I must confess I never was at the sacking of a city, or at the taking of a town by storm; I have heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drogheda in Ireland, and killing man, woman, and child; and I had read of Count Tilly sacking the city of Magdebourg, and cutting the throats of 22,000 of both sexes; but I never had an idea of the thing itself before, nor is it possible to describe it, or the horror which was upon our minds at hearing it.

However, we went on, and at length came to the town, though there was no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first object we met with was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the ashes of it, for the house was consumed; and just before it, plain now to be seen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed; and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire. In short, these were such instances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury something beyond what was human, that we thought it impossible our men could be guilty of it; or, if they were the authors of it, we thought that every one of them ought to be put to the worst of deaths: but this was not all; we saw the fire increased forward, and the cry went on just as the fire went on, so that we were in the utmost confusion. We advanced a little way farther, and beheld, to our astonishment, three women naked, crying in a most dreadful manner, and flying as if they had indeed had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our English butchers (for I can call them no better) in the rear, who, when they could not overtake them, fired in among them, and one that was killed by their shot fell down in our sight: when the rest saw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women, and two of them fell down, as if already dead, with the fright.

My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins, when I saw this; and I believe had the three English sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took some ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them, and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentations to us to save them, which we let them

know we would do; whereupon they kept all together in a huddle close behind us for protection. I left my men drawn up together, and charged them to hurt nobody, but if possible to get at some of our people, and see what devil it was possessed them, and what they intended to do; and, in a word, to command them off, assuring them, that if they staid till daylight, they would have a hundred thousand men about their ears: I say, I left them, and went among those flying people, taking only two of our men with me; and there was indeed a piteous spectacle among them: some of them had their feet terribly burnt with trampling and running through the fire, others their hands burnt; one of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was almost burnt to death before she could get out again; two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs, from our men pursuing, and another was shot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would fain have learnt what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said, though by signs I perceived that some of them knew not what was the occasion themselves. I was so terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not stay there, but went back to my own men: I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me; when, in the very moment, came four of our men, with the boatswain at their head, running over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre, when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo, and with much ado one of them made them hear, so that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As soon as the boatswain saw us, he set up a halloo, like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without hearing to hear me, Captain, says he, noble captain, I am glad you are come; we have not half done yet: villains! hell-hound dogs! I will kil as many of them as poor Tom has hairs upon his head. We have sworn to spare none of them; we will root out the very name of them from the earth.—And thus he ran on, out of breath too with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice, that I might silence him a little, Barbarous dog! said I, what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more upon pain of death. I charge you upon your life to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute.

Why, sir, says he, do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither; and with that he showed me the poor fellow hanging upon a tree, with his throat cut.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Difference with my Nephew on account of the Cruelties practised at Madagascar—Five Men lost on the Arabian Shore, off the Gulf of Persia—The Seamen refuse to sail, if I continue on board, in consequence of which I am left on Shore—Make a very advantageous trading Voyage in company with an English Merchant, and purchase a Vessel, which, it turns out, the Crew had mutinied and run away with.*

I CONFESS I was urged then myself, and at another time should have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and thought of Jacob's words to his sons Simeon and Levi, "Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." But I had now a new task upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me saw the sight as I had done, I had as much to do to restrain them, as I should have had with the others; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me in their hearing, that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered; for as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had all glutted themselves with the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be used like murderers. Upon these words away ran eight of my men with the boatswain and his crew, to complete their bloody work; and I, seeing it quite out of my power to restrain them, came away pensive and sad, for I could not bear the sight, much less the horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men, and with these I walked back to the boats. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confess, to venture back as it were alone; for as it began now to be almost day, and the alarm had run over the country, there stood about forty men, armed with lances and bows, at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houses stood, mentioned before, but by accident I missed the place, and came directly to the sea-side; and by that time I got to the sea-side it was broad day: immediately I took the pinnace and went aboard, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen.

I observed, that about the time I came to the boat-side, the fire was pretty well out, and the noise abated; but in about half an hour after I got on board, I heard a volley of our

men's fire-arms, and saw a great smoke; this, as I understood afterwards, was our men falling upon the forty men, who, as I said, stood at the few houses on the way; of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, and set all those houses on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By the time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace, our men began to appear: they came dropping in some and some, not in two bodies, and in form, as they went out, but all in heaps, straggling here and there in such a manner that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country. The people were amazed and surprised, and so frighted, that I believe a hundred of them would have fled at the sight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man who made any considerable defence; they were so surprised between the terror of the fire, and the sudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themselves; for if they fled one way, they were met by one party, if back again, by another; so that they were every where knocked down. Nor did any of our men receive the least hurt, except one who strained his foot, and another had one of his hands very much burnt.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain, and indeed with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular, as well for his acting so out of his duty, as commander of the ship, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting rather than cooling the rage of his men in so bloody and cruel an enterprize: my nephew answered me very respectfully, but told me that when he saw the body of the poor seaman whom they had murdered in such a cruel and barbarous manner, he was not master of himself, neither could he govern his passion; he owned he should not have done so, as he was commander of the ship, but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the rest of the men, they were not subject to me at all, and they knew it well enough, so they took no notice of my dislike.

The next day we set sail, so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed; some said one thing, some another; but, according to the best of their accounts, put all together, they killed or destroyed about a hundred and fifty people, men, women, and children, and left not a house standing in the town.

As for the poor fellow, Thomas Jeffrys, as he was quite dead, for his throat was so cut that his head was half off, it would do him no service to bring him away; so they left him where they found him, only took him down from the tree, where he was hanged by one hand.

However just our men thought this action to be, I was against them in it, and I always after that time told them God would blast the voyage; for I looked upon the blood they shed that night to be murder in them: for though it is true that they killed Thomas Jeffrys, yet it was as true that Jeffrys was the aggressor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of theirs, who came to our camp innocently, and on the faith of their capitulation.

The boatswain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board. He said, it was true that we seemed to break the truce, but really had not, and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themselves, who had shot at us, and killed one of our men without any just provocation; so that as we were in a capacity to fight them, we might also be in a capacity to do ourselves justice upon them in an extraordinary manner; that, though the poor man had taken liberty with a wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in such a villainous manner; and that they did nothing but what was just, and what the laws of God allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this should have been enough to have warned us against going on shore among heathens and barbarians; but it is impossible to make mankind wise but at their own experience; and their experience seems to be always of most use to them when it is dearest bought.

We were now bound to the Gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coromandel, only to touch at Surat; but the chief of the supercargo's design lay at the Bay of Bengal, where, if he missed of the business outward-bound, he was to go up to China, and return to the coast as he came home.

The first disaster that befel us was in the Gulf of Persia, where five of our men, venturing on shore on the Arabian side of the Gulf, were surrounded by the Arabs, and either all killed or carried away into slavery; the rest of the boat's crew were not able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case; but the boatswain very warmly told me, he thought I went farther in my censures than I could shew any warrant for in Scripture, and referred to the thirteenth of St Luke, ver. 4, where our Saviour intimates, that those men on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were not sinners above all the Galileans; but that which indeed put me to silence in this case was, that none of these five men who were now lost were of the number of those who went on shore to the massacre of Madagascar [illegible]

I always called it, though our men could not bear the word *massacre* with any patience:) and indeed this last circumstance, as I have said, put me to silence for the present.

But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me he found that I continually brought that affair upon the stage; that I made unjust reflections upon it, and had used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular; that as I was but a passenger, and had no command in the ship, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might have some ill design in my head, and perhaps call them to an account for it when they came to England; and that, therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, and also not to concern myself farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship, for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him, that I did confess I had all along opposed the massacre of Madagascar, for such I would always call it; and that I had on all occasions spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest; that as to my having no command in the ship, that was true, nor did I exercise any authority, only took the liberty of speaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all: as to what concern I had in the voyage, that was none of his business; I was a considerable owner of the ship, and in that claim I conceived I had a right to speak, even farther than I had yet done, and would not be accountable to him or any one else; and began to be a little warm with him: he made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought that affair had been over. We were at this time in the road to Bengal; and being willing to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo, in the ship's boat, to divert myself; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board. Any one may guess what a surprise I was in at so insolent a message; and I asked the man who bade him deliver that errand to me? He told me, the coxswain. I said no more to the fellow, but bid him let them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer to it.

I immediately went and found out the supercargo, and told him the story, adding, what I presently foresaw, viz. that there would certainly be a mutiny in the ship; and entreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an Indian boat and acquaint the captain of it: but I might have spared this intelligence, for before I had spoken to him on shore, the matter was effected on board: the boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and, in a word, all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck, and desired to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain making a long harangue (for the fellow talked very well), and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain in a few words, that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loath to use any violence with me; which, if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone. They therefore thought fit to tell him, that as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it faithfully; but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him; and at that word ALL, he turned his face about towards the main-mast, which was, it seems, the signal agreed on between them, at which all the seamen being got together, they cried out, One and ALL, One and ALL!

My nephew, the captain, was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind; and though he was surprised, you may be sure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly he would consider of the matter, but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me about it: he used some arguments with them, to show them the unreasonableness and injustice of the thing, but it was all in vain; they swore, and shook hands round, before his face, that they would go all on shore, unless he would engage to them not to suffer me to come on board the ship.

This was a hard article upon him, who knew his obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it; so he began to talk cavalierly to them; told them that I was a very considerable owner of the ship, and that in justice he could not put me out of my own house; that this was next door to serving me as the famous pirate Kid had done, who made the mutiny in the ship, set the captain on shore in an uninhabited island, and ran away with the ship; that let them go into what ship they would, if ever they came to England again it would cost them dear; that the ship was mine, and that he would not put me out of it; and that he would rather lose the ship, and the voyage too, than disoblige me so much; so they might do as they pleased. However, he would go on shore,

and talk with me there, and invited the boatswain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the proposal: and said, they would have nothing to do with me any more, neither on board nor on shore; and if I came on board, they would go on shore.—Well, said the captain, if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore, and talk with him: so away he came to me with this account, a little after the message had been brought to me from the coxswain.

I was very glad to see my nephew, I must confess; for I was not without apprehensions that they would confine him by violence, set sail, and run away with the ship; and then I had been stripped naked, in a remote country, and nothing to help myself: in short, I had been in a worse case than when I was all alone in the island.

But they had not come to that length, it seems, to my great satisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had said to him, and how they had sworn, and shook hands, that they would one and all leave the ship, if I was suffered to come on board, I told him he should not be concerned at it at all, for I would stay on shore; I only desired he would take care and send me all my necessary things on shore, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew; but there was no way to help it, but to comply with it. So, in short, he went on board the ship again, and satisfied the men that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had sent for his goods from on board the ship. So the matter was over in a very few hours; the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

I was now alone, in the remotest part of the world, as I think I may call it, for I was near three thousand leagues, by sea, farther off from England than I was at my island; only, it is true, I might travel here by land, over the Great Mogul's country to Surat; might go from thence to Bassora by sea, up the Gulf of Persia, and from thence might take the way of the caravans, over the desarts of Arabia, to Aleppo and Scanderoon, and from thence by sea again to Italy, and so overland into France; and this, put together, might be, at least, a full diameter of the globe; but, if it were to be measured, I suppose it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for some English ships, which were coming to Bengal, from Achin, on the island of Sumatra, and get passage on board them for England: but as I came hither without any concern with the English East India Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their license, unless with great favour of the captains of the ships, or of the Company's factors; and to both I was an utter stranger.

Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by contrarieties, to see the ship set sail without me; a treatment, I think, a man in my circumstances scarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with a ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villainy on shore: indeed this was the next door to it both ways. However, my nephew left me two servants, or rather, one companion and one servant: the first was clerk to the purser, whom he engaged to go with me; and the other was his own servant. I took me also a good lodging in the house of an English woman, where several merchants lodged, some French, two Italians, or rather Jews, and one Englishman. Here I was handsomely enough entertained; and that I might not be said to run rashly upon any thing, I stayed here above nine months, considering what course to take, and how to manage myself. I had some English goods with me of value, and a considerable sum of money; my nephew furnishing me with a thousand pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occasion, that I might not be straitened, whatever might happen.

I quickly disposed of my goods, and to advantage too; and, as I originally intended, I bought here some very good diamonds, which, of all other things, were the most proper for me, in my circumstances, because I might always carry my whole estate about me.

After a long stay here, and many proposals made for my return to England, but none falling to my mind, the English merchant, who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning: Countryman, says he, I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, suit with yours also, when you shall have thoroughly considered it.

Here we are posted, says he, you by accident, and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from my own country; but it is in a country where, by means who understand trade and business, a great deal of money is to be got: if you will put a thousand pounds to my thousand pounds, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds; you shall be captain, I'll be merchant, and we will go a trading voyage to China; for what should we stand still for? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are busy and diligent: why should

we be idle? There are no drones, says he, living in the world but men: why should we be of that number?

I liked this proposal very well; and the more, because it seemed to be expressed with so much good-will, and in so friendly a manner. I will not say, but that I might, by my loose and unhinged circumstances, be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, and indeed for any thing else; or otherwise trade was none of my element; however, I might, perhaps, say with some truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was; and no proposal for seeing any part of the world, which I had never seen before, could possibly come amiss to me.

It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our mind; and when we got a vessel, it was not easy to get English sailors; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage, and manage the sailors which we should pick up there. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English; a Dutch carpenter, and three Portugueze foremast-men: with these we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they are, to make up.

There are so many travellers who have written the history of their voyages and travels this way, that it would be but very little diversion to any body, to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there: those things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of Englishmen, many of which, I find, are published, and more promised every day. It is enough for me to tell you, that we made the voyage to Achin, in the island of Sumatra, first; and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium, and some for arrack; the first, a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which, at that time, was very much wanted there: in a word, we went up to Susham; made a very great voyage; were eight months out; and returned to Bengal; and I was very well satisfied with my adventure.

I observe, that our people in England often admire how the officers which the Company send into India, and the merchants which generally stay there, get such very good estates as they do, and sometimes come home worth sixty, seventy, and a hundred thousand pounds at a time. But it is no wonder, or, at least, we shall see so much farther into it, when we consider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will then be no wonder; and much less will it be so, when we consider, that at all those places and ports where the English ships come, there is so much, and such constant demand for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the return, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In short, we made a very good voyage, and I got so much money by the first adventure, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that, had I been twenty years younger, I should have been tempted to have stayed here, and sought no farther for making my fortune: but what was all this to a man on the wrong side of threescore, that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world, than a covetous desire of getting in it? And indeed I think it is with great justice that I now call it a restless desire, for it was so: when I was at home, I was restless to go abroad; and now I was abroad, I was restless to be at home. I say, what was this gain to me? I was rich enough already; nor had I any uneasy desires about getting more money; and therefore, the profits of the voyage were things of no great force to me, for the prompting me forward to further undertakings; hence I thought, that by this voyage I had made no progress at all; because I was come back, as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to a home; whereas my eye, which, like that which Solomon speaks of, was never satisfied with seeing, was still more desirous of wandering and seeing. I was come into a part of the world which I never was in before; and that part in particular, which I had heard much of; and was resolved to see as much of it as I could; and then I thought I might say I had seen all the world that was worth seeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions: I do not name this to insist upon my own, for I acknowledge his was most just, and the most suited to the end of a merchant's life; who when he is abroad upon adventures, it is his wisdom to stick to that, as the best thing for him, which he is like to get the most money by. My new friend kept himself to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone, like a carrier's horse, always to the same inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it: on the other hand, mine, as old as I was, was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over.

But this was not all: I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the most unsettled resolution imaginable, which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me, viz. among the Spice Islands; and to bring home a load of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts; places where, indeed, the Dutch do trade, but the islands be-

long partly to the Spaniards; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power, as they have at Batavia, Ceylon, &c. We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it; however, at last, nothing else offering, and finding that really stirring about and trading, the profit being so great, and, as I may say, certain, had more pleasure in it, and more satisfaction to the mind, than sitting still, which, to me especially, was the unhappiest part of life, I resolved on this voyage too; which we made very successfully, touching at Borneo, and several islands, whose names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We sold our spice, which was chiefly cloves, and some nutmegs, to the Persian merchants, who carried them away for the gulf: and, making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, smiled at me: Well now, said he, with a sort of an agreeable insult upon my indolent temper, is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and spending our time in staring at the nonsense and ignorance of the Pagans?—Why truly, said I, my friend, I think it is; and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandising. But I must tell you, said I, by the way, you do not know what I am doing; for if once I conquer my backwardness, and embark heartily, as old as I am, I shall hara- you up and down the world till I tire you; for I shall pursue it so eagerly, I shall never let you be still.

But to be short with my speculations: a little while after this there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia; she was a coaster, not an European trader, and of about two hundred tons burden: the men, as they pretended, having been so sickly, that the captain had not men enough to go to sea, he lay by at Bengal; and, as if having got money enough, or being willing, for other reasons, to go for Europe, he gave public notice that he would sell his ship: this came to my ears before my new partner heard of it; and I had a great mind to buy it. So I went home to him, and told him of it: he considered a while, for he was no rash man neither, but musing some time, he replied, She is a little too big; but, however, we will have her.—Accordingly we bought the ship; and agreeing with the master, we paid for her, and took possession; when we had done so, we resolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with those we had, for the pursuing our business; but on a sudden, they not having received their wages, but their share of the money, as we afterwards learnt, not one of them was to be found. We inquired much about them, and at length were told, that they were all gone together, by land, to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence; and from thence were to travel to Surat, and so by sea to the Gulf of Persia.

Nothing had so heartily troubled me a good while, as that I missed the opportunity of going with them; for such a ramble, I thought, and in such company as would both have guarded me and diverted me, would have suited mightily with my great design; and I should both have seen the world, and gone homewards too; but I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows they were; for, in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on shore by some of the Malaccans, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did; and had brought her in at the Bay of Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore; of whom we shall hear farther.

Well; let them come by the ship how they would, we came honestly by her, as we thought; though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly as we ought; for we never inquired any thing of the seamen, who, if we had examined, would certainly have faultered in their accounts, contradicted one another, and perhaps have contradicted themselves; or, one how or other, we should have seen reason to have suspected them; but the man showed us a bill of sale for the ship, to one Emanuel Clostershoven, or some such name (for I suppose it was all a forgery,) and called himself by that name: and we could not contradict him; and being withal a little too unwary, or at least having no suspicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*Make a trading Voyage in this Ship—Put in to the River of Cambodia—An warned of Danger by a Countryman, in consequence of which we set sail, and are pursued—Great difficulty in making our Escape.*

However, we picked up some English seamen here after this, and some Dutch; and we now resolved for a second voyage to the south-east, for cloves, &c., that is to say, among the Philippine and Molucca isles; and, in short, not to fill this part of my story with trifles, when what is yet to come is so remark-

able, I spent, from first to last, six years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good success; and was now the last year with my partner, going in the ship above-mentioned, on a voyage to China; but designing first to go to Siam, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the Straits of Malacca, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, but we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our industry, to find out where it was. This forced us to make for some port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia; for I had made the English mate, one Mr Thompson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ship upon myself. This river lies on the north side of the great bay or gulf which goes up to Siam.

While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an Englishman, and he was, it seems, a gunner's mate on board an English East-India ship, which rode in the same river, up at, or near the city of Cambodia: what brought him hither we knew not; but he comes up to me, and, speaking English, Sir, says he, you are a stranger to me, and I to you; but I have something to tell you, that very nearly concerns you.

I looked stedfastly at him a good while, and he thought at first I had known him, but I did not. If it very nearly concerns me, said I, and not yourself, what moves you to tell it me?—I am moved, says he, by the imminent danger you are in; and for aught I see, you have no knowledge of it.—I know no danger I am in, said I, but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I propose to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it.—But, sir, says he, leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to say to you. Do you know, sir, said he, the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river? And there are two large English ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch.—Well, said I, and what is that to me?—Why, sir, says he, is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are, to come into a port, and not examine first what ships there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I suppose you do not think you are a match for them?—I was amused very much at his discourse, but not amazed at it; for I could not conceive what he meant; and I turned short upon him, and said, Sir, I wish you would explain yourself; I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid of any of the Company's ships, or Dutch ships; I am no interloper; what can they have to say to me?

He looked like a man half angry, half pleased; and pausing awhile, but smiling, Well, sir, says he, if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance; I am sorry your fate should blind you against good advice; but assure yourself, if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five long-boats full of men; and, perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined into afterwards. I thought, sir, added he, I should have met with a better reception than this, for doing you a piece of service of such importance.—I can never be ungrateful, said I, for any service, or to any man that offers me any kindness; but it is past my comprehension, said I, what they should have such a design upon me for: however, since you say there is no time to be lost, and that there is some villainous design in hand against me, I will go on board this minute, and put to sea immediately, if my men can stop the leak, or if we can swim without stopping it: but, sir, said I, shall I go away ignorant of the reason of all this? Can you give me no farther light into it?

I can tell you but part of the story, sir, says he; but I have a Dutch seaman here with me, and, I believe, I could persuade him to tell you the rest: but there is scarce time for it: but the short of the story is this, the first part of which, I suppose, you know well enough, viz. that you were with this ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malaccans, with three of his men; and that you, or some of those that were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned PIRATES. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchant-ships show but little law to pirates, if they get them in their power.

Now you speak plain English, said I, and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done, like what you talk of, but I am sure we came honestly and fairly by the ship; yet seeing such work is a-doing, as you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I will be upon my guard.—Nay, sir, says he, do not talk of being upon your guard; the best defence is to be out of the danger: if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of all your men, put out to sea without fail at high-water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down; for they will come away at high-water; and as they have twenty miles to come, you'll get near two hours of them by

the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way: besides, as they are only boats, and not ships, they will not venture to follow you far out to sea, especially if it blows.

Well, said I, you have been very kind in this: what shall I do for you to make you amends?—Sir, says he, you may not be so willing to make me amends, because you may not be convinced of the truth of it: I will make no matter to you; I have nineteen months lain close to me on board the ship ———, which I came out of England in; and the Dutchmen, that is with me, has seven months lain by it to no purpose: if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you: if you find nothing more in it, we will desire no more; but if we do convince you, that we have saved your life, and the ship, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the rest to you.

I consented to this readily; and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner, who was on board, came on the quarter-deck, and called to me with a great deal of joy, O ho! O ho! we have stopped the leak!—Say you so? said I; thank God; but weigh the anchor then immediately.—Weigh! says he; what do you mean by that? What is the matter? says he.—Ask no questions, said I, but all hands to work, and weigh without losing a minute.—He was surprised; but, however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the title was not quite done, yet a little land-breeze blowing, we stood out to sea; then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story at large; and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it: but as it took us up a great deal of time, so before we had done, a seaman comes to the cabin-door, and calls out to us, that the captain bade him tell us, we were chased.—Chased! said I; by whom, and by what?—By five sloops, or boats, said the fellow, full of men.—Very well, said I; then it is a pace it there is something in it.—In the next place, I ordered all our men to be called up, and told them, that there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for pirates; and asked them, if they would stand by us, and by one another?—The men answered, cheerfully, one and all, that they would live and die with us.—Then I asked the captain, what way he thought best for us to manage a fight with them; for resist them I resolved we would, and that to the last drop.—He said, readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great shot, as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our small arms, to keep them from boarding us; but when neither of these would do any longer, we should retire to our close quarters, perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the mean time, orders to bring two guns to bear fore and aft, out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and load them with musket-bullets and small pieces of old iron, and what next came to hand; and thus we made ready for fight; but all this while we kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large long-boats, following us, with all the sail they could make.

Two of these boats, which, by our glasses, we could see were English, had out-sailed the rest, were near two leagues a-head of them, and gained upon us considerably; so that we found they would come up with us: upon which we fired a gun without a shot, to intimate that they should bring to; and we put out a flag of truce, as a signal for parley; but they kept crowding after us, till they came within shot. Upon this we took in our white flag, they having made no answer to it; hung out the red flag, and fired at them with shot: notwithstanding this, they came on till they were near enough to call to them with a speaking-trumpet, which we had on board; so we called to them, and bade them keep off, at their peril.

It was all one, they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so to board us on our quarter: upon which, seeing they were resolute for mischief, and depended upon the strength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ship to, so that they lay upon our broadside, which immediately we fired five guns at them; one of them had been levelled so true, as to carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and bring them to the necessity of taking down their sail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from sinking; so she lay by, and had enough of it; but seeing the foremost boat still crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could afterwards see her take out the men: we called again to the foremost boat, and offered a truce to parley again, and to know what was her business with us; but had no answer: only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, run out his two chase guns, and fired at her; but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, waved their caps, and came on: but the gunner, getting quickly ready again, fired among them a second time; one shot of which, though it missed the boat itself, yet fell in among the men, and we could easily

see had done a great deal of mischief among them; but we, taking no notice of that, wear-ed the ship again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them; and, firing three guns more, we found the boat was split almost to pieces; in particular, her rudder, and a piece of her stern, were shot quite away; so they handed their sail immediately, and were in great disorder: but, to complete their misfortune, our gunner let fly two guns at them again; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water. Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept close by our side, with orders to pick up some of the men, if they could, and save them from drowning, and immediately to come on board with them, because we saw the rest of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men; one of which was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As soon as they were on board, we crowded all the sail we could make, and stood farther out to sea; and we found, that when the other three boats came up to the first two, they gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which though I knew not the reason of it, yet seemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I took care that we should change our course, and not let any one imagine whither we were going; so we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships, whether they were bound to China, or any where else within the commerce of the European nations.

When we were now at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen, and inquire, first, what the meaning of all this should be? The Dutchman let us into the secret of it at once; telling us, that the fellow that sold us the ship, as we said, was no more than a thief that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whose name too he mentioned, though I do not remember it now, was treacherously murdered by the natives on the coast of Malacca, with three of his men; and that he, this Dutchman, and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while; till at length he, in particular, in a miraculous manner, made his escape, and swam off to a Dutch ship, which sailing near the shore, in its way from China, had sent their boat on shore for fresh water; that he durst not come to that part of the shore where the boat was, but made shift in the night to take in the water farther off, and swimming a great while, at last the ship's boat took him up.

He then told us, that he went to Batavia, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship had arrived, having deserted the rest in their travels; and gave an account, that the fellow who had run away with the ship, sold her at Bengal to a set of pirates, which were gone a-cruizing in her; and that they had already taken an English ship, and two Dutch ships, very richly laden.

This latter part we found to concern us directly; and though we knew it to be false, yet, as my partner said very well, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had such a prepossession against us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any good quarter at their hands; especially considering that our accusers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and ungoverned passion have executed; and therefore it was his opinion, we should go directly back to Bengal, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever; because there we could give an account of ourselves, and could prove where we were when the ship put in, whom we bought her of, and the like; and, which was more than all the rest, if we were put to the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should be sure to have some justice; and not be hanged first, and judged afterwards.

I was some time of my partner's opinion; but after a little more serious thinking, I told him, I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt returning to Bengal, for that we were on the wrong side of the Straits of Malacca; and that if the alarm was given, we should be sure to be waylaid on every side, as well by the Dutch of Batavia, as the English elsewhere; that if we should be taken, as it were, running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to destroy us. I also asked the English sailor's opinion, who said, he was of my mind, and that we should certainly be taken.

This danger a little startled my partner, and all the ship's company; and we immediately resolved to go away to the coast of Tonquin, and so on to China; and from thence pursuing the first design, as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of, as the best method for our security; and accordingly we steered away N. N. E., keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward.

This, however, put us to some inconveniences; for first the winds, when we came to that distance from the shore, seemed to be more steadily against us, blowing almost trade, as we call it, from the E. and E. N. E.; so

that we were a long while upon our voyage, and we were but ill provided with victuals for so long a run; and, which was still worse, there was some danger that those English and Dutch ships, whose boats pursued us, whereof some were bound that way, might be got in before us; and if not, some other ship bound to China might have information of us from them, and pursue us with the same vigour.

I must confess I was now very uneasy, and thought myself, including the late escape from the long-boats, to have been in the most dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my past life; for, whatever ill circumstances I had been in, I was never pursued for a thief before; nor had I ever done any thing that merited the name of dishonest or fraudulent, much less thievish. I had chiefly been mine own enemy; or, as I may rightly say, I had been nobody's enemy but my own. But now I was embarrassed in the worst condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear; and if I had been taken, it had been under a supposed guilt of the worst kind; at least, a crime esteemed so among the people I had to do with.

This made me very anxious to make an escape, though which way to do it I knew not; or what port or place we should go to. My partner, seeing me thus dejected, though he was the most concerned at first, began to encourage me; and describing to me the several ports of that coast, told me he would put in on the coast of Cochin-china, or the bay of Tonquin; intending to go afterwards to Macao, a town once in the possession of the Portugueze, and where still a great many European families resided, and particularly missionary priests usually went thither, in order to their going forward to China.

Hither we then resolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early in the morning; and upon reflection upon the past circumstances we were in, and the danger, if we had not escaped, we resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had depth enough of water for us, and to see if we could, either over land or by the ship's pinnace, come to know what ships were in any port thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance; for though we did not immediately see any European ships in the bay of Tonquin, yet the next morning there came into the bay two Dutch ships; and a third without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a Dutchman, passed by at about two leagues distance, steering for the coast of China; and in the afternoon went by two English ships, steering the same course; and thus we thought we saw ourselves beset with enemies, both one way and the other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profession; and though, it is true, we had not much to seek of them, and except getting a few provisions, cared not how little we had to do with them; yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourselves from being insulted by them several ways.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*Obliged to come to anchor on a Savage Coast, to repair our Ship—We are attacked by the Natives, whom our Carpenter disperses by a whimsical Contrivance—Serious Reflections upon our disagreeable Situation.*

We were in a small river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmost limits northward, and by our boat we coasted northeast to the point of land which opens to the great bay of Tonquin; and it was in this beating up along the shore that we discovered as above, that, in a word, we were surrounded with enemies. The people we were among were the most barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coast; having no correspondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fish and oil, and such gross commodities; and it may be particularly seen that they are, as I said, the most barbarous of any of the inhabitants, viz. that among other customs they have this one, that if any vessel had the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon their coast, they presently make the men all prisoners; that is to say, slaves; and it was not long before we found a spice of their kindness this way, on the occasion following:

I have observed above, that our ship sprung a leak at sea, and that we could not find it out; and however it happened, that, as I have said, it was stopped unexpectedly, in the happy minute of our being to be seized by the Dutch and English ships, near the bay of Siam; yet, as we did not find the ship so perfectly tight and sound as we desired, we resolved, while we were in this place, to lay her on shore, take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to wash and clean her bottom, and if possible to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns, and other moveable things, to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; for, on second thoughts, we did not care to lay her dry aground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been ac-

quainted with such a sight, came wondering down to the shore to look at us; and seeing the ship lie down on one side in such a manner, and heeling towards the shore, and not seeing our men, who were at work on her bottom with stages, and with their boats, on the off side, they presently concluded that the ship was cast away, and lay so very fast on the ground.

On this supposition, they came all about us in two or three hours time, with ten or twelve large boats, having some of them eight, some ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plunder the ship; and if they had found us there, to have carried us away for slaves to their king, or whatever they call him, for we knew not who was their governor.

When they came up to the ship, and began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work, on the out-side of the ship's bottom and side, washing, and graving, and stopping, as every seafaring man knows how.

They stood for a while gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprised, could not imagine what their design was; but being willing to be sure, we took this opportunity to get some of us into the ship, and others to hand down arms and ammunition to those that were at work, to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion; and it was no more than need, for in less than a quarter of an hour's consultation, they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck, that we were all at work endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded by that motion that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods. Upon this, they took it for granted they all belonged to them, and away they came directly upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men seeing so many of them, began to be frighted, for we lay but in an ill posture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they should do? I immediately called to the men who worked upon the stages, to slip them down, and get up the side into the ship, and bade those in the boat to row round and come on board; and those few of us who were on board, worked with all the strength and hands we had, to bring the ship to right; but, however, neither the men upon the stage, nor those in the boats, could do as they were ordered, before the Cockabenoes were upon them, and with two of their boats, boarded our long-boat, and began to lay hold of the men as their prisoners.

The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman, a stout, strong fellow, who, having a musket in his hand, never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool, as I thought. But he understood his business better than I could teach him; for he grappled the Pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their own boat into ours, where, taking him by the two ears, he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died instantly in his hands; and in the mean time, a Dutchman, who stood next, took up the musket, and with the butt-end of it, so laid about him, that he knocked down five of them who attempted to enter the boat. But this was little towards resisting thirty or forty men, who fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the long-boat, where we had but five men to defend it. But one accident gave our men a complete victory, which deserved our laughter rather than any thing else, and that was this:

Our carpenter being prepared to grave the out-side of the ship, as well as to pay the seams where he caulked her to stop the leaks, had got two kettles just let down into the boat; one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, and such stuff as the shipwrights used for that work; and the man that tended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with that hot stuff: two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where the fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets; he immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burnt and scalded them, being half naked, that they roared out like two bulls, and, enraged with the fire, leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, Well done, Jack, give them some more of it; when, stepping forward himself, he takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully, that in short, of all the men in three boats, there was not one that was not scalded and burnt with it in a most frightful, pitiful manner, and made such a howling and crying, that I never heard a worse noise, and, indeed, nothing like it; for it was worth observing, that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation have a particular way of exclamation, and make noises as different from one another as their speech. I cannot give the noise these creatures made, a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard any thing more like the noise of the wolves, which, as I have said, I heard howl in the forest on the frontiers of Languedoc.

I was never pleased with a victory better in my life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, and that our danger was imminent before; but as we got this victory without any bloodshed, except of that man the

fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was sick of killing such poor savage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought just, and knew no better; and that though it may be a just thing, because necessary, for there is no necessary wickedness in nature; yet I thought it was a sad life, when we must be always oblige o be killing our fellow-creatures to preserve ourselves; and, indeed, I think so still; and I would, even now, suffer a great deal, rather than I would take away the life even of the worst person injuring me. I believe also, all considering people, who know the value of life, would be of my opinion, if they entered seriously into the consideration of it.

But to return to my story. All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had, with great dexterity, brought the ship almost to rights, and, having gotten the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him; but bade him heat another pitch-kettle, which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was so terrified with what they met with in their first attack, that they would not come on again; and some of them that were farthest off, seeing the ship swim, as it were, upright, began, as we supposed, to see their mistake, and gave over the enterprise, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight; and having gotten some rice, and some roots and bread, with about sixteen good big hogs on board, two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but go forward, whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us.

We, therefore, got all our things on board the same evening, and the next morning were ready to sail. In the mean time, lying at an anchor some distance from the shore, we were not so much concerned, being now in a fighting posture as well as in a sailing posture, if any enemy had presented. The next day, having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we set sail. We would have gone into the bay of Tonquin, for we wanted to inform ourselves of what was to be known concerning the Dutch ships that had been there; but we durst not stand in there, because we had seen several ships go in, as we supposed, but a little before; so we kept on N. E. towards the isle of Formoso, as much afraid of being seen by a Dutch or English merchant-ship, as a Dutch or English merchant-ship in the Mediterranean is of an Algerine man of war.

When we were thus gone to sea, we kept on N. E., as if we would go to the Manillas or the Phillippine Islands, and this we did, that we might not fall into the way of any of the European ships; and then we steered north again, till we came to the latitude of 22 degrees 20 minutes, by which means we made the island of Formoso directly, where we came to an anchor, in order to get water and fresh provisions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, supplied us with willingly, and dealt very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains, which is what we did not find among other people, and may be owing to the remains of Christianity, which was once planted here by a Dutch mission of Protestants, and is a testimony of what I have often observed, viz. that the Christian religion always civilizes the people, and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works saving effects upon them or not.

From hence we sailed still north, keeping the coast of China at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of China where our European ships usually come; but being resolved, if possible, not to fall into any of their hands, especially in this country, where, as our circumstances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined; nay, so great was my fear in particular, as to my being taken by them, that I believe firmly I would much rather have chosen to fall into the hands of the Spanish Inquisition.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we should come at; and standing in for the shore, a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portuguese pilot on board, who, knowing us to be an European ship, came to offer his service, which, indeed, we were very glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without asking us whither we would go, he directed the boat he came in, and sent it back.

I thought it was now so much in our choice to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk to him about carrying us to the gulph of Nanquin, which is the most northern part of the coast of China. The old man said he knew the gulph of Nanquin very well; but smiling, asked us what we would do there?

I told him we would sell our cargo, and purchase China wares, calicoes, raw silks, tea, wrought silks, &c., and so would return by the same course we came. He told us our best port had been to have put in at Macao, where

we could not fail of a market for our opium to our satisfaction, and might for our money, have purchased all sorts of China goods as cheap as we could at Nanquin.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opinionated, or conceited, I told him we were gentlemen as well as merchants, and that we had a mind to go and see the great city of Pekin, and the famous court of the monarch of China.—Why then, says the old man, you should go to Ningpo, where, by the river that runs into the sea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal.—This canal is a navigable made stream, which goes through the heart of all that vast empire of China, crosses all the rivers, passes some considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes up to the city of Pekin, being in length near two hundred and seventy leagues.

Well, said I, Seignior Portugueze, but that is not our business now; the great question is, if you can carry us up to the city of Nanquin, from whence we can travel to Pekin afterwards?—Yes, he said, he could do so very well; and there was a great Dutch ship gone up that way just before.—This gave me a little shock; a Dutch ship was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at least, if he had not come in too frightful a figure. We depended upon it that a Dutch ship would be our destruction, for we were in no condition to fight them; all the ships they trade with in those parts being of great burden, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confused, and under some concern, when he named a Dutch ship; and said to me, Sir, you need be under no apprehension of the Dutch; I suppose they are not now at war with your nation.—No, said I, that's true; but I know not what liberties men may take when they are out of the reach of the laws of their country.—Why, said he, you are no pirates; what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants, sure.

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by some stop in the vessels appointed by nature to circulate it; for it put me into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable; nor was it possible for me to conceal it so, but that the old man easily perceived it.

Sir, said he, I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts at my talk; pray be pleased to go which way you think fit, and depend upon it, I'll do you all the service I can.—Why, seignior, said I, it is true, I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time, whither to go in particular; and I am something more so for what you said about pirates. I hope there are no pirates in these seas; we are but in ill condition to meet with them; for you see we have but a small force, and but very weakly manned.

O sir, said he, do not be concerned; I do not know that there have been any pirates in these seas these fifteen years, except one, which was seen, as I hear, in the bay of Siam, about a month since; but you may be assured she is gone to the southward; nor was she a ship of any great force, or fit for the work: she was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that were on board, after the captain and some of his men had been murdered by the Malaccans, at or near the island of Sumatra.

What! said I, seeming to know nothing of the matter, did they murder the captain?—No, said he, I do not understand that they murdered him; but as they afterwards ran away with the ship, it is generally believed they betrayed him in to the hands of the Malaccans, who did murder him; and, perhaps, they procured them to do it.—Why then, said I, they deserved death, as much as if they had done it themselves.—Nay, said the old man, they do deserve it, and they will certainly have it if they light upon any English or Dutch ship; for they have all agreed together, that if they meet that rogue, they will give him no quarter.

But, said I to him, you say the pirate is gone out of these seas; how can they meet with him then?—Why, that is true, said he, they do say so; but he was, as I tell you, in the bay of Siam, in the river Cambodia, and was discovered there by some Dutchmen who belonged to the ship, and who were left on shore when they ran away with her; and some English and Dutch traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him. Nay, said he, if the foremost boats had been well seconded by the rest, they had certainly taken him: but he finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at these two, and disabled them before the others came up; and then standing off to sea, the others were not able to follow him, and so he got away. But they have all so exact a description of the ship, that they will be sure to know him; and wherever they find him, they have vowed to give no quarter to either the captain or seamen, but to hang them all up at the yard arm.

What! said I, will they [illegible] them, right or wrong; hang them first, and judge them afterwards?—O sir! said the old pilot, there is no need to make a formal business of it with such rogues as those; let them tie them back to back, and set them a-diving; it is no more than they rightly deserve.

I knew I had my old man fast aboard, and that he could do me no harm; so I turned

short upon him. Well, seignior, said I, and this is the very reason why I would have you carry us to Nanquin, and not to put back to Macao, or to any other part of the country where the English or Dutch ships came; for be it known to you, seignior, those captains of the English and Dutch ships are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, or how to behave themselves as the laws of God and nature direct; but being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power, they would act the murderers to punish robbers; would take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due inquiry; and perhaps I may live to call some of them to an account of it, where they may be taught how justice is to be executed; and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal, till some evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man.

With this I told him, that this was the very ship they had attacked; and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and coward-like they had behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the Dutchmen served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe that this story of killing the master by the Malaccans was not true, as also the running away with the ship; but that it was all a fiction of their own, to suggest that the men were turned pirates; and they ought to have been sure it was so, before they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and oblige us to resist them; adding, that they would have the blood of those men who were killed there, in our just defence, to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation, and told us, we were very much in the right to go away to the north; and that if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in China, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country; and, said he, though you will not get so good a ship, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to Bengal, or any where else.

I told him I would take his advice when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should meet with customers enough for the ship at Nanquin, and that a Chinese junk would serve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy one and sell the other.

Well, but, seignior, says I, as you say they know the ship so well, I may, perhaps, if I follow your measures, be instrumental to bring some honest, innocent men, into a terrible broil, and, perhaps, be murdered in cold blood; for wherever they find the ship, they will prove the guilt upon the men, by proving this was the ship; and so innocent men may probably be overpowered and murdered.—Why, said the old man, I'll find out a way to prevent that also; for as I know all those commanders you speak of very well, and shall see them all as they pass by, I will be sure to set them to rights in the thing, and let them know that they had been so much in the wrong; that though the people who were on board at first might run away with the ship, yet it was not true that they had turned pirates; and that in particular those were not the men that first went off with the ship, but innocently bought her for their trade; and I am persuaded they will so far believe me, as, at least, to act more cautiously for the time to come.—Well, said I, and will you deliver one message to them from me?—Yes, I will, says he, if you will give it under your hand in writing, that I may be able to prove it came from you, and not out of my own head.—I answered, that I would readily give it him under my hand.—So I took a pen and ink, and paper, and wrote at large the story of assaulting me with the long-boats, &c., the pretended reason of it, and the unjust, cruel design of it; and concluded to the commanders, that they had done what they not only should have been ashamed of, but also, that if ever they came to England, and I lived to see them there, they should all pay dearly for it, if the laws of my country were not grown out of use before I arrived there.

My old pilot read this over and over again, and asked me several times if I would stand to it. I answered, I would stand to it as long as I had any thing left in the world; being sensible that I should, one time or other, find an opportunity to put it home to them. But we had no occasion ever to let the pilot carry this letter, for he never went back again. While those things were passing between us, by way of discourse, we went forward directly for Nanquin, and, in about thirteen days sail, came to anchor at the south-west point of the great Gulf of Nanquin; where, by the way, I came by accident to understand, that the two Dutch ships were gone that length before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I consulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loss as I was, and would very gladly have been safe on shore almost any where. However, I was not in such perplexity neither, but I asked the old pilot if there was no creek or harbour, which I might put into, and pursue my business with the Chinese privately, and be in no danger of the enemy. He told me, if I would sail to the southward about two-and-forty leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from Macao, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the Chinese, and where no European ships ever put in:

nd, if I thought proper to put in there, I ight consider what further course to take hen I was on shore. He confessed, he said, was not a place for merchants, except that some certain times they had a kind of a fair here, when the merchants from Japan came ver thither to buy the Chinese merchandises.

We all agreed to go back to this place: he name of the port, as he called it, I may, erhaps, spell wrong, for I do not particularly remember it, having lost this, together with he names of many other places set down in little pocket-book, which was spoiled by the ater, on an accident which I shall relate in s order; but this I remember, that the Chiese or Japanese merchants we correspond with, call it by a different name from that which our Portugueze pilot gave it, and pronounced it as above, Quinchang.

As we were unanimous in our resolutions to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice on shore, where we were to get fresh water; on both which occasions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to sell to us; I mean of provisions, plants, roots, hens, rice, and some fowls; but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days; but it was very much to our satisfaction, and I was joyful, and I may say thankful, when I set my foot safe on shore, resolving, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board that unhappy vessel again: and indeed I must acknowledge, that of all the circumstances of life that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind so completely miserable, as that of being in constant fear. Well does the Scripture say, "The fear of man brings a snare;" it is a life of death, and the mind is so entirely oppressed by it, that it is capable of no relief; the animal spirits sink, and all the vigour of nature, which usually supports men under other afflictions, and is present to them in the greatest exigencies, fails them here.

Nor did it fail of its usual operations upon the fancy, by heightening every danger; representing the English and Dutch captains to be men incapable of hearing reason, or distinguishing between honest men and rogues; or between a story calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing, on purpose to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progress, and design; for we might many ways have convinced any reasonable creature that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the course we steered, our frankly showing ourselves, and entering into such and such ports; even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, and short provisions; all these would have served to convince any man that we were no pirates. The opium, and other goods we had on board, would make it appear the ship had been at Bengal; the Dutchmen, who, it was said, had the names of all the men that were in the ship, might easily see that we were a mixture of English, Portugueze, Indians, and but two Dutchmen on board. These, and many other particular circumstances, might have made it evident to the understanding of any commander, whose hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind useless passion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours; it bewildered our understandings, and set the imagination at work, to form a thousand terrible things, that, perhaps, might never happen. We first supposed, as indeed every body had related to us, that the seamen on board the English and Dutch ships, but especially the Dutch, were so enraged at the name of a pirate, and especially at our beating off their boats, and escaping, that they would not give themselves leave to inquire whether we were pirates or no; but would execute us off-hand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected, that there was really so much apparent evidence before them, that they would scarce inquire after any more: as, first, that the ship was certainly the same, and that some of the seamen among them knew her, and had been on board her; and, secondly, that when we had intelligence at the river Cambodia, that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats, and fled: so that we made no doubt they were as fully satisfied of our being pirates, as we were satisfied of the contrary; and I often said, I knew not but I should have been apt to have taken the like circumstances for evidence, if the tables were turned, and my case was theirs; and have made no scruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps considering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, those were our apprehensions; and both my partner and I too, scarce slept a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms; that is to say, gibbets; of fighting, and being taken; of killing, and being killed; and one night, I was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the Dutchmen had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my double fist against the side of the cabin I lay in, with such a force as wounded my hand most grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and brui-

sed the flesh; so that it not only waked me out of my sleep, but I was once afraid I should have lost two of my fingers.

Another apprehension I had, was, of the cruel usage we should meet with from them, if we fell into their hands: then the story of Amboyna came into my head, and how the Dutch might, perhaps, torture us, as they did our countrymen there; and make some of our men, by extremity of torture, confess those crimes they were never guilty of; own themselves, and all of us, to be pirates; and so they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of justice; and that they might be tempted to do this for the gain of our ship and cargo, which was worth four or five thousand pounds, put all together.

These things tormented me, and my partner too, night and day; nor did we consider that the captains of ships have no authority to act thus; and if we had surrendered prisoners to them, they could not answer the destroying us, or torturing us, but would be accountable for it when they came into their own country. This, I say, gave me no satisfaction; for if they will act thus with us, what advantage would it be to us, that they would be called to an account for it? or, if we were first to be murdered, what satisfaction would it be to us to have them punished when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here what reflections I now had upon the past variety of my particular circumstances; how hard I thought it was, that I, who had spent forty years in a life of continued difficulties, and was at last come, as it were, at the port or haven which all men drive at, viz. to have rest and plenty, should be a volunteer in new sorrows, by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who had escaped so many dangers in my youth, should now come to be hanged in my old age, and in so remote a place, for a crime I was not in the least inclined to, much less guilty of; and in a place and circumstance, where innocence was not like to be any protection at all to me.

After these thoughts, something of religion would come in; and I would be considering that this seemed to me to be a disposition of immediate Providence; and I ought to look upon it, and submit to it as such: that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in, and examine what other crimes in my life were most obvious to me, and for which Providence might justly inflict this punishment as a retribution; and that I ought to submit to this, just as I would to a shipwreck, if it had pleased God to have brought such a disaster upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would sometimes take its place; and then I would be talking myself up to vigorous resolution, that I would not be taken to be barbarously used by a parcel of merciless wretches, in cold blood; that it was much better to have fallen into the hands of the savages, who were man-eaters, and who, I was sure, would feast upon me, when they had taken me, than by those who would perhaps glut their rage upon me by inhuman tortures and barbarities: that, in the case of the savages, I always resolved to die fighting to the last gasp: and why should I not do so now, seeing it was much more dreadful, to me at least, to think of falling into these men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men: for the savages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead; and killed him first, as we do a bullock; but that these men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever these thoughts prevailed, I was sure to put myself into a kind of fever, with the agitations of a supposed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes sparkle, as if I was engaged; and I always resolved that I would take no quarter at their hands, but even at last, if I could resist no longer, I would blow up the ship, and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boast of.

But by how much the greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of those things were to our thoughts while we were at sea, by so much the greater was our satisfaction when we saw ourselves on shore; and my partner told me he dreamed that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up a hill, and found that he was not able to stand long under it; but the Portugueze pilot came, and took it off his back, and the hill disappeared, the ground before him showing all smooth and plain: and truly it was so; we were all like men who had a load taken off their backs.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*We arrive in China in safety—Dispose of the Ship—Description of the Inhabitants—Arrive at Pekin, and find an opportunity of returning to Europe.*

For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart, that I was not able any longer to bear; and, as I said above, we resolved to go no more to sea in that ship. When we came on shore, the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods, which, by the way, was much the same: it was a little house or hut, with a large house joining to it, all built with canes and palisadoed round with large canes, to

keep out pilfering thieves, of which it seems there were not a few in the country. However, the magistrates allowed us a little guard, and we had a soldier with a kind of halbert, or half-pike, who stood sentinel at our door, to whom we allowed a pint of rice, and a little piece of money, about the value of threepence, per day: so that our goods were kept very safe.

The fair or mart usually kept in this place had been over some time; however, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two Japanners; I mean ships from Japan, with goods which they had bought in China, and were not gone away, having Japanese merchants on shore.

The first thing our old Portugueze pilot did for us, was to bring us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests, who were in the town, and who had been there some time, converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it, and made them but sorry Christians when they had done. However, that was not our business. One of these was a Frenchman, whom they called Father Simon; he was a jolly well-conditioned man, very free in his conversation, not seeming so serious and grave as the other two did, one of whom was a Portugueze, and the other a Genoese; but Father Simon was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work they came about, viz. to talk with, and insinuate themselves among the inhabitants wherever they had opportunity. We often ate and drank with those men; and though, I must confess, the conversion, as they call it, of the Chinese to Christianity, is so far from the true conversion required to bring heathen people to the faith of Christ, that it seems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of Christ, say some prayers to the Virgin Mary and her Son, in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves, and the like; yet it must be confessed, that these religious, whom we call missionaries, have a firm belief that these people should be saved, and that they are the instrument of it; and, on this account, they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and hazards of living in such places, but oftentimes death itself, with the most violent tortures, for the sake of this work; and it would be a great want of charity in us, whatever opinion we have of the work itself, and the manner of their doing it, if we should not have a good opinion of their zeal, who undertake it with so many hazards, and who have no prospect of the least temporal advantage to themselves.

But to return to my story: This French priest, Father Simon, was appointed, it seems by order of the chief of the mission, to go up to Pekin, the royal seat of the Chinese emperor; and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him; and we scarce ever met together but he was inviting me to go that journey with him, telling me, how he would show me all the glorious things of that mighty empire, and among the rest, the greatest city in the world; A city, said he, that your London and our Paris put together, cannot be equal to.—This was the city of Pekin, which, I confess, is very great, and infinitely full of people; but as I looked on those things with different eyes from other men, so I shall give my opinion of them in few words, when I come, in the course of my travels, to speak more particularly of them.

But first I come to my friar or missionary: Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I showed some little inclination to go with him; and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions, to consent. Why, Father Simon, says my partner, why should you desire our company so much? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor can keep us company with any pleasure.—O! says he, you may, perhaps, be good Catholics in time; my business here is to convert heathens, and who knows but I may convert you too?—Very well, father, said I, so you will preach to us all the way.—I won't be troublesome to you, said he; our religion does not divest us of good manners; besides, said he, we are all here like countrymen; and so we are, compared to the place we are in; and if you are Huguenots, and I a Catholic, we may be all Christians at last; at least, said he, we are all gentlemen, and we may converse so, without being uneasy to one another.—I liked that part of his discourse very well, and it began to put me in mind of my priest that I had left in the Brazils; but this Father Simon did not come up to his character by a great deal; for though Father Simon had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of Christian zeal, strict piety, and sincere affection to religion, that my other good ecclesiastic had, of whom I have said so much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor soliciting us to go with him, but we had something else before us at that time; for we had all this while our ship and our merchandise to dispose of; and we began to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were now in a place of very little business: and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of Kiam, and the city of Nanquin; but Providence seemed now more visibly, as

I thought, than ever, to concern itself in our affairs; and I was encouraged from this very time to think I should, one way or other, get out of this entangled circumstance, and be brought home to my own country again, though I had not the least view of the manner; and when I began sometimes to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done. Providence, I say, began here to clear up our way a little; and the first thing that offered was, that our old Portugueze pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who began to inquire what goods we had; and, in the first place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might, perhaps, deal with us for the ship too; and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrunk up his shoulders at it when it was first proposed to him; but in a few days after he came to me, with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me he had a proposal to make to me, and that was this; he had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts (or proposals made to him) of buying the ship, and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to Japan, and would send them from thence to the Philippine Islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of before they went from Japan; and that, at their return, he would buy the ship.—I began to listen to this proposal, and so eager did my head still run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to entertain a notion myself of going with him, and so to sail from the Philippine Islands away to the South Seas; and accordingly I asked the Japanese merchant if he would not hire us to the Philippine islands, and discharge us there. He said, no, he could not do that, for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in Japan, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself; but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers, as well of the seas, as of the Japanese, who are a false, cruel, treacherous people; and then of the Spaniards at the Philippines, more false, more cruel, more treacherous than they.

But, to bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion, the first thing we had to do was to consult with the captain of the ship, and with the men, and know if they were willing to go to Japan; and, while I was doing this, the young man whom, as I said, my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me and told me, that he thought the voyage promised very fair, and that there was a great prospect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleased to order him; and if ever he came to England, and I was there, and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, and it should be as much mine as I pleased.

I was really loath to part with him; but considering the prospect of advantage, which was really considerable, and that he was a young fellow, as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but first I told him, I would consult my partner, and give him an answer the next day. My partner and I discoursed about it, and my partner made a most generous offer: he told me, You know it has been an unlucky ship, and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again; if your steward (so he called my man) will venture the voyage, I'll leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him make the best of it; and if we live to meet in England, and he meets with success abroad, he shall account for one half of the profits of the ship's freight to us, the other shall be his own.

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no less than offer him the same; and all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other; and away he went to Japan. The Japan merchant proved a very punctual honest man to him, protected him at Japan, and got him a license to come on shore, which the Europeans in general have not lately obtained, paid him his freight very punctually, sent him to the Philippines, loaded him with Japan and China wares, and a supercargo of their own, who trafficking with the Spaniards, brought back European goods again, and a great quantity of cloves and other spice; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but being not willing to sell the ship then, the merchant furnished him with goods on his own account; that is, some money and some spices of his own which he brought with him, he went back to the Manillas, to the Spaniards, where he sold his cargo very well. Here, having gotten a good acquaintance at Manilla, he got his ship made a free ship; and the governor of Manilla hired him to go to Acapulco in America, on the coast of Mexico; and gave him a license to land there, and travel to

Mexico; and to pass in any Spanish ship to Europe, with all his men.

He made the voyage to Acapulco very happily, and there he sold his ship; and having there also obtained allowance to travel by land to Porto Bello, he found means, some how or other, to go to Jamaica with all his treasure; and about eight years after came to England, exceeding rich; of which I shall take notice in its place; in the mean time, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ship and ship's company, it came before us, of course, to consider what recompence we should give to the two men that gave us such timely notice of the design against us in the river of Cambodia. The truth was, they had done us a considerable service, and deserved well at our hands; though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues too: for, as they believed the story of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ship, they came down to us, not only to betray the design that was formed against us, but to go to sea with us as pirates; and one of them confessed afterwards, that nothing else but the hopes of going a-roguing brought him to do it. However, the service they did us was not the less; and therefore, as I had promised to be grateful to them, I first ordered the money to be paid to them, which they said was due to them on board their respective ships; that is to say, the Englishman nineteen months pay, and to the Dutchman seven; and, over and above that, I gave each of them a small sum of money in gold, which contented them very well: then I made the Englishman gunner of the ship, the gunner being now made second mate and purser; the Dutchman I made boatswain: so they were both very well pleased, and proved very serviceable, being both able seamen, and very stout fellows.

We were now on shore in China. If I thought myself banished, and remote from my own country at Bengal, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myself now, when I was gotten about a thousand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly destitute of all manner of prospect of return!

All we had for it was this, that in about four months time there was to be another fair at that place where we were, and then we might be able to purchase all sorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal might possibly find some Chinese junks or vessels from Nanquin, that would be to be sold, and would carry us and our goods whither we pleased. This I liked very well, and resolved to wait; besides, as our particular persons were not obnoxious, so if any English or Dutch ships came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get passage to some other place in India nearer home.

Upon these hopes we resolved to continue here; but, to divert ourselves, we took two or three journies into the country. First, we went ten days journey to see the city of Nanquin, a city well worth seeing indeed: they say it has a million of people in it; which, however, I do not believe: it is regularly built, the streets all exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage.

But when I came to compare the miserable people of these countries with ours; their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory (as some call it,) I must confess, I do not so much as think it worth naming, or worth my while to write of, or any that shall come after me to read.

It is very observable, that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and the conduct of these people; not that they are to be wondered at, or, indeed, in the least to be regarded; but because, having first a notion of the barbarity of those countries, the rudeness and the ignorance that prevail there, we do not expect to find any such things so far off.

Otherwise, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What their trade to the universal commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What their cities to ours, for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich furniture, and an infinite variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchants' fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of London has more trade than all their mighty empire. One English, or Dutch, or French man of war, of eighty guns, would fight with and destroy all the shipping of China. But the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and strength of their armies, are surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them; and this, indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us: otherwise, it is in itself nothing at all; for, as I have said of their ships, so it may be said of their armies and troops; all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and starve themselves. If they were to besiege a strong town in Flanders, or to fight a disciplined army, one line of German cuirassiers,

or of French cavalry, would overthrow all the horse of China; a million of their foot could not stand before one embattled body of our infantry, posted so as not to be surrounded, though they were not to be one to twenty in number: nay, I do not boast, if I say, that 30,000 German or English foot, and 10,000 French horse, would fairly beat all the forces of China. And so of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers, in assaulting and defending towns; there is not a fortified town in China could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of an European army; and at the same time, all the armies of China could never take such a town as Dunkirk, provided it was not starved; no, not in ten years siege. They have fire-arms, it is true, but they are awkward, clumsy, and uncertain in going off; they have powder, but it is of no strength; they have neither discipline in the field, exercise in their arms, skill to attack, nor temper to retreat. And therefore I must confess it seemed strange to me when I came home, and heard our people say such fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the Chinese, because I saw and knew that they were a contemptible herd or crowd of ignorant, sordid slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a people; and, in a word, for I am now launched quite beside my design, I say, in a word, were not its distance inconceivably great from Muscovy, and were not the Muscovite empire almost as rude, impotent, and ill-governed a crowd of slaves as they, the czar of Muscovy might, with much ease, drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign; and had the czar, who I since hear is a growing prince, and begins to appear formidable in the world, fallen this way, instead of attacking the warlike Swedes, in which attempt none of the powers of Europe would have envied or interrupted him; he might, by this time, have been emperor of China, instead of being beaten by the king of Sweden at Narva, when the latter was not one to six in number. As their strength and their grandeur, so their navigation, commerce, and husbandry, are imperfect and impotent, compared to the same things in Europe. Also, in their knowledge, their learning, their skill in the sciences; they have globes and spheres, and a smatch of the knowledge of the mathematics; but when you come to inquire into their knowledge, how short-sighted are the wisest of their students! They know nothing of the motion of the heavenly bodies; and so grossly, absurdly ignorant, that when the sun is eclipsed, they think it is a great dragon has assaulted and run away with it; and they fall a-clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country, to fright the monster away, just as we do to hive a swarm of bees.

As this is the only excursion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels, so I shall make no more descriptions of countries and people: it is none of my business, or any part of my design; but giving an account of my own adventures, through a life of infinite wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps, few have heard the like of, I shall say nothing of the mighty places, desart countries, and numerous people, I have yet to pass through, more than relates to my own story, and which my concern among them will make necessary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of China, about the latitude of thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from Nanquin; I had indeed a mind to see the city of Pekin, which I had heard so much of, and Father Simon importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being set, and the other missionary who was to go with him being arrived from Macoa, it was necessary that we should resolve either to go, or not to go; so I referred him to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice, who at length resolved it in the affirmative, and we prepared for our journey. We set out with very good advantage, as to finding the way; for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their mandarins, a kind of viceroy, a principal magistrate, in the province where they reside, and who take great state upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are sometimes greatly impoverished by them, because all the countries they pass through are obliged to furnish provisions for them, and all their attendants. That which I particularly observed, as to our travelling with his baggage, was this; that though we received sufficient provisions, both for ourselves and our horses, from the country, as belonging to the mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for every thing we had after the market-price of the country, and the mandarin's steward, or commissary of the provisions, collected it duly from us; so that our travelling in the retinue of the mandarin, though it was a very great kindness to us, was not such a mighty favour in him, but was, indeed, a great advantage to him, considering there were about thirty other people travelling in the same manner besides us, under the protection of his retinue, or, as we may call it, under his convoy. This, I say, was a great advantage to him; for the country furnished all the provisions for nothing, and he took all our money for them.

We were five-and-twenty days travelling to Pekin, through a country infinitely populous

but miserably cultivated; the husbandry, economy, and the way of living, all very miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people: I say miserable; and so it is; if we, who understand how to live, were to endure it, or to compare it with our own; but not so to these poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of these people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their misery. I must needs think the naked savages of America live much more happy, because, as they have nothing, so they desire nothing; whereas these are proud and insolent, and, in the main, are mere beggars and drudges; their ostentation is inexpressible, and is chiefly showed in their clothes and buildings, and in the keeping multitudes of servants or slaves, and, which is to the last degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themselves.

I must confess, I travelled more pleasantly afterwards, in the desarts and vast wildernesses of Grand Tartary, than here; and yet the roads here are well paved and well kept, and very convenient for travellers; but nothing was more awkward to me than to see such a haughty, imperious, insolent people, in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance; for all their famed ingenuity is no more. My friend Father Simon, and I, used to be very merry upon these occasions, to see the beggarly pride of those people. For example, coming by the house of a country gentleman, as Father Simon called him, about ten leagues off from the city of Nanquin, we had, first of all, the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles; the state he rode in was a perfect Don Quixotism, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

The habit of this greasy Don was very proper for a scaramouch, or merry-andrew; being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry trappings of a fool's coat, such as hanging sleeves, taffety, and cuts and slashes almost on every side; it covered a rich taffety vest, as greasy as a butcher, and which testified, that his honour must needs be a most exquisite sloven.

His horse was a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in England might sell for about thirty or forty shillings; and he had two slaves followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along: he had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head as his slaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve servants: and we were told he was going from the city to his country-seat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us; and as we stopped at a village about an hour to refresh us, when we came by the country-seat of this great man, we saw him in a little place before his door, eating his repast; it was a kind of a garden, but he was easy to be seen; and we were given to understand, that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleased.

He sat under a tree, something like the palmetto-tree, which effectually shaded him over the head, and on the south side; but under the tree also was placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough: he sat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy corpulent man, and his meat being brought him by two women-slaves: he had two more, whose office, I think, few gentlemen in Europe would accept of their service in, viz. one fed the 'squire with a spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his worship's beard and taffety vest, with the other; while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of those familiar offices, which kings and monarchs would rather do than be troubled with the clumsy fingers of their servants.

I took this time to think what pain men's pride puts them to, and how troublesome a haughty temper, thus ill-managed, must be to a man of common sense; and, leaving the poor wretch to please himself with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, whereas we really pitied and contemned him, we pursued our journey; only Father Simon had the curiosity to stay to inform himself what dainties the country justice had to feed on, in all his state; which he said he had the honour to taste of, and which was, I think, a dose that an English hound would scarce have eaten, if it had been offered him, viz. a mess of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlic in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, something like our ginger, but smelling like musk, and tasting like mustard: all this was put together, and a small lump or piece of lean mutton boiled in it; and this was his worship's repast, four or five servants more attending at a distance. If he fed them meaner than he was fed himself, the spice excepted, they must fare very coarsely indeed.

As for our mandarin with whom we travelled, he was respected like a king; surrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with such pomp, that I saw little of him but at a distance; but this I observed, that there was not a horse in his retinue, but that our carriers' packhorses in England seem to me to look much better; but they were so covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, and such-like trumpery, that

you cannot see whether they are fat or lean. In a word, we could scarce see any thing but their feet and their heads.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I had given an account of being over, I had no anxious thoughts about me; which made this journey much the pleasanter to me: nor had I any ill accident attended me, only in the passing or fording a small river, my horse fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it; that is to say, threw me in: the place was not deep, but it wetted me all over: I mention it, because it spoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had set down the names of several people and places which I had occasion to remember, and which not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read, to my great loss as to the names of some places which I touched at in this voyage.

At length we arrived at Pekin: I had nobody with me but the youth, whom my nephew the captain had given me to attend me as a servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent; and my partner had nobody with him but one servant, who was a kinsman. As for the Portugueze pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we gave him his passage, that is to say, bore his charges for his company; and to use him as an interpreter, for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good French and a little English; and, indeed, this old man was a most useful implement to us every where; for we had not been above a week at Pekin, when he came laughing: Ah, Seignior Inglese, said he, I have something to tell you, will make your heart glad.—My heart glad! said I; what can that be? I don't know any thing in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree.—Yes, yes, said the old man, in broken English, make you glad, me sorrow; sorry he would have said.—This made me more inquisitive. Why, said I, will it make you sorry?—Because, said he, you have brought me here twenty-five days journey, and will leave me to go back alone; and which way shall I get to my port afterwards, without a ship, without a horse, without pecune? so he called money; being his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry with.

In short, he told us there was a great caravan of Muscovy and Polish merchants in the city, and that they were preparing to set out on their journey by land, to Muscovy, within four or five weeks, and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind to go back alone. I confess I was surprised with this news: a secret joy spread itself over my whole soul, which I cannot describe, and never felt before or since, and I had no power, for a good while, to speak a word to the old man; but at last I turned to him: How do you know this? said I; are you sure it is true?—Yes, he said, I met this morning in the street an old acquaintance of mine, an Armenian, or one you call a Grecian, who is among them; he came last from Astracan, and was designing to go to Tonquin, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go back with the caravan to Moscow, and so down the river of Wolga to Astracan.—Well, Seignior, said I, do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone; if this be a method for my return to England, it shall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all.—We then went to consult together what was to be done, and I asked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs: he told me he would do just as I would; for he had settled all his affairs so well at Bengal, and left his effects in such good hands, that as we made a good voyage here, if he could vest it in China silks wrought and raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to England, and then make his voyage back to Bengal by the Company's ships.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*Set out by the Caravan—Account of the valuable Effects we took with us—Further Description of the Interior of China—Pass the great Wall—Attacked by Tartars, who are dispersed by the Resolution of a Scots Merchant—The old Pilot saves my Life—We are again attacked, and defeat the Tartars.*

HAVING resolved upon this, we agreed, that, if our Portugueze pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges to Moscow, or to England, if he pleased; nor, indeed, were we to be esteemed over-generous in that part neither, if we had not rewarded him farther; for the service he had done us was really worth all that, and more; for he had not only been a pilot to us at sea, but he had been also like a broker for us on shore; and his procuring for us the Japan merchant was some hundreds of pounds in our pockets. So we consulted together about it; and, being willing to gratify him, which was, indeed, but doing him justice, and very willing also to have him with us besides, for he was a most necessary man on all occasions, we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about one hundred and

seventy-five pounds sterling between us, and to bear his charges, both for himself and horse, except only a horse to carry his goods.

Having settled this among ourselves, we called him to let him know what we had resolved: I told him, he had complained of our being like to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were resolved he should not go back at all; that as we had resolved to go to Europe with the caravan, we resolved also he should go with us, and that we called him to know his mind. He shook his head, and said it was a long journey, and he had no pecune to carry him thither, nor to subsist himself when he came thither. We told him, we believed it was so, and therefore we had resolved to do something for him, that should let him see how sensible we were of the service he had done us; and also how agreeable he was to us: and then I told him what we had resolved to give him here, which he might lay out as we would do our own; and that as for his charges, if he would go with us, we would set him safe ashore (life and casualties excepted,) either in Muscovy or in England, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods.

He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us, he would go with us over the whole world; and so, in short, we all prepared ourselves for the journey. However, as it was with us, so it was with the other merchants, they had many things to do; and instead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and some odd days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of February, our style, when we set out from Pekin. My partner and the old pilot had gone express back to the port where we had first put in, to dispose of some goods which we had left there; and I, with a Chinese merchant, whom I had some knowledge of at Nanquin, and who came to Pekin on his own affairs, went to Nanquin, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks, of several sorts, some mixed with gold, and had all these brought to Pekin against my partner's return: besides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods; our cargo amounting, in these goods only, to about three thousand five hundred pounds sterling, which, together with tea, and some fine calicoes, and three camel-loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our share, besides those we rode upon; which, with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made us, in short, twenty-six camels and horses in our retinue.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horses and camels, and upward of a hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. For, as the eastern caravans are subject to be attacked by the Arabs, so are these by the Tartars; but they are not altogether so dangerous as the Arabs, nor so barbarous when they prevail.

The company consisted of people of several nations, such as the Muscovites chiefly; for there were about sixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of Moscow, though of them some were Livonians: and to our particular satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business, and very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants, that is to say, all the passengers, except the servants, to a great council, as they termed it. At this great council every one deposited a certain quantity of money to a common stock, for the necessary expense of buying forage on the way, where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like. And here they constituted the journey, as they called it, viz. they named captains and officers to draw us all up, and give the command in case of an attack; and gave every one their turn of command. Nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as shall be observed in its place.

The road all on this side of the country is very populous, and is full of potters and earth-makers; that is to say, people that tempered the earth for the China ware; and, as I was going along, our Portugueze pilot, who had always something or other to say to make us merry, came sneering to me, and told me, he would show the greatest rarity in all the country; and that I should have this to say of China, after all the ill-humoured things I had said of it, that I had seen one thing which was not to be seen in all the world beside. I was very importunate to know what it was; at last he told me, it was a gentleman's house, built all with China ware.—Well, said I, are not the materials of their building the product of their own country; and so it is all China ware, is it not?—No, no, says he, I mean, it is a house all made of China ware, such as you call so in England; or, as it is called in our country, porcelain.—Well, said I, such a thing may be: how big is it? can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, we will buy it.—Upon a camel! said the old pilot, holding up both his hands; why, there is a family of thirty people lives in it.

I was then curious indeed to see it; and

when I came to see it, it was nothing but this: it was a timber house, or a house built, as we call it in England, with lath and plaster, but all the plastering was really China ware, that is to say, it was plastered with the earth that makes China ware.

The outside, which the sun shone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfectly white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China ware in England is painted, and hard, as if it had been burnt. As to the inside, all the walls, instead of wainscot, were lined with hard and painted tiles, like the little square tiles we call galley tiles in England, all made of the finest china, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold, many tiles making but one figure, but joined so artificially with mortar, being made of the same earth, that it was very hard to see where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the same composition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in use in several parts of England, especially Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, &c. as hard as stone, and smooth, but not burnt and painted, except some smaller rooms, like closets, which were all, as it were, paved with the same tile: the ceiling, and, in a word, all the plastering work in the whole house, were of the same earth; and after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the same, but of a deep shining black.

This was a china warehouse indeed, truly and literally to be called so; and had I not been upon the journey, I could have staid some days to see and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fishponds in the garden, all paved at the bottom and sides with the same, and fine statues set up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burnt whole.

As this is one of the singularities of China, so they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very sure they excel in their accounts of it; for they told me such incredible things of their performance in crockery-ware, for such it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true.—One told me, in particular, of a workman that made a ship, with all its tackle, and masts, and sails, in earthenware, big enough to carry fifty men. If he had told me he launched it, and made a voyage to Japan in it, I might have said something to it indeed; but as it was, I knew the whole story, which was, in short, asking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied; so I smiled, and said nothing to it.

This odd sight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day fined me about the value of three shillings; and told me, if it had been three days journey without the wall, as it was three days within, he must have fined me four times as much, and made me ask pardon the next council-day: so I promised to be more orderly; for, indeed, I found afterwards the orders made for keeping all together were absolutely necessary for our common safety.

In two days more we passed the great China wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in an endless track, where the rocks are impassable, and the precipices such as no enemy could possibly enter, or, indeed, climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us, its length is near a thousand English miles, but that the country is five hundred, in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds, without measuring the windings and turnings it takes: it is about four fathom high, and as many thick in some places.

I stood still an hour, or thereabouts, without trespassing on our orders, for so long the caravan was in passing the gate; I say, I stood still an hour to look at it, on every side, near and far off; I mean, what was within my view; and the guide of our caravan, who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a most excellent thing to keep off the Tartars, which he happened not to understand as I meant it, and so took it for a compliment: but the old pilot laughed: O Seignior Inglese, said he, you speak in colours. —In colours! said I, what do you mean by that?—Why, you speak what looks white this way, and black that way: gay one way, and dull another way: you tell him it is a good wall to keep out Tartars: you tell me, by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out Tartars; or, will keep out none but Tartars. I understand you, Seignior Inglese, I understand you, said he, joking; but Seignior Chinese understand you his own way.

Well, said I, seignior, do you think it would stand out an army of our country-people, with a good train of artillery; or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would they not batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia, or blow it up in the air, foundation and all, that there should be no sign of it left?—Ay, ay, said he, I know that.—The Chinese wanted mightily to know what I said, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for we were then almost out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterwards; but when he knew what I had said, he was dumb all the rest of the way, and we heard no more of his fine story of the Chinese power and greatness while he staid.

After we had passed this mighty nothing

called a wall, something like the Picts wall, so famous in Northumberland, and built by the Romans, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being subject to the inroads and depredations of the Tartars, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not be resisted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here I began to find the necessity of keeping together in a caravan, as we travelled; for we saw several troops of Tartars roving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered how that the Chinese empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere herd or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline, or manner of fight.

Their horses are poor, lean, starved creatures, taught nothing, and are fit for nothing; and this was found the first day we saw them, which was after we entered the wilder part of the country. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a-hunting, as they call it; and what was this but hunting of sheep! However, it may be called hunting too; for the creatures are the wildest and swiftest of foot, that ever I saw of their kind; only they will not run a great way, and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase; for they appear generally by thirty or forty in a flock, and, like true sheep, always keep together when they fly.

In pursuit of this odd sort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty Tartars: whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not; but as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound that I had never heard before, and, by the way, never care to hear again. We all supposed this was to call their friends about them; and so it was; for in less than half a quarter of an hour, a troop of forty or fifty more appeared at about a mile distance; but our work was over first, as it happened.

One of the Scots merchants of Moscow happened to be amongst us; and as soon as he heard the horn, he told us, in short, that we had nothing to do but to charge them immediately, without loss of time; and, drawing us up in a line, he asked, if we were resolved? We told him, we were ready to follow him; so he rode directly up to them. They stood gazing at us, like a mere crowd, drawn up in no order, nor showing the face of any order at all; but as soon as they saw us advance, they let fly their arrows; which, however, missed us very happily: it seems they mistook not their aim, but their distance; for their arrows all fell a little short of us, but with so true an aim, that had we been about twenty yards nearer, we must have had several men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted; and though it was at a great distance, we fired, and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, resolving to fall in among them sword in hand; for so our bold Scot that led us directed. He was, indeed, but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occasion, and yet with such a cool courage too, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them, we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew; but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable; the only stand any of them made was on our right, where three of them stood, and by signs called the rest to come back to them, having a kind of scymitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs. Our brave commander, without asking any body to follow him, galloped up close to them, and with his fusil, knocked one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away; and thus ended our fight; but we had this misfortune attending it, viz. that all our mutton that we had in chase got away. We had not a man killed or hurt; but, as for the Tartars, there were about five of them killed; how many were wounded, we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party was so frighted with the noise of our guns, that they fled, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominions, and therefore the Tartars were not so bold as afterwards; but in about five days we entered a vast great wild desart, which held us three days and nights march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leather bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the desarts of Arabia.

I asked our guides, whose dominion this was in? and they told me this was a kind of border that might be called No Man's Land; being part of the Great Karakathy, or Grand Tartary; but that, however, it was reckoned to China; that there was no care taken here to preserve it from the inroads of thieves; and therefore it was reckoned the worst desart in the whole march, though we were to go over some much larger.

In passing this wilderness, which, I confess, was at the first view very frightful to me, we saw two or three times little parties of the Tartars, but they seemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no design upon us: and so, like the man who met the devil, if

they had nothing to say to us, we had nothing to say to them; we let them go.

Once, however, a party of them came so near as to stand and gaze at us; whether it was to consider what they should do, viz. to attack us or not attack us, we knew not; but when we were passed at some distance by them, we made a rear guard of forty men, and stood ready for them, letting the caravan pass half a mile, or thereabouts, before us. After a while they marched off, only we found they assaulted us with five arrows at their parting; one of which wounded a horse so that it disabled him; and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier. We suppose they might shoot more arrows, which might fall short of us; but we saw no more arrows, or Tartars, at that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the emperor of China; but lay, for the most part, in villages, some of which were fortified, because of the incursions of the Tartars. When we came to one of these towns (it was about two days and a half's journey before we were to come to the city of Naum), I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be sold all the way upon that road, and of horses also, such as they are, because so many caravans coming that way, they are very often wanted. The person that I spoke to, to get me a camel, would have gone and fetched it for me; but I, like a fool, must be officious, and go myself along with him. The place was about two miles out of the village, where, it seems, they kept the camels and horses feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot, with my old pilot in company, and a Chinese, being desirous, forsooth, of a little variety. When we came to this place, it was a low marshy ground, walled round with a stone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of Chinese soldiers at the doors. Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away; and the Chinese man, that went with me, led the camel, when on a sudden came up five Tartars on horseback; two of them seized the fellow, and took the camel from him, while the other three stepped up to me and my old pilot; seeing us, as it were, unarmed, for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against three horsemen. The first that came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword, (for they are arrant cowards;) but a second coming upon my left, gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterwards, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot, the Portugueze (so Providence, unlooked for, directs deliverances from dangers, which to us are unforeseen,) had a pistol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the Tartars neither; if they had, I suppose they would not have attacked us; but cowards are always boldest when there is no danger.

The old man, seeing me down, with a bold heart stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and laying hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, he shot him into the head, and laid him dead on the spot; he then immediately stepped up to him who had stopped us, as I said, and before he could come forward again (for it was all done as it were in a moment) made a blow at him with a scymitar, which he always wore, but missing the man, cut his horse into the side of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great slice down the side of his face. The poor beast, enraged with the wounds, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow sat well enough too; but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach; and, at some distance, rising upon his hind legs, threw down the Tartar, and fell upon him.

In this interval the poor Chinese came in, who had lost the camel, but he had no weapon; however, seeing the Tartar down, and his horse fallen upon him, he runs to him, and seizing upon an ugly ill-favoured weapon he had by his side, something like a pole-axe, but not a pole-axe either, he wrenched it from him, and made shift to knock his Tartarian brains out with it. But my old man had the third Tartar to deal with still; and, seeing he did not fly as he expected, nor come on to fight him, as he apprehended, but stood stock still, the old man stood still too, and falls to work with his tackle to charge his pistol again; but as soon as the Tartar saw the pistol, whether he supposed it to be the same or another, I know not, but away he scoured, and left my pilot, my champion I called him afterwards, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little awake; for I thought, when I first began to awake, that I had been in a sweet sleep; but as I said above, I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter: in a word, a few minutes after, as sense returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where; I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody; then I felt my head ache, and then, in another moment, memory returned, and every thing was present to me again.

I jumped up upon my feet instantly, and got hold of my sword, but no enemies to

view. I found a Tartar lie dead, and his horse standing very quietly by him; and looking farther, I saw my champion and deliverer, who had been to see what the Chinese had done, coming back with his hanger in his hand. The old man, seeing me on my feet, came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed; and seeing me bloody, would see how I was hurt; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow, other than the place which was hurt, and which was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain, however, by this victory; for we lost a camel, and gained a horse: but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village, the man demanded to be paid for the camel. I disputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the Chinese judge of the place; that is to say, in English, we went before a justice of the peace. Give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and having heard both sides, he gravely asked the Chinese man that went with me to buy the camel, whose servant he was?—I am no servant, said he, but went with the stranger.—At whose request? said the justice.—At the stranger's request, said he.—Why then, said the justice, you were the stranger's servant for the time; and the camel being delivered to his servant, it was delivered to him, and he must pay for it.

I confess the thing was so clear, that I had not a word to say; but admiring to see such just reasoning upon the consequence, and so accurate stating the case, I paid willingly for the camel, and sent for another; but you may observe, *I sent* for it; I did not go to fetch it myself any more; I had had enough of that.

The city of Naum is a frontier of the Chinese empire: they call it fortified, and so it is as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the Tartars in Karakathy, which, I believe, are some millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it strong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make those who understand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have said, about two days journey of this city, when messengers were sent express to every part of the road, to tell all travellers and caravans to halt, till they had a guard sent to them; for that an unusual body of Tartars, making ten thousand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

This was very bad news to travellers: however, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we should have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had two hundred soldiers sent us from a garrison of the Chinese on our left, and three hundred more from the city of Naum, and with those we advanced boldly: the three hundred soldiers from Naum marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each side of our camels with our baggage, and the whole caravan in our centre. In this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourselves a match for the whole ten thousand Mogul Tartars, if they had appeared; but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning, when marching from a little well-situated town, called Changu, we had a river to pass, where we were obliged to ferry; and had the Tartars had any intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when, the caravan being over, the rear guard was behind: but they did not appear there.

About three hours after, when we were entered upon a desart of about fifteen or sixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand; and they were at hand indeed, for they came on upon the spur.

The Chinese, our guard on the front, who had talked so big the day before, began to stagger, and the soldiers frequently looked behind them; which is a certain sign in a soldier, that he is just ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind; and being near me, he called out: Seignior Inglese, said he, those fellows must be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the Tartars come on, they will never stand it.—I am of your mind, said I: but what course must be done?—Done? said he; let fifty of our men advance, and flank them on each wing, and encourage them, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company; but without it, they will every man turn his back.—Immediately I rode up to our leader, and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of reserve; for so we marched, leaving the last two hundred men to make another body to themselves, and to guard the camels; only that, if need were, they should send a hundred men to assist the last fifty.

In a word, the Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were; how many, we could not tell, but ten thousand we thought was the least. A party of them came on first, and viewed our posture, traversing the ground in the front of our line; and as we found them within gun-shot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly and give them a *salvo* on each wing with their shot, which

was done: but they went off, and I suppose went back to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with; and, indeed, that salute clogged their stomachs; for they immediately halted, stood a while to consider of it, and, wheeling off to the left, they gave over the design, and said no more to us for that time; which was very agreeable to our circumstances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with such a number.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*Further Account of our Journey—Description of an Idol; which we destroy—Great Danger we incur thereby—Account of our Travels through Muscovy.*

Two days after this we came to the city of Naum, or Naumm. We thanked the governor for his care for us, and collected to the value of one hundred crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the soldiers sent to guard us; and here we rested one day. This is a garrison indeed, and there were nine hundred soldiers kept here; but the reason of it was, that formerly the Muscovite frontiers lay nearer to them than they do now, the Muscovites having abandoned that part of the country (which lies from the city west, for about two hundred miles) as desolate and unfit for use, and more especially, being so very remote, and so difficult to send troops hither for its defence; for we had yet above two thousand miles to Muscovy, properly so called.

After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful desarts, one of which we were sixteen days passing over, and which, as I said, was to be called No Man's Land; and on the 15th of April we came to the frontiers of the Muscovite dominions. I think the first city, or town, or fortress, whatever it might be called, that belonged to the czar of Muscovy, was called Argun, being on the west side of the river Argun.

I could not but discover an infinite satisfaction, that I was now arrived in, as I called it, a Christian country; or, at least, in a country governed by Christians: for though the Muscovites do, in my opinion, but just deserve the name of Christians, (yet such they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way). It would certainly occur to any man who travels the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection; I say, it would occur to him, to reflect, what a blessing it is to be brought into the world where the name of God, and of a Redeemer, is known, worshipped and adored—and not where the people, given up by Heaven to strong delusions, worship the devil, and prostrate themselves to stocks and stones; worship monsters, elements, horrible shaped animals, and statues, or images, of monsters. Not a town or city we passed through but had their pagods, their idols, and their temples; and ignorant people worshipping even the works of their own hands!

Now we came where, at least, a face of the Christian worship appeared, where the knee was bowed to Jesus; and whether ignorantly or not, yet the Christian religion was owned, and the name of the true God was called upon and adored; and it made the very recesses of my soul rejoice to see it. I saluted the brave Scotch merchant I mentioned above, with my first acknowledgment of this; and taking him by the hand, I said to him, Blessed be God, we are once again come among Christians? He smiled, and answered, Do not rejoice too soon, countryman; these Muscovites are but an odd sort of Christians: and but for the name of it, you may see very little of the substance for some months farther of our journey.

Well, said I, but still it is better than paganism, and worshipping of devils.—Why, I'll tell you, said he; except the Russian soldiers in garrisons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles farther, is inhabited by the worst and most ignorant of pagans. And so indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greatest piece of solid earth, if I understand any thing of the surface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the world: we had at least twelve hundred miles to the sea, eastward; we had at least two thousand to the bottom of the Baltic Sea, westward; and almost three thousand miles, if we left that sea and went on west to the British and French channels; we had full five thousand miles to the Indian or Persian Sea, south; and about eight hundred miles to the Frozen Sea, north; nay, if some people may be believed, there might be no sea north-east till we came round the pole, and consequently into the north-west, and so had a continent of land into America, no mortal knows where; though I could give some reasons why I believe that to be a mistake too.

As we entered into the Muscovite dominions, a good while before we came to any considerable town, we had nothing to observe there but this: first, that all the rivers run to the east. As I understood by the charts which some of our caravans had with them, it was plain that all those rivers ran into the great river Yamour, or Gammour. This river, by the natural course of it, must run into the East Sea, or Chinese Ocean. The story they

tell us, that the mouth of this river is choked up with bulrushes of a monstrous growth, viz. three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I must be allowed to say I believe nothing of; but as its navigation is of no use, because there is no trade that way, the Tartars, to whom alone it belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle; so nobody that ever I heard of, has been curious enough either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or to come from the mouth of it in ships; but this is certain, that this river running due east, in the latitude of sixty degrees, carries a vast concourse of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itself in that latitude; so we are sure of sea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river there are several considerable rivers, whose streams run as due north as the Yamour runs east; and these are all found to join their waters with the great river Tartarus, named so from the northernmost nations of the Mogul Tartars, who, the Chinese say, were the first Tartars in the world; and who, as our geographers allege, are the Gog and Magog mentioned in sacred history.

These rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to speak of, made it evident that the Northern Ocean bounds the land also on that side; so that it does not seem rational in the least to think that the land can extend itself to join with America on that side, or that there is not a communication between the Northern and the Eastern Ocean; but of this I shall say no more; it was my observation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place. We now advanced from the river Arguna by easy and moderate journies, and were very visibly obliged to the care the czar of Muscovy has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as are possible to place them, where his soldiers keep garrison, something like the stationary soldiers placed by the Romans in the remotest countries of their empire, some of which I had read were particularly placed in Britain for the security of commerce, and for the lodging of travellers; and thus it was here; though wherever we came at these towns and stations, the garrisons and governor were Russians, and professed mere pagans, sacrificing to idols, and worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven: and not only so, but were, of all the heathens and pagans that ever I met with, the most barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's flesh, as our savages of America did.

Some instances of this we met with in the country between Arguna, where we enter the Muscovite dominions, and a city of Tartars and Russians together, called Nertzinskay; in which space is a continued desart or forest, which cost us twenty days to travel over it. In a village near the last of those places, I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living; which is most brutish and unsufferable: they had, I suppose, a great sacrifice that day; for there stood out upon an old stump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil, at least as any thing we can think of to represent the devil that can be made. It had a head certainly not so much as resembling any creature that the world ever saw; ears as big as goats horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown-piece; and a nose like a crooked ram's horn, and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under bill. It was dressed up in the filthiest manner that you can suppose; its upper garment was of sheep-skins, with the wool outward; a great Tartar bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it: it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This scarecrow was set up at the outside of the village; and when I came near to it, there were sixteen or seventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they make no distinction by their habits, either of body or head; these lay all flat on the ground, round this formidable block of shapeless wood. I saw no motion among them any more than if they had been logs of wood, like their idol; at first I really thought they had been so; but when I came a little nearer, they started up upon their feet, and raised a howling cry, as if it had been so many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away as if they were displeased at our disturbing them. A little way off from this monster, and at the door of a tent or hut, made all of sheep-skins and cow-skins, dried, stood three butchers: I thought they were such; for when I came nearer to them, I found they had long knives in their hands, and in the middle of the tent appeared three sheep killed, and one young bullock or steer. These, it seems, were sacrifices to that senseless log of an idol; and these three men priests belonging to it; and the seventeen prostrated wretches were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that stock.

I confess I was more moved at their stupidity, and this brutish worship of a hobgoblin, than ever I was at any thing in my life; to see God's most glorious and best creature, to whom he had granted so many advantages, even by creation, above the rest of the works of his hands, vested with a reasonable soul, and that soul adorned with faculties and capacities adapted both to honour his Maker and be honoured by him; I say, to see it

sunk and degenerated to a degree so more than stupid, as to prostrate itself to a frightful nothing, a mere imaginary object dressed up by themselves, and made terrible to themselves by their own contrivance, adorned only with clouts and rags; and that this should be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into hellish devotion by the devil himself; who, envying his Maker the homage and adoration of his creatures, had deluded them into such gross, surfeiting, sordid, and brutish things, as one would think should shock nature itself.

But what signified all the astonishment and reflection of thoughts? Thus it was, and I saw it before my eyes; and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impossible. All my admiration turned to rage; and I rode up to the image or monster, call it what you will, and with my sword cut the bonnet that was on its head in two in the middle, so that it hung down by one of the horns; and one of our men that was with me, took hold of the sheep-skin that covered it, and pulled at it, when, behold, a most hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, so that I was glad to scour for it; for we saw some had bows and arrows; but I resolved from that moment to visit them again.

Our caravan rested three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide some horses, which they wanted, several of the horses having been lamed and jaded with the badness of the way, and our long march over the last desart; so we had some leisure here to put my design in execution. I communicated my project to the Scots merchant, of Moscow, of whose courage I had had a sufficient testimony, as above. I told him what I had seen, and with what indignation I had since thought that human nature could be so degenerate. I told him, I was resolved, if I could get but four or five men well armed to go with me, to go and destroy that vile, abominable idol; to let them see, that it had no power to help itself, and consequently could not be an object of worship, or to be prayed to, much less help them that offered sacrifices to it.

He laughed at me: said he, Your zeal may be good; but what do you propose to yourself by it?—Propose! said I: to vindicate the honour of God, which is insulted by this devil-worship.

But how will it vindicate the honour of God, said he, while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unless you could speak to them too, and tell them so? and then they will fight you too, I will assure you, for they are desperate fellows, and that especially in defence of their idolatry.—Can we not, said I, do it in the night, and then leave them the reasons in writing, in their own language?—Writing! said he; why, there is not in five nations of them one man that knows any thing of a letter, or how to read a word in any language, or in their own.—Wretched ignorance! said I to him: however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them see how brutish they are to worship such horrid things.—Look you, sir, said he; if your zeal prompts you to it so warmly, you must do it; but in the next place, I would have you consider these wild nations of people are subjected by force to the czar of Muscovy's dominion; and if you do this, it is ten to one but they will come by thousands to the governor of Nertzinsky, and complain, and demand satisfaction; and if he cannot give them satisfaction, it is ten to one but they revolt; and it will occasion a new war with all the Tartars in the country.

This, I confess, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I harped upon the same string still; and all that day I was uneasy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening the Scots merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and desired to speak with me: I believe, said he, I have put you off your good design; I have been a little concerned about it since; for I abhor the idol and idolatry as much as you can do.—Truly, said I, you have put it off a little, as to the execution of it, but you have not put it all out of my thoughts; and, I believe, I shall do it still before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for satisfaction.—No, no, said he, God forbid they should deliver you up to such a crew of monsters! they shall not do that neither; that would be murdering you indeed.—Why, said I, how would they use me?—Use you! said he: I'll tell you how they served a poor Russian, who affronted them in their worship just as you did, and whom they took prisoner, after they had lamed him with an arrow; that he could not run away: they took him and stripped him stark naked, and set him upon the top of the idol monster, and stood all round him, and shot as many arrows into him as would stick over his whole body; and then they burnt him, and all the arrows sticking in him as a sacrifice to the idol.—And was this the same idol? said I.—Yes, said he, the very same.—Well, said I, I will tell you a story. So I related the story of our men at Madagascar, and how they burnt and sacked the village there, and killed man, woman, and child, for their murdering one of our men just as it is related before; and when I had done, I added, that I thought we ought to do so to this village.

He listened very attentively to the story; but when I talked of doing so to that village, said he, You mistake very much; it was not this village, it was almost a hundred miles from this place; but it was the same idol, for they carry him about in procession all over the country.—Well, said I, then that idol ought to be punished for it; and it shall, said I, if I live this night out.

In a word, finding me resolute, he liked the design, and told me, I should not go alone, but he would go with me; but he would go first, and bring a stout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go also with us; and one, said he, as famous for his zeal as you can desire any one to be against such devilish things as these. In a word, he brought me his comrade, a Scotsman, whom he called Captain Richardson; and I gave him a full account of what I had seen, and also what I intended; and he told me readily, he would go with me, if it cost him his life. So we agreed to go, only we three. I had, indeed, proposed it to my partner, but he declined it. He said, he was ready to assist me to the utmost, and upon all occasions, for my defence; but that this was an adventure quite out of his way: so, I say, we resolved upon our work, only we three, and my man-servant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the secrecy imaginable.

However, upon second thoughts, we were willing to delay it till the next night, because the caravan being to set forward in the morning, we supposed the governor could not pretend to give them any satisfaction upon us when we were out of his power. The Scots merchant, as steady in his resolution to enterprize it as bold in executing, brought me a Tartar's robe or gown of sheep-skins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the same for himself and his countryman, that the people, if they saw us, should not be able to determine who we were.

All the first night we spent in mixing up some combustible matter with aquavitæ, gunpowder, and such other materials as we could get; and, having a good quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we set out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the least jealousy of danger attending their idol. The night was cloudy; yet the moon gave us light enough to see that the idol stood just in the same posture and place that it did before. The people seemed to be all at their rest; only, that in the great hut or tent as we called it, where we saw the three priests whom we mistook for butchers, we saw a light, and going up close to the door, we heard people talking, as if there were five or six of them; we concluded, therefore, that if we set wildfire to the idol, these men would come out immediately and run up to the place to rescue it from the destruction that we intended for it; and what to do with them we knew not. Once we thought of carrying it away, and setting fire to it at a distance, but when we came to handle it we found it too bulky for our carriage; so we were at a loss again. The second Scotsman was for setting fire to the tent or hut, and knocking the creatures that were there on the head, when they came out; but I could not join with that; I was against killing them, if it was possible to be avoided. Well then, said the Scots merchant, I will tell you what we will do; we will try to make them prisoners, tie their hands, and make them stand and see their idol destroyed.

As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which we used to tie our fire-works together with; so we resolved to attack these people first, and with as little noise as we could. The first thing we did, we knocked at the door, when one of the priests coming to it, we immediately seized upon him, stopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him, and led him to the idol, where we gagged him, that he might not make a noise, tied his feet also together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out to see what the matter was; but we waited so long till the third man came back to us, and then nobody coming out, we knocked again gently, and immediately out came two more, and we served them just in the same manner, but were obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol some distance from one another; when going back we found two more were come out to the door, and a third stood behind them within the door. We seized the two, and immediately tied them, when the third stepping back, and crying out, my Scots merchant went in after him, and taking out a composition we had made, that would only smoke and stink, he set fire to it, and threw it in among them: by that time the other Scotsman and my man taking charge of the two men already bound, and tied together also by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there, to see if their idol would relieve them, making haste back to us.

When the furze we had thrown in had filled the hut with so much smoke that they were almost suffocated, we then threw in a small leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and following it in, we found there were but four people left, who, it seems, were two men and two women, and as we supposed, had been about some of their

diabolic sacrifices. They appeared, in short, frighted to death, at least so as to sit trembling and stupid, and not able to speak neither, for the smoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had the other, and all without any noise. I should have said, we brought them out of the house, or hut, first; for, indeed, we were not able to bear the smoke any more than they were. When we had done this, we carried them altogether to the idol: when we came there we fell to work with him; and first we daubed him all over, and his robes also, with tar, and such other stuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimstone; then we stopped his eyes, and ears, and mouth full of gunpowder; then we wrapped up a great piece of wildfire in his bonnet; and then sticking all the combustibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to see if we could find any thing else to help to burn him; when my Scotsman remembered that by the tent, or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether straw or rushes I do not remember: away he and the other Scotsman ran, and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our prisoners, and brought them, having untied their feet and ungagged their mouths, and made them stand up, and set them just before their monstrous idol, and then set fire to the whole.

We stayed by it a quarter of an hour, or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and, as we could perceive, had split and deformed the shape of it; and, in a word, till we saw it burnt into a mere block or log of wood; and then setting the dry forage to it, we found it would be soon quite consumed; so we began to think of going away; but the Scotsman said, No, we must not go, for these poor deluded wretches will all throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with the idol.—So we resolved to stay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away and left them.

In the morning we appeared among our fellow-travellers, exceeding busy in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man suggest that we had been any where but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigues of that day's journey.

But it did not end so; for the next day came a great multitude of the country people, not only of this village, but of a hundred more, for aught I know, to the town-gates; and in a most outrageous manner demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor, for the insulting their priests, and burning their great Cham-Chi-Thaungu; such a hard name they gave the monstrous creature they worshipped. The people of Nertzinskay were at first in a great consternation; for they said the Tartars were no less than thirty thousand, and that in a few days more they would be one hundred thousand stronger.

The Russian governor sent out messengers to appease them, and gave them all the good words imaginable. He assured them he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a soul of his garrison been abroad; that it could not be from any body there; and if they would let him know who it was, he should be exemplarily punished. They returned haughtily, That all the country reverenced the great Cham-Chi-Thaungu, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image, but some Christian miscreants; so they called them, it seems; and they therefore denounced war against him, and all the Russians, who, they said, were miscreants and Christians.

The governor, still patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cause of war alleged to be given by him, the czar having straitly charged him to treat the conquered country with gentleness and civility, gave them still all the good words he could; at last he told them, there was a caravan gone towards Russia that morning, and perhaps it was some of them who had done them this injury; and that, if they would be satisfied with that, he would send after them, to inquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little; and accordingly the governor sent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was, intimating withal, that if any in our caravan had done it, they should make their escape; but that whether they had done it, or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible; and that in the mean time he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor. However, when it came to the caravan, there was nobody knew any thing of the matter; and, as for us that were guilty, we were the least of all suspected: none so much as asked us the question; however the captain of the caravan, for the time, took the hint that the governor gave us, and we marched or travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called Plothus; nor did we make any long stop here, but hastened on towards Jarawena, another of the czar of Muscovy's colonies, and where we expected we should be safe; but it is to be observed, that here we began, for two or three days march, to enter upon a vast nameless desart, of which I shall say more in its place; and which if we had now been upon it, it is more than probable

we had been all destroyed. It was the second day's march from Plothus, that, by the clouds of dust behind us at a great distance, some of our people began to be sensible we were pursued; we had entered the desart, and had passed by a great lake, called Schanks Osier, when we perceived a very great body of horse appear on the other side of the lake to the north, we travelling west. We observed they went away west, as we did; but had supposed we should have taken that side of the lake, whereas we very happily took the south side: and in two days more we saw them not, for they, believing we were still before them, pushed on, till they came to the river Udda: this is a very great river when it passes farther north, but when we came to it, we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day they either found their mistake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us towards the dusk of the evening. We had, to our great satisfaction, just pitched upon a place for our camp, which was very convenient for the night; for as we were upon a desart, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and, indeed, expected none but the city of Jarawena, which we had yet two days march to; the desart, however, had some few woods in it on this side, and little rivers, which ran all into the great river Udda. It was in a narrow strait, between two small but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked in the night.

Nobody knew but ourselves what we were pursued for; but as it was usual for the Mogul Tartars to go about in troops in that desart, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them, as against armies of robbers; and it was therefore no new thing to be pursued.

But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a most advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running just before our front; so that we could not be surrounded or attacked any way, but in our front or rear: we took care also to make our front as strong as we could, by placing our packs, with our camels and horses, all in a line on the side of the river, and we felled some trees in our rear.

In this posture we encamped for the night; but the enemy was upon us before we had finished our situation: they did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them, that had abused their priests, and burnt their god Cham-Chi-Thaungu, that they might burn them with fire; and, upon this, they said, they would go away, and do us no farther harm, otherwise they would burn us all with fire. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another, to see who looked with most guilt in their faces, but *nobody* was the word, nobody did it. The leader of the caravan sent word, he was well assured it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants, travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one else; and therefore they must look farther for their enemies, who had injured them, for we were not the people; so desired them not to disturb us; for, if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer, and a great crowd of them came down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but, seeing us in such an advantageous situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood, and showed us such a number, as, indeed, terrified us very much; for those that spoke least of them, spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood, and looked at us a while, and then setting up a great howl, they let fly a cloud of arrows among us; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we were sheltered under our baggage; and I do not remember that one man of us was hurt.

Some time after this we saw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a Cossack, as they call them, of Jarawena, in the pay of the Muscovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him, I will send all these people away to Sibeilka. This was a city four or five days journey at least to the south, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows, and, getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were, back to Nertzinskay; after this, he takes a great circuit about, and comes to the army of the Tartars, as if he had been sent express to tell them a long story, that the people who had burnt their Cham-Chi-Thaungu were gone to Sibeilka, with a caravan of miscreants, as he called them; that is to say, Christians; and that they were resolved to burn the god Scal Isarg, belonging to the Tonguses.

As this fellow was a mere Tartar, and perfectly spoke their language, he counterfeited so well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove, in a most violent hurry, to Sibeilka, which, it seems, was five days journey to the south; and in less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them, nor ever knew whether they went to that other place called Sibeilka or no.

So we passed safely on to the city of Jarawena, where there was a garrison of Muscovites; and there we rested five days, the

caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the last day's march, and with want of rest in the night.

From this city we had a frightful desart, which held us three-and-twenty days march. We furnished ourselves with some tents here, for the better accommodating ourselves in the night; and the leader of the caravan procured sixteen carriages, or waggons, of the country, for carrying our water and provisions; and these carriages were our defence every night round our little camp; so that had the Tartars appeared, unless they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be supposed to want rest again after this long journey; for in this desart we saw neither house or tree, or scarce a bush; we saw, indeed, abundance of the sable-hunters, as they called them. These are all Tartars of the Mogul Tartary, of which this country is a part, and they frequently attack small caravans; but we saw no numbers of them together. I was curious to see the sable-skins they catched; but I could never speak with any of them: for they durst not come near us; neither durst we straggle from our company to go near them.

After we had passed this desart, we came into a country pretty well inhabited; that is to say, we found towns and castles settled by the czar of Muscovy, with garrisons of stationary soldiers to protect the caravans, and defend the country against the Tartars, who would otherwise make it very dangerous travelling; and his czarish majesty has given such strict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any Tartars heard of in the country, detachments of the garrison are always sent to see travellers safe from station to station.

And thus the governor of Adinskoy, whom I had an opportunity to make a visit to, by means of the Scots merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next station.

I thought long before this, that as we came nearer to Europe we should find the country better peopled, and the people more civilized; but I found myself mistaken in both, for we had yet the nation of the Tonguses to pass through, where we saw the same tokens of paganism and barbarity, or worse, than before, only as they were conquered by the Muscovites, and entirely reduced, they were not so dangerous; but for the rudeness of manners, idolatry, and polytheism, no people in the world ever went beyond them. They are clothed all in skins of beasts, and their houses are built of the same. You know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedness of their countenances, or their clothes; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, they live under ground, in houses like vaults, which have cavities or caves going from one to another.

If the Tartars had their Cham-Chi-Thaungen for a whole village, or country, these had idols in every hut and every cave; besides, they worship the stars, the sun, the water, the snow; and, in a word, every thing that they do not understand, and they understand but very little; so that almost every element, every uncommon thing, sets them a-sacrificing.

But I am no more to describe people than countries, any farther than my own story comes to be concerned in them. I met with nothing peculiar to myself in all this country, which I reckon was, from the desart which I spoke of last, at least four hundred miles, half of it being another desart, which took us up twelve days severe travelling, without house, tree, or bush; but we were obliged again to carry our own provisions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this desart, and had travelled two days, we came to Janezay, a Muscovite city or station, on the great river Janezay. This river, they told us, parted Europe from Asia, though our map-makers, as I am told, do not agree to it; however, it is certainly the eastern boundary of the ancient Siberia, which now makes a province only of the vast Muscovite empire, but is itself equal in bigness to the whole empire of Germany.

And yet here I observed ignorance and paganism still prevailed, except in the Muscovite garrisons. All the country between the river Oby and the river Janezay is as entirely pagan, and the people as barbarous, as the remotest of the Tartars; nay, as any nation, for aught I know, in Asia or America. I also found, which I observed to the Muscovite governors, whom I had opportunity to converse with, that the pagans are not much the wiser, or the nearer Christianity, for being under the Muscovite government: which they acknowledged was true enough, but, they said, it was none of their business; that if the czar expected to convert his Siberian, or Tonguese, or Tartar subjects, it should be done by sending clergymen among them, not soldiers; and they added, with more sincerity than I expected, that they found it was not so much the concern of their monarch to make the people Christians, as it was to make them subjects.

From this river to the great river Oby, we crossed a wild uncultivated country; I cannot say it is a barbarous soil; it is only barren of people, and wants good management; otherwise it is in itself a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except

such as are sent among them from Russia; for this is the country, I mean on both sides the river Oby, whither the Muscovite criminals, that are not put to death, are banished, and from whence it is next to impossible they should ever come away.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs, till I came to Tobolski, the capital of Siberia, where I continued some time on the following occasion:—

We had been now almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace; whereupon my partner and I called a council about our particular affairs, in which we found it proper, considering that we were bound for England, and not for Moscow, to consider how to dispose of ourselves. They told us of sledges and rein-deer to carry us over the snow in the winter-time; and indeed, they have such things as it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the Russians travel more in the winter than they can in summer; because in these sledges they are able to run night and day: the snow being frozen, is one universal covering to nature, by which the hills, the vales, the rivers, the lakes, are all smooth and hard as a stone; and they run upon the surface, without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occasion to push at a winter journey of this kind; I was bound to England, not to Moscow, and my route lay two ways: either I must go on as the caravan went, till I came to Jarislaw, and then go off west for Narva, and the Gulf of Finland, and so either by sea or land to Dantzic, where I might possibly sell my China cargo to good advantage; or I must leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, from whence I had but six days by water to Archangel, and from thence might be sure of shipping, either to England, Holland, or Hamburgh.

Now to go any of these journies in the winter would have been preposterous; for, as to Dantzic, the Baltic would be frozen up, and I could not get passage; and to go by land in those countries, would be far less safe than among the Mogul Tartars; likewise to Archangel, in October all the ships would be gone from thence, and even the merchants, who dwell there in summer, retire south to Moscow in the winter, when the ships are gone; so that I should have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a scarcity of provisions, and must lie there in an empty town all the winter: so that, upon the whole, I thought it much my better way to let the caravan go, and to make provision to winter where I was, viz. at Tobolski, in Siberia, in the latitude of sixty degrees, where I was sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz. plenty of provisions, such as the country afforded, a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company; of all which I shall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved island, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear my clothes on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, for my necessity, in dressing my food, &c. Now I made me three good vests, with large robes or gowns over them to hang down to the feet, and button close to the wrists, and all these lined with furs, to make them sufficiently warm.

As to a warm house, I must confess, I greatly dislike our way in England, of making fires in every room in the house, in open chimnies, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate. But taking an apartment in a good house in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of six several rooms, like a stove; the funnel to carry the smoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire seen; like as they heat the bagnios in England.

By this means we had always the same climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preserved; and how cold soever it was without, it was always warm within; and yet we saw no fire, nor were ever incommoded with any smoke.

The most wonderful thing of all was, that it should be possible to meet with good company here in a country so barbarous as that of the most northerly part of Europe, near the Frozen Ocean, and within but a very few degrees of Nova Zembla.

But this being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy, as I observed before, are all banished; this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels, and, in short, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, soldiery, and courtiers of Muscovy: Here were the famous prince Gallifken, or Galoffken, and his son; the old general Robostisky, and several other persons of note, and some ladies.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*Conversations with a Russian Grandee—Set out on my Journey homewards—Harassed by Kalmucks on the Road—Arrival at Archangel—Sail from thence, and arrive safely in England.*

By means of my Scots merchant, whom, nevertheless, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance with several of these gentlemen,

and some of them of the first rank: and from these, in the long winter nights, in which I staid here, I received several agreeable visits. It was talking one night with a certain prince, one of the banished ministers of state belonging to the czar of Muscovy, that my talk of my particular case began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things, of the greatness, the magnificence, and dominions, and the absolute power of the emperor of the Russians. I interrupted him, and told him, I was a greater and more powerful prince than ever the czar of Muscovy was, though my dominions were not so large, nor my people so many. The Russian grandee looked a little surprised, and fixing his eyes steadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant.

I told him his wonder would cease when I had explained myself. First, I told him, I had the absolute disposal of the lives and fortunes of all my subjects: that notwithstanding my absolute power, I had not one person disaffected to my government, or to my person, in all my dominions. He shook his head at that, and said, there, indeed, I outdid the czar of Muscovy. I told him, that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my subjects were not only my tenants, but tenants at will; that they would all fight for me to the last drop; and that never tyrant, for such I acknowledged myself to be, was ever so universally beloved, and yet so horribly feared, by his subjects.

After amusing them with these riddles in government for a while, I opened the case, and told them the story at large of my living in the island, and how I managed both myself and the people there that were under me, just as I have since minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the story, and especially the prince, who told me with a sigh, that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves; that he would not have changed such a state of life as mine, to have been czar of Muscovy; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he seemed to be banished to there, than ever he found in the highest authority he enjoyed in the court of his master the czar: that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest storm without. When he came first hither, he said, he used to tear the hair from his head, and the clothes from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and consideration had made him look into himself, as well as round himself, to things without: that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the state of universal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself, fully satisfying to itself, and suitable to its own best ends and desires, with but very little assistance from the world; that air to breathe in, food to sustain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exercise, in order to health, completed, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us: and though the greatness, the authority, the riches, and the pleasures, which some enjoyed in the world, and which he had enjoyed his share of, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet he observed, that all those things chiefly gratified the coarsest of our affections; such as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our sensuality; all which were, indeed, the mere product of the worst part of man, were in themselves crimes, and had in them the seeds of all manner of crimes; but neither were related to, or concerned with, any of those virtues that constituted us wise men, or of those graces which distinguished us as Christians: that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity which he enjoyed in the full exercise of all those vices, he said, he was at leisure to look upon the dark side of them, where he found all manner of deformity; and was now convinced, that virtue only makes a man truly wise, rich, and great, and preserves him in the way to a superior happiness in a future state; and in this, he said, they were more happy in their banishment, than all their enemies were, who had the full possession of all the wealth and power that they (the banished) had left behind them.

Nor, sir, said he, do I bring my mind to this politically, by the necessity of my circumstances, which some call miserable; but if I know any thing of myself, I would not go back, no, not though my master, the czar, should call me, and offer to reinstate me in all my former grandeur; I say, I would no more go back to it, than I believe my soul when it shall be delivered from this prison of the body, and has had a taste of the glorious state beyond life, would come back to the gaol of flesh and blood it is now enclosed in, and leave Heaven to deal in the dirt and grime of human affairs.

He spake this with so much warmth in his temper, so much earnestness and motion of his spirits, which were apparent in his countenance, that it was evident it was the true sense of his soul; and indeed there was no room to doubt his sincerity.

I told him, I once thought myself a kind of a monarch in my old station, of which I had given him an account, but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant desires, and has the absolute dominion over himself, and whose reason ex-

tirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. But, my lord, said I, shall I take the liberty to ask you a question?—With all my heart, said he.—If the door of your liberty was opened, said I, would not you take hold of it to deliver yourself from this exile?

Hold, said he, your question is subtle, and requires some serious just distinctions to give it a sincere answer; and I'll give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myself from the state of banishment, except these two: first, the enjoyment of my relations; and, secondly, a little warmer climate. But I protest to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a minister of state; the wealth, the piety, and the pleasures, that is to say, follies of a courtier; if my master should send me word this moment, that he restores me to all he banished me from, I protest, if I know myself at all, I would not leave this wilderness, these desarts, and these frozen lakes, for the palace of Moscow.

But, my lord, said I, perhaps you not only are banished from the pleasures of the court, and from the power, and authority, and wealth, you enjoyed before, but you may be absent too from some of the conveniences of life; your estate, perhaps, confiscated, and your effects plundered; and the supplies left you here may not be suitable to the ordinary demands of life.

Ay, said he, that is, as you suppose me to be a lord, or a prince, &c. So indeed I am; but you are now to consider me only as a man, a human creature, not at all distinguished from another; and so I can suffer no want, unless I should be visited with sickness and distempers. However, to put the question out of dispute; you see our manner; we are in this place five persons of rank; we live perfectly retired, as suited to a state of banishment; we have something rescued from the shipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere necessity of hunting for our food; but the poor soldiers, who are here without that help, live in as much plenty as we. They go into the woods, and catch sables and foxes; the labour of a month will maintain them a year; and as the way of living is not expensive, so it is not hard to get sufficient to ourselves: so that objection is out of doors.

I have no room to give a full account of the most agreeable conversation I had with this truly great man; in all which he showed, that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion, as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark dreadful winter I thought it to be. The cold was so intense, that I could not so much as look abroad without being wrapt in furs, and a mask of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only a hole for breath, and two for sight. The little day-light we had, was, as we reckoned, for three months, not above five hours a day, or six at most; only that snow lying on the ground continually, and the weather being clear, it was never quite dark. Our horses were kept (or rather starved) under ground; and as for our servants (for we hired servants here to look after our horses and ourselves,) we had every now and then their fingers and toes to thaw, and take care of, lest they should mortify and fall off.

It is true, within doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, the lights small, and the glass all double. Our food was chiefly the flesh of deer, dried and cured in the season; good bread enough, but baked as biscuits; dried fish of several sorts, and some flesh of mutton, and of buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the stores of provision for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured. Our drink was water mixed with aquavitæ instead of brandy; and, for a treat, mead instead of wine; which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who ventured abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fresh venison, very fat and good; and sometimes bear's flesh, but we did not much care for the last. We had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends as above; and, in a word, we lived very chearfully and well, all things considered.

It was now March, and the days grown considerably longer, and the weather at least tolerable; so other travellers began to prepare sledges to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going; but my measures being fixed, as I have said, for Archangel, and not for Muscovy or the Baltic, I made no motion, knowing very well, that the ships from the south do not set out for that part of the world till May or June; and that if I was there at the beginning of August, it would be as soon as any ships would be ready to go away; and therefore, I say, I made no haste to be gone, as others did; in a word, I saw a great many people, nay, all the travellers, go away before me. It seems, every year they go from thence to Moscow for trade; viz. to carry furs, and buy necessaries with them, which they bring back to furnish their shops: also others went on the same errand to Archangel; but then they also, being to come back again above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In short, about the latter end of May I began to make all ready to pack up; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me, that seeing all these people were banished by the czar of Muscovy to Siberia, and yet, when they came there, were at liberty to go whither they would, why did they not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit? and I began to examine what should hinder them from making such an attempt.

But my wonder was over, when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus: Consider, first, said he, the place where we are; and, secondly, the condition we are in; especially, said he, the generality of people who are banished hither. We are surrounded with stronger things than bars and bolts: on the north side is an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam; neither, if we had both, could we know whither to go with them. Every other way, said he, we have above a thousand miles to pass through the czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly impassable, except by the roads made by the government, and through the towns garrisoned by its troops; so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, or subsist any other way; so that it is in vain to attempt it.

I was silenced, indeed, at once, and found that they were in a prison, every jot as secure as if they had been locked up in the castle of Moscow; however, it came into my thoughts, that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person, and that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to Moscow, but to Archangel, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desart, but could encamp every night where I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to Archangel, where I could immediately secure him on board an English or Dutch ship, and carry him off safe along with me; and as to his subsistence, and other particulars, that should be my care, till he should better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face, that what I said put his spirits into an exceeding ferment; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance; nor could he immediately answer me when I had done, and, as it were, expected what he would say to it; and after he had paused a little, he embraced me, and said, How unhappy are we, unguided creatures as we are, that even our greatest acts of friendship are made snares to us, and we are made tempters of one another! My dear friend, said he, your offer is so sincere, has such kindness in it, is so disinterested in itself, and is so calculated for my advantage, that I must have very little knowledge of the world, if I did not both wonder at it, and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it: but did you believe I was sincere in what I have so often said to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I spoke my very soul to you, and that I had really maintained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me, or do for me? Did you believe I was sincere, when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to be all that once I was in the court, and with the favour of the czar my master? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honest man, or did you think me to be a boasting hypocrite?—Here he stopped, as if he would hear what I would say; but, indeed, I soon after perceived, that he stopped because his spirits were in motion; his heart was full of struggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confess, astonished at the thing, as well as at the man, and I used some arguments with him to urge him to set himself free; that he ought to look upon this as a door opened by Heaven for his deliverance, and a summons by Providence, who has the care and good disposition of all events, to do himself good, and to render himself useful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himself. How do you know, sir, said he, warmly, but that, instead of a summons from Heaven, it may be a feint of another instrument, representing, in all the alluring colours to me, the show of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itself be my snare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness; there I am not sure, but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in my nature, may revive and take root, and, in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy prisoner, whom you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full possession of all personal liberty. Dear sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement, banished from the crimes of life, rather than purchase a show of freedom at the expense of the liberty of my reason, and at the expense of the future happiness which now I have in my view, but shall then, I fear, quickly lose sight of; for I am but flesh, a man, a mere man, have passions and affections as likely to possess and overthrow me as any man: O be not my friend and my tempter both together!

If I was surprised before, I was quite dumb now, and stood silent, looking at him; and,

indeed, admired what I saw. The struggle in his soul was so great, that, though the weather was extremely cold, it put him into a most violent sweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; so I said a word or two, that I would leave him to consider of it, and wait on him again; and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after, I heard somebody at or near the door of the room, and I was going to open the door; but he had opened it, and come in: My dear friend, said he, you had almost overset me, but I am recovered: do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer; I assure you, it is not for want of a sense of the kindness of it in you; and I come to make the most sincere acknowledgment of it to you; but, I hope, I have got the victory over myself.

My lord, said I, I hope you are fully satisfied, that you did not resist the call of Heaven. —Sir, said he, if it had been from Heaven, the same power would have influenced me to accept it; but I hope, and am fully satisfied, that it is from Heaven that I decline it; and I have an infinite satisfaction in the parting, that you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man.

I had nothing to do but to acquiesce, and make profession to him of my having no end in it, but a sincere desire to serve him. He embraced me very passionately, and assured me, he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it: and with that he offered me a very fine present of sables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumstances; and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused.

The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship, with a small present of tea, two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of Japan gold, which did not all weigh above six ounces, or thereabouts; but were far short of the value of his sables, which indeed, when I came to England, I found worth near two hundred pounds. He accepted the tea, and one piece of the damask, and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it, of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more; and sent word by my servant, that he desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, he told me, I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that, since I made such a generous offer to him, he asked me, if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person that he would name to me, in whom he had a great share of concern. I told him, that I could not say I inclined to do so much for any one but himself, for whom I had a particular value, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance: however, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him my answer, and hoped he would not be displeased with me, if he was with my answer. He told me, it was only his son, who, though I had not seen, yet was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the Oby; but that, if I consented, he would send for him.

I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it. I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly upon his account; and that seeing I could not prevail on him, I would show my respect to him by my concern for his son: but these things are tedious to repeat here. He sent away the next day for his son, and in about twenty days he came back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value.

His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance till night, when he came *incognito* into our apartment, and his father presented him to me; and, in short, we concerted there the manner of our travelling, and every thing proper for the journey.

I had bought a considerable quantity of sables, black fox-skins, fine ermins, and such other furs that are very rich; I say, I had bought them in that city for exchange for some of the goods brought from China; in particular, for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I sold the greatest part here; and the rest afterwards at Archangel, for a much better price than I could have done at London; and my partner, who was sensible of the profit, and whose business, more particularly than mine, was merchandise, was mightily pleased with our stay, on account of the traffic we made here.

It was in the beginning of June when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and, indeed, it is so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be much talked of. We were now come to a very small caravan, being only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them. It was most natural also, that I should take more servants with me than I had before, and the young lord passed for my steward; what great man I passed for myself I know not, neither did it concern me to inquire. We had here the worst and the largest desart to pass over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worst, because the way was very deep in some places, and very uneven in

others; the best we had to say for it was, that we thought we had no troops of Tartars and robbers to fear, and that they never came on this side the river Oby, or at least but very seldom; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had with him a faithful Muscovite servant, or rather a Siberian servant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country; and who led us by private roads, that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, such as Tumen, Soloy Kamaskoy, and several others; because the Muscovite garrisons, which are kept there, are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers, and searching lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into Muscovy; but by this means as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was a desart, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had good accommodation in the cities on the way: this the young lord was so sensible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad, when we came to several cities on the way; but lay abroad himself, with his servant, in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were just entered Europe, having passed the river Kama, which, in these parts, is the boundary between Europe and Asia; and the first city on the European side was called Soloy Kamaskoy, which is as much as to say, the great city on the river Kama; and here we thought to have seen some evident alteration in the people, their manners, their habit, their religion, and their business; but we were mistaken; for as we had a vast desart to pass, which by relation is near seven hundred miles long in some places, but not above two hundred miles over where we passed it; so, till we came past that horrible place, we found very little difference between that country, and the Mogul Tartary; the people mostly Pagans, and little better than the savages of America; their houses and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them; where they are Christians, as they call themselves, of the Greek church; but even these have their religion mingled with so many relics of superstition, that it is scarce to be known in some places from mere sorcery and witchcraft.

In passing this forest, I thought indeed we must, after all our dangers were, in our imagination, escaped, as before, have been plundered, and robbed, and perhaps murdered, by a troop of thieves: of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the Ostiachi, a kind of Tartars, or wild people on the banks of the Oby, had ranged thus far; or whether they were the sable-hunters of Siberia, I am yet at a loss to know; but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about five-and-forty in number. They came so near to us as within about two musket-shot; and, asking no questions, they surrounded us with their horses, and looked very earnestly upon us twice. At length they placed themselves just in our way; upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus, we halted, and sent out the Siberian servant who attended his lord, to see who they were: his master was the more willing to let him go, because he was not a little apprehensive that they were a Siberian troop sent out after him. The man came up near them with a flag of truce, and called to them; but though he spoke several of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not understand a word they said; however, after some signs to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, so he said he understood them to mean, offering to shoot at him if he advanced, the fellow came back no wiser than he went, only that by their dress, he said, he believed them to be some Tartars of Kalmuck, or of the Circassian hordes; and that there must be more of them on the great desart, though he never heard that ever any of them were seen so far north before.

This was small comfort to us; however, we had no remedy: there was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile's distance, a little grove or clump of trees, which stood close together, and very near the road; I immediately resolved we should advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there; for, first, I considered that the trees would in a great measure cover us from their arrows; and in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body: it was, indeed, my old Portugueze pilot who proposed it; and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readiest and most apt to direct and encourage us in case of the most danger. We advanced immediately with what speed we could, and gained that little wood, the Tartars, or thieves, for we knew not what to call them, keeping their stand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found, to our great satisfaction, that it was a swampy, springy piece of ground, and, on the other side, a great spring of water, which, running out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther joined by another of the like bigness; and was, in short, the head or source of a considerable river, called afterwards the Wirtska. The trees which grew about this spring, were not in all above two hundred, but were very large, and stood pretty thick: so that as soon as we got

is, we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they alighted and attacked us on foot.

But to make this more difficult, our Portuguese, with indefatigable application, cut down great arms of the trees, and laid them hanging, not cut quite off, from one tree to another; so that he made a continued fence almost round us.

We staid here, waiting the motion of the enemy some hours, without perceiving they made any offer to stir; when about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us; and, though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by some more of the same, so that they were near fourscore horse, whereof, however, we fancied some were women. They came on till they were within half a shot of our little wood, when we fired one musket without ball, and called to them in the Russian tongue, to know what they wanted, and bid them keep off; but, as if they knew nothing of what we said, they came on with a double fury directly up to the wood side, not imagining we were so barricaded, that they could not break in. Our old pilot was our captain, as well as he had been our engineer; and desired of us, not to fire upon them till they came within pistol-shot, that we might be sure to kill; and that, when we did fire, we should be sure to take good aim. We bade him give the word of command, which he delayed so long, that they were, some of them, within two pikes length of us when we fired.

We aimed so true (or Providence directed our shot so sure,) that we killed fourteen of them at the first volley, and wounded several others, as also several of their horses; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets apiece at least.

They were terribly surprised with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us; in which time we loaded our pieces again, and seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out, and caught four or five of their horses, whose riders, we supposed, were killed; and coming up to the dead, we could easily perceive they were Tartars, but knew not from what country, or how they came to make an excursion such an unusual length.

About an hour after, they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood, to see where else they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again, and we resolved not to stir from the place for that night.

We slept little, you may be sure; but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood; and, keeping a strict watch, we waited for daylight, and, when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed: for the enemy, who we thought were discouraged with the reception they had met with, were now increased to no less than three hundred, and had set up eleven or twelve huts and tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us: and this little camp they had pitched, was upon the open plain, at about three quarters of a mile from us. We were indeed surprised at this discovery; and now, I confess, I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had. The loss of my effects did not lie so near me (though they were very considerable,) as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such barbarians, at the latter end of my journey, after so many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through; and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As for my partner, he was raging: he declared, that to lose his goods would be his ruin; and he would rather die than be starved; and he was for fighting to the last drop.

The young lord, as gallant as ever flesh showed itself, was for fighting to the last also; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to resist them all, in the situation we then were in: and thus we spent the day in debates of what we should do; but towards evening, we found that the number of our enemies still increased: perhaps, as they were abroad in several parties for prey, the first had sent out scouts to call for help, and to acquaint them of their booty; and we did not know but by the morning they might still be a greater number; so I began to inquire of those people we had brought from Tobolski, if there were no other, or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps either retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desart.

The Siberian, who was servant to the young lord, told us, if we designed to avoid them, and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night to a way that went north towards the river Petraz, by which he made no doubt but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiser; but he said, his lord had told him he would not return, but would rather choose to fight. I told him, he mistook his lord; for that he was too wise a man to love fighting for the sake of it; that I knew his lord was brave enough by what he had showed already; but that his lord knew better than to desire to have seventeen or eighteen men fight five hundred, unless an unavoidable necessity forced them to it; and that if he thought it possible for us to escape in the night, we had nothing else to do but to attempt it. He answered, if his

lord gave him such order, he would lose his life if he did not perform it. We soon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And first, as soon as it began to be dark, we kindled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were still there; but, as soon as it was dark, that is to say, so as we could see the stars, (for our guide would not stir before,) having all our horses and camels ready loaded, we followed our new guide, who, I soon found, steered himself by the pole or north star, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard, it began to be lighter still; not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise; so that, in short, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be: but by six o'clock next morning we were gotten near forty miles, though the truth is, we almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a Russian village, named Kirmazinskoy, where we rested, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so hastily as before; and about seven o'clock we passed a little river, called Kirtza, and came to a good large town inhabited by Russians, and very populous, called Ozomys. There we heard, that several troops or herds of Kalmucks had been abroad upon the desart, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great satisfaction, you may be sure. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses, and having need enough of rest, we staid five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest Siberian, who brought us hither, the value of ten pistoles for his conducting us.

In five days more we came to Veussima, upon the river Witzogda, which running into the river Dwina, we were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in seven days passage to Archangel. From hence we came to Lawrenskoy, where the river joins, the third of July; and provided ourselves with two luggage-boats, and a barge, for our convenience. We embarked the seventh, and arrived all safe at Archangel the eighteenth, having been a year, five months, and three days on the journey, including our stay of eight months and odd days at Tobolski.

We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer, had not a Hamburgher come in above a month sooner than any of the English ships; when, after some consideration, that the city of Hamburgh might happen to be as good a market for our goods as London, we all took freight with him; and having put our goods on board, it was most natural for me to put my steward on board to take care of them; by which means my young lord had a sufficient opportunity to conceal himself, never coming on shore again in all the time we staid there; and this he did, that he might not be seen in the city, where some of the Moscow merchants would certainly have seen and discovered him.

We sailed from Archangel the twentieth of August the same year; and, after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived in the Elbe the thirteenth of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of China, as the sables, &c. of Siberia; and dividing the produce of our effects, my share amounted to 3475*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* notwithstanding so many losses we had sustained, and charges we had been at; only remembering that I had included, in this, about 600*l.* worth of diamonds, which I had purchased at Bengal.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the Elbe, in order to go to the court of Vienna, where he resolved to seek protection, and where he could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the testimonies he could give, of gratitude for the service I had done him, and his sense of my kindness to the prince his father.

To conclude: having staid near four months in Hamburgh, I came from thence over land to the Hague, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in London the tenth of January 1705, having been gone from England ten years and nine months.

And here, resolving to harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learnt sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.

END OF THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

THE

# CAPACITY AND EXTENT

OF

# THE HUMAN UNDERSTANDING;

EXEMPLIFIED

IN THE EXTRAORDINARY CASE

OF

## AUTOMATHES,

A YOUNG NOBLEMAN,

WHO WAS ACCIDENTALLY LEFT IN HIS INFANCY
UPON A DESOLATE ISLAND, AND CONTINUED NINETEEN YEARS IN THAT
SOLITARY STATE, SEPARATE FROM ALL HUMAN SOCIETY.

THE

# HISTORY OF AUTOMATHES.

During my abode in my native county of Cumberland, in quality of an indigent curate, I used, now and then in a summer, when the pleasantness of the season invited, to take a solitary walk to the sea-shore, which lies about two miles from the town where I lived. Here I would amuse myself, one while in viewing, at large, the agreeable prospect which surrounded me; and another while (confining my sight to nearer objects) in admiring the vast variety of beautiful shells thrown upon the beach, some of the choicest of which I always picked up, to divert my little ones upon my return. One time, among the rest, taking such a journey in my head, I sat down upon the declivity of the beach, with my face towards the sea, which was now come up within a few yards of my feet, when immediately the sad thoughts of the wretched condition of my family, and the unsuccessfulness of all endeavours to amend it, came crowding into my mind, which drove me into a deep melancholy, and ever and anon forced tears from my eyes. I had not long continued in this pensive mood, ere I was diverted from it by the sight, as I imagined, of a small cylindrical trunk, about a foot long, rolling along with the tide, just below where I sat, with a key tied to the handle. I stepped into the water, to seize the supposed prize, which, upon opening, I found to contain nothing but a kind of written journal, rolled up, belonging (as I then conjectured) to some shipwrecked mariner; but, notwithstanding all the care that had been taken to keep it dry, a great part (of the beginning especially) seemed to be quite obliterated with the salt water; the leaves would not bear opening, without being torn to pieces: so that, though my curiosity was sufficiently raised to know what was contained in a manuscript which had fallen after so strange a manner into my hands, yet I was forced, for that time, to return it into its former receptacle, and wait till a fitter opportunity offered.

Within three or four days afterwards, by proper endeavours, I brought the greatest part of those sheets to a condition of being read, when, from the beginning, which had received most damage, I here and there picked out what was sufficient to inform me, that it had been the writing of an English priest of the order of St Benedict, as long ago as the year 1614, who was then expelled, among the rest of the Romish missionaries, out of the island of Japan; and himself had the fortune to embark in a ship bound for Panama, on the west coast of America, which foundered within sight of an unknown country, in latitude 39 degrees 15 minutes north, and about 176 degrees west longitude from London, where they all got safe ashore, by help of their boat, and a rafter made out of their masts and yards.

It will easily be imagined how much my surprise was increased upon this discovery. The hand-writing bespoke itself to be a work of the above-mentioned date, so that the writer himself had been, questionless, dead many years before. But by what ways and means this manuscript had travelled hither from a region so remote, to be found, in so odd a manner, above one hundred years afterwards, this seemed altogether unaccountable.

The sum of what followed was a relation of what befel the author in this distant country; which, so far as it was perfectly legible, regarded chiefly the person whose name I have inserted in the title page. The country he called Soteria, whose inhabitants were found to be, not only a civilized white people, but a nation of Christians; and such Christians, as, according to his description, are not to be paralleled by any particular church at this time in the known world, if a steady adherence to the apostolical doctrine and discipline in their original purity, and a strict conformity of practice and profession, may be allowed to be the glory of a church. The rest, therefore, I shall deliver in his own words, abating a few obsolete expressions, which here and there occurred; and I hope

the judicious reader will think his labour as well bestowed in the perusal of it, as I myself did in preparing it, as well as I could, for the press.

From our first arrival in this remote country, which was now about three months ago, the loss of our ship (as I before observed) had deprived us of all visible hopes of ever returning again to our respective homes. But the excessive generosity and good nature with which we were always treated by our new acquaintance, the perfect agreeableness of their society, the unlooked-for elegance of our entertainment, the exceeding delightfulness of the country, and the uninterrupted health we continually enjoyed in it; all these, put together, (so far as it was in the power of earthly enjoyments) could hardly miss of diverting us from every ungrateful remembrance, and rendering our lives easy and comfortable. Those, indeed, of our ship's company, who had wives or children to take care for, had, doubtless, frequent relentings in the midst of all these blessings, from the dread they conceived for the loss or misery which this remediless separation might occasion. But they had the most sovereign antidote in the world, to break off the violence of all such swelling resentments, from those religious exercises which they were daily provoked to, by the devout example of the people among whom Providence had now happily placed them. This convinced them of the error and folly of all such desponding thoughts, and showed them, that God had placed the well-being of none of his creatures in an absolute dependance upon the good or bad fortune of another; but when himself thought fit, that one of his instruments should fail in any respect, he had always provided another in readiness to supply the deficiency: though the event proved that they had no other ground for anxiety about their return, than what the dangers of the seas, and the remoteness of their respective abodes from hence, had rendered unavoidable; for, as soon as our designs were made known to the governor of the port to which we were now removed, he assured us, that two of his best ships should be fitted out for our purpose, which could not detain us much above two months longer.

It will easily be judged how acceptable this kind offer was to our company, and how thankfully it was embraced; so deeply rooted is the love and esteem which most men have for their native country, how poorly soever they have lived in it. The sailors unanimously offered their assistance to hasten the finishing of the work; and, had that been permitted, as it was not, we should have been ready for sailing much sooner.

The time, therefore, of our continuance here being likely to be but short, in comparison to what we at first expected, myself, with five of my fellow-missionaries, resolved to spend the remainder of it in gaining the most perfect information we could concerning the history and original of this, till now, unheard-of country, and by what means they had received the Christian faith; but, above all, we were desirous to be acquainted with the reason how it came to pass, that the language of this people should be pure Greek. This, as has been already remarked, was all along a matter of the greatest wonder to us, and beyond our comprehension to account for.

The civil government here was before said to be monarchical, and of so happy a constitution, that justice, equity, and good order seemed to have fled from all other parts of the world to take up their residence in this remote corner. And this felicity seemed to be entirely owing to the excellent pattern which it always had before its eyes from the government ecclesiastical; though these two powers, as such, in their several provinces, had not the least dependance upon one another. The church utterly disclaimed all intermeddling with secular affairs, and the state was as far from concerning itself with such authority as was purely spiritual. Each of these authorities was acknowledged to be divine in its original, but designed for quite different ends: the secular government, to secure mens well-being in this world; and the spiritual, to prepare them for the next. And, therefore, it was here thought absolutely necessary to keep these two streams, of such contrary qualities, always moving, each in its proper channel, that they might the more strongly shed their kindly influences; which, by an unnatural mixture, would be entirely broken and destroyed.

The whole country, as I frequently saw it laid down in their maps, was a kind of peninsula of a square-like form, about half the bigness of the kingdom of England, but generally much more populous. One side of this square lies, in a manner, parallel to the equinoctal; the west, or rather south-west, corner of which was the place of our first landing, about ten miles west from the city appointed by the government for our residence. On the north-east, it was separated from a boundless continent by a ridge of lofty mountains, whose heights, the inhabitants told us, were, for the most part, quite inaccessible; and nothing beyond these had ever yet been discovered, but an uninhabited desart, scarce any where capable of culture.

The kingdom was divided into twenty districts, each of which was again subdivided into ten or twelve dioceses, under so many

bishops; and in every district the eldest bishop had always the preference in the synod of that district, which was constantly held four times in the year in that bishop's cathedral which was at the most convenient distance for all. The whole number of bishops, therefore, in the nation were above two hundred, all of them subject to one patriarch or metropolitan, who, once a year, held a council or convocation, at which two bishops, at least, out of every district, were obliged to be present.

Each of these bishops had not fewer than thirty priests or presbyters belonging to his cathedral, one half of whom were always present with him, and the other half sent alternately out, according to the number of parish churches within his diocese, one to supply the duty of every parish. To every cathedral belonged also seven deacons, out of whom the presbyters were always chosen, as out of them the bishop: and it was remarkable, that in all their churches a particular apartment was built for the women, in such sort, that they were not visible to any but themselves during the whole time of divine service; and it must be confessed, that the manner of their public worship had a very near resemblance to that of the pretendedly reformed church of England, before the liturgy of that church was changed for the worse, in compliance with Peter Martyr, Bucer, and the rest of their followers.

The only fixed residence of the clergy was in a kind of cloister or college, with their bishop, near the main entrance of the cathedral. Here they, in every diocese, had all their maintenance in common, every one indiscriminately, as his real needs required, out of the revenues of the church; the principal part of which being reserved for the maintenance of the poor and necessitous, the education of their youth, and the wants and repairs of their several churches, colleges, and hospitals. On one side of each cathedral stood the hospital of the poor for the whole diocese, divided according to their different sexes; all, who were able, being kept in some sort of useful employ. And the same order was observed in the hospital for the sick and diseased, whose necessity obliged them to depend upon the public charge, which was situated on that end of the cathedral opposite to the college of the clergy; but the largest of all these buildings, next to the cathedral itself, was the college for the education of the youth of the diocese, of both sexes, on the contrary side to the hospital for the poor. This differed from the rest, in that it was common to rich as well as poor, with this difference only, that the former were obliged to pay for the maintenance and education of their children, while the latter received all gratis, in as ample a manner, without respect of persons, and with this addition, that the public was obliged to put them to some suitable employ at a proper time. And this payment of the rich was a part of the public revenue of the church, to which no particular person had a private right any more than to the rest; the education of the boys being the proper charge chiefly of the clergy under the bishop, during their absence from their respective parishes; and the other sex were intrusted, in a separate apartment, to the care of a sufficient number of pious women, called deaconesses, who, out of love to a religious life, had sequestered themselves from the world for that purpose, no religious person of either sex being allowed to take the least reward to themselves for their trouble in that respect, any more than for the performance of any other religious act, under pain of being suspended, if not quite degraded, from their office; and when they heard of what we in England call surplice-dues to the clergy for marriages, burials, and churchings, they looked upon it as no better than downright sacrilege, and the most intolerable abuse of the poor.

In short, all possible occasions were here taken away for tempting persons to enter among the number of the clergy, out of any worldly view. They had, indeed, an ample sufficiency for them in their way of life; but in this, abating the somewhat more leisure they had for devotion and study, they were not one jot above the poorest person in the kingdom: and the superiority of their office in the church gave them only this advantage above their brethren, that they were attended with a greater load of care. Every ecclesiastic, from the highest to the lowest, was obliged to live under the same rule of discipline; and the distinction of superior and inferior among them being altogether spiritual, was not allowed to depend upon any secular advantage. The lowest was allowed to have a right to a competent supply for his natural necessities; and if the highest should plead that he merited more, it was looked upon as the most certain sign of his want of merit, and that he was highly unworthy of the superiority he had attained. Nor could the care of their family or children, if they had any, be here an excuse for such solicitations, for the public had made the same competent provision for them as for the children of other poor persons; and, if they before had sufficient estates of their own, they were provided for already. So that money was a thing, which every ecclesiastic in this country was anticipated from the least personal occasion for in any respect; and therefore, upon his

first ordination to his office, he was obliged, for ever after, to renounce all use of it. And the same order and economy was observed in every diocese through the kingdom. Only I cannot here forbear remarking an instance of the prudent frugality, as well as piety, of this people in those public buildings, which seemed to me a just reproach to our European Christians. The structure and ornaments of their churches every where, the cathedrals especially, appeared as much superior to every other edifice, as the esteem and regard which a pious mind will think it becoming to have for places and things dedicated to the service of God, above any thing designed for his own private use; and yet all their other public buildings, for the clergy as well as laity, were managed after a quite different design; for these latter were, indeed, decent, but far from sumptuous, affording nothing to the eye which could be thought any way superfluous; nothing but what was judged most convenient for the end to which they were designed; that nothing should be wanting which was necessary to render life comfortable, nor yet any thing be found which might administer to luxury.

But what most enhanced my veneration and esteem for the clergy of this nation was, their ardent zeal, and never-enough-to-be-commended diligence, for the good education of their youth. This work they always looked upon to be the principal intent of their institution by God himself; and, whatever else failed, they were sure to omit nothing which might contribute to the effectual performance of this, being always mindful of that observation of the wise king, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Without this good foundation first laid, they expected little benefit to arise from all their preaching; and whatever vicious habit any grown person afterwards fell into, it was generally examined with the utmost strictness, whether it might not be charged upon some defect in this: and if it could be proved so, they needed no severer judges to pass sentence upon them than themselves. So well were they acquainted with the wretched frailty of human nature; so highly sensible how much more susceptible that is of bad impressions than good, and of how much consequence it is to bend young minds into the paths of virtue before they become too rigid and inflexible. Nor would these divines stick, upon all occasions, to affirm, that the principal cause why vice at any time got such footing in the world, was owing to a bad education of youth.

For this reason they were so far from thinking it below them to spend their time in the instruction of young children, that they chose to have them committed to their care as soon as ever they could speak and walk, always esteeming the first part of their time the most precious. Language was, indeed, a part of their school education, but that ever esteemed the least part. Their greatest labour was to train up their young pupils in the Christian exercise of self-denial, and inure them to an habit of bringing their unruly passions and inclinations in subjection to right reason. This was the basis upon which their whole superstructure was to rest; and they often inculcated it, not only as the necessary foundation of all religion, but of human prudence itself. They endeavoured, therefore, first of all, to eradicate out of these tender minds every malignant root of self-love, impatience, anger, and cruelty; of levity, vanity, falsehood, and inordinate desire; of sullenness, impudence, stubbornness, and pride; and laboured to plant, in the room of them, the contrary virtues of benevolence, patience, meekness, and compassion; of stayedness, gravity, sincerity, and moderation; of complacence, modesty, submissiveness, and humility. They neglected no pains to teach them true notions of justice, honour, fidelity, and gratitude; and, in sum, to make them sensible of every branch of their duty to God, their fellow-creatures, and themselves; and for language, they knew none besides their mother tongue but the Hebrew, which was only studied by the learned.

Nor did these instructors think it any advantage given to teachers of infidelity, when they readily acknowledged, that the most prevailing means they made use of for the attainment of all these good ends, had itself no other original than what was received from divine revelation. They allowed, that, without the powerful arguments of an endless life of happiness or misery, to befal us hereafter, according to the quality of our actions here, all their labour must, in a great measure, prove fruitless: So hard they confessed it to be to reduce the stream of the human inclinations into the channel of virtue. And it moved them not to hear those enemies of goodness triumphing over this concession, as if it imported no less than an entire yielding up of the cause of religion; when, by this means, as they thought, they could so easily resolve the whole of it into a matter of mere human invention, which only owed its support to the prejudices of education; for these clergymen surprised me with a method of confuting such unbelievers, which, I must confess, till then I had never heard of; by continuing both to grant and to demonstrate to them, that not only the knowledge peculiar to Christianity, but even all that which is necessary to distinguish men outwardly from

mere brutes in human shape, was wholly owing to education. And when, from these premises obtained, they forced their adversaries to acknowledge, that such education could not be brought into the world by any means merely human, unless we can be so absurd as to suppose a thing capable to give that to another which it never had in its own power; they fairly made it appear, that such education could have no other first original than from a capacity much superior to the most perfect of men, and that after the same extrinsic and adventitious manner as one man receives his education from another. Thus did these divines prove the necessity of divine revelation from the existence of human education, in the same manner, *a posteriori*, as the necessity of a divine creation and providence is proved from their visible effects; a way of arguing, which, to my thoughts, was much more adapted to common capacities than what discourses of the same kind generally are with us. And I had afterwards an opportunity of having this argument set in the clearest light, by an instance of the highest evidence from plain matter of fact, which I shall refer to its proper place.

But notwithstanding all the caution here made use of for the disciplining of youth, so averse is the corrupt state of man from goodness, that the utmost diligence proved oftentimes abortive. And, even in this kingdom itself, there wanted not frequent instances of wretches, who could not be kept within the bounds of their duty by the most wholesome laws; though the greatest punishment here inflicted, except for murder, which scarce happened once in an age, was confinement for life; and for lesser offences, where the delinquent appeared irreclaimable, they had a small colony, about four days sail eastward, upon the coast of the desart already mentioned, to which such were transported in one of the king's ships for that purpose; their children, if they had any during their banishment, being always taken from them in their infancy, as not fit to be left in the trust of such parents.

What contributed, at this time, more than usual to enlarge the number of these enemies to the well-being of civil society, was the encouragement which infidelity met with from the overgreat lenity of the late reign. This was always known to be the refuge to which dissolute persons fled to find some colour for their crimes; and by the easiness, or rather negligence, of that prince, in putting his own laws in execution, this worst of all vices at length found admittance into his own privy-council, and, before his death, became so rampant, as to plead authority for its defence. But, upon the accession of his illustrious son to the throne, the present reigning monarch, the laws were again roused out of their long sleep, which obliged this monster to hide its head and skulk in corners; though it could not be expected, that a disease, which had got to so great a head, and so long had preyed upon the vitals of the body politic, could be speedily cured.

That young prince had long, with grief, observed this growth of irreligion, while it was not in his power to prevent it. The swarms of sycophants of this stamp had got such a predominance over his father's weakness, that they well nigh excluded him from all admittance into his presence; and he was too well acquainted with the poison spread by these serpents not to dread the fatal consequences. The first regal act, therefore, which he did, as soon as the sceptre fell into his hand, was to banish these persons from his court, and deprive them of all authority; after which, he summoned all the bishops in the kingdom to meet at his capital, and consult the best method to suppress this growing evil. When these reverend fathers met together, they returned their hearty thanks to his majesty for the prudent steps he had taken, and his zealous concern for the glory of God and the true happiness of his people. They told him, that all they requested farther was, to discountenance that aversion which too many persons, infected with infidel principles, had shown, of late, for having their children subjected to the method of education which the church had prepared for them; and that he would be pleased to restore that ancient law in its full force, which made it penal for any person to endeavour publicly to gain proselytes to their infidelity; for they could easily demonstrate, that the neglect which had been shown in these respects was the principal reason why the prisons were at that time more crowded with malefactors, and more delinquents sent into banishment, than ever had been known heretofore. And they humbly conceived, that the laws of a Christian country ought to have some regard to the honour of God and religion, as well as only what immediately regarded the benefit of civil society, especially since the latter so plainly appeared to have a dependance upon the former. But as these laws were things quite out of their province, so they humbly requested to be excused from having any further to do with them, than barely to be permitted to give their advice so far as they respected religion, which was this, that all compulsion upon people's consciences should be laid aside. Such as were open and audacious blasphemers of God and Christ, they thought, did not deserve to go unpunished; but such, whose enmity against Christianity was carried

on more secretly, they begged might have no further disturbance from the government, than not to be encouraged in their wickedness; leaving the rest to God himself, who has declared, that "there must be heresies among Christians;" for this reason, "that they, which are approved, may be made manifest," *i. e.* that Christians in deed may be distinguished from them who are such only in show. Nor were they anxious for any hurt which such persons could do to Christianity, further than what barely regarded their own souls; for as long as the ministers of Christ kept faithfully up to the instructions which their great master had left them, they had not the least distrust that he would fail in his promise, "of being with them to the end of the world," to defend his religion against the attempts of all such opposers; and they were infallibly certain, that all the impious arguments made use of by such wicked instruments, could have no effect upon any of their people, but those whose hearts were not right before, and from whom scarce any good could be expected.

This, as we were informed by the clergy themselves, was the main of what was advised by their bishops at that grand council. And we could not forbear admiring the truly Christian temper of those venerable sages; for we had much reason to suspect, that, had the same occasion and opportunity been given to their brethren of the church of Rome, the matter would scarce have been put an end to under the expence of whole seas of blood; and fire and faggot would have been lighted up in every corner of the nation. But these pastors were better acquainted with the spirit of Christianity, than ever to imagine that such barbarous cruelty could be reconciled with the love, forbearance, gentleness and humility of the gospel. Their doctrine was, that, as no person was to be enticed into the communion of the church, out of the least hope of a temporal reward, no more was any to be attempted to be retained within the same out of the least dread of any punishment in the power of man to inflict; for they looked upon every person who was a Christian upon no other motive than by being bribed to it, or out of a fear of being exposed to suffer from men, either in his body or goods, not to be such a disciple as Christ seeks; and when we told them of the practice of that church, which boasted itself to be the only true church in the world upon such occasions, they could not forbear expressing the utmost horror and amazement; and told us, that that church must certainly be in the most degenerate state, which could think that the kingdom of Christ stood in need of being supported by such diabolical means.

My fellow-missionaries and self spent now the greatest part of our time in the college of the bishop of this city, who never failed to entertain us with all the humanity and good nature becoming his character. And, one morning, when he had invited us into his own apartment, I took the opportunity of craving, that he would favour us with some information of the original of their nation, thus separated from the rest of the world, which he courteously gave us, as follows:

Their nation, he told us, were descendants from the people we called Chinese, whose forefathers inhabited that corner of the province of Xantung, which lies opposite to the south-west part of Corea. It was there that they received the Christian faith by the preaching of Theodosius, Christopherus, and Eubulus, three disciples of the beloved apostle St John. Those three holy persons, for the sake of preaching the gospel, had transported themselves from Arabia to the island of Taprobane, and were there met by several merchants, who traded with silk from that part of China, with whom they were prevailed upon to sail upon their return home. From the labours of these apostolical men, and some few other Greek Christians, who soon after followed to the same place, Christianity in a short time got considerable footing. But the enemy of mankind would not suffer them to continue long in peace; for the idolatrous priests, beginning to fear that this new doctrine (as they termed it) would bring their false worship into discredit, immediately raised a most violent persecution, in which many hundreds of both sexes suffered death by the most cruel and unheard-of tortures; and thus received the glorious crown of martyrdom, sealing their faith with their blood. At length the government, being quite wearied out with the continual cries and complaints of these diabolical men against the Christians, resolved to make an end of all at once. A mandate, therefore, was sent down for all Christians to quit the kingdom, within a limited time, under pain of death if any should be so daring as to stay beyond it. Upon this, a worthy Christian mandarin, whose name was Hina, procured a sufficient number of ships to transport his fellow-exiles, who, by the violence of the persecution, were now reduced to no greater number than about three hundred families, with two aged bishops, three presbyters, and one deacon; and every one of these ecclesiastics carried in their bodies most shocking marks of their sufferings for the sake of Christ. The number of souls were near fifteen hundred, who were disposed of in twenty ships, being their own pilots and navigators, and were allowed two months provision for their sustenance.

When they set sail, they had thoughts of removing into Japan, but, before they reached that island, they had information that no reception was for them there; and, in short, they found that all the countries and islands on every side had received information of them, and were determined to be as bitter enemies to them as their own countrymen. But their Almighty Protector, in whom they trusted, gave them more favour from the winds and seas. And when they saw themselves thus rejected by all mankind, they chearfully committed themselves to the mercy of those inconstant elements, steering right before the wind on the south side of Japan to the eastward; which course, after about six weeks sailing from their first embarking, brought them all in safety to this place.

Here they found no appearance of mankind to molest them, nor scarce any sort of animals, but deer, goats, and fowls of all kinds necessary for food. Their first landing-place was in the mouth of the most considerable river in the country, on the west side, which afforded them a safe and convenient harbour for their ships. On the north side of this river they built their first city, which has ever since been the metropolis of the kingdom, giving it the name of Soteria, for the safety it afforded them from all their troubles; and this afterwards became also the name of the whole country. The government was principally lodged in the hands of Hian or Elychus, and afterwards established in his family, whose descendants have always enjoyed it, without any sensible alteration. And the Greek language being in a great measure understood by most of them before their banishment, for the sake of constantly reading the gospels, the writings of the apostles and their first followers, with the septuagint translation, this at length prevailed so far, as quite to thrust out their native tongue; insomuch as, he said, that the least remembrance of it was not then remaining among them. Nor had scarce any of their nation ever since showed the least inclination of leaving their peaceful and happy asylum, for the sake of visiting foreign countries, of which they had in general entertained the most horrid ideas; and our arrival, he told us, who were the first strangers they had ever heard to land upon their coasts, served only to confirm them in those notions concerning the rest of the world; for we are well assured, continued the grave old father, that you, who have received the light of the gospel, and, upon that account, ought much to excel the rest of mankind in all goodness, yet, by what we have learned from your own mouths, as you order your Christianity, it must have a necessary tendency to render the greatest part of your people more superlatively wicked. Nor can we entertain any better notions concerning those European churches you call Protestants, concerning whom I myself have had the most favourable representations from several of your ship's company, who, it seems, are no otherwise of your own church than as forced through fear; for, as far as I can learn, though they have happily reformed some of your grosser errors, yet they have substituted others, near as bad, in their room; which, with the utter neglect of discipline among them, makes that as little good can be expected from them. But your church, it seems, surpasses all bounds, both of modesty and charity, while the head of it, whom you call pope, with his cardinals, not only lord it like so many temporal princes, but challenge a dominion over all the world besides; and, after you have damned all other Christians that dissent from you, you persecute them to death, whenever they come within your power.

This latter part of the bishop's discourse, I must confess, I could not well relish, and I observed the countenances of my companions to come and go, which sufficiently showed their inward emotions; but we were seasonably relieved in the critical juncture by the approach of a servant, who came to acquaint the bishop that a nobleman, named Automathes, desired to speak with him at the door. Upon this the bishop left us, and, after one or two minutes tarrying, returned with that honourable stranger along with him, whose graceful appearance seemed to command esteem, and bespeak something extraordinary to lie concealed under it.

At his entrance, we were presently made to understand, that the occasion of his coming to the bishop's college at that time was solely upon our account. He had just before been at the lodgings of the captain of our ship, who, with two or three others of the principal of our company, he had engaged to take a voyage with him the next day to his father's seat, upon the banks of the river, at the distance of about six hours sailing farther up the country. But this, he said, could not answer the end for which it was designed, unless he could prevail with us to accompany them; since he was sensible, that we were the only persons who understood so much of their language as to make it capable for us to converse with one another. He, therefore, told us the hour of their setting out the next morning, and promised he would send his servants to conduct us to his barge at the same time, if we would grant his request.

It will easily be imagined, that we (who had little else to do but to satisfy our curiosity during our continuance in this strange

country) were ready enough to embrace this opportunity; which when we had signified, with all due respect to the worthy person who had given us this courteous invitation, other occasions calling him away, he took his leave in the mean while, and left us with the bishop.

As soon as our honourable inviter was gone, the bishop gave us the following surprising account of his life, and the manner of his education. The approach, says he, of this noble lord, who is at present both the wonder and the darling of his country, broke me off from a discourse, which I suspected, by your countenances, was no way grateful to you. I only beg leave to observe something with relation to the same subject, and which his appearance has suggested to me. The corrupt state of Christianity in your country, I conceive to be wholly owing to the default of your ecclesiastical government and discipline, which you have made to have too great a dependance upon things secular. We here look upon the whole capacity which man has, of acting agreeable to his rational character, to be originally the effect of divine revelation; and this, as it is handed down from one generation to another, is known by the name of human education. The first ray of this divine emanation, was that which was communicated by our first parents after their expulsion out of Paradise; and, had it not been for the corrupt nature which they communicated along with it after their wretched fall, this had, doubtless, continued always in its original purity. But such were the consequences of man's lapsed state, that this celestial light, so far as it was intended to direct him in the way of his duty, was continually upon the impair; so that God, in pity to our unhappiness, was often pleased afterwards to give mankind fresh supplies of it from the mouths of his servants the prophets in several places of the world, and by the frequent captivities and dispersions of his chosen people, the Jews, into the most distant countries. And at last, to complete all, when the "fulness of time was come, the eternal son of God himself" condescended to take our nature upon him, and give us the fullest instructions, in his own person, how to act agreeably to our relation to him, and to one another. For this purpose he chose a distinct society of men out of the rest of the world to succeed him in the same office, at all times, and in all places, wheresoever his name should be known. If, therefore, the Christian clergy view themselves in this light, they can have no clearer evidence to convince them, that, as a society, they are required to be a standing pattern for every other society to copy after, and they are intrusted with a charge of no less importance than the good education of mankind; consequently, that the governors of this society were to have nothing to do with worldly honours and emoluments, those usual temptations which make governors forget their duty.

Thus we conclude, that not only all that knowledge which is peculiar to Christianity, but even that which is necessary to make us act as men, is equally the effect of a supernatural revelation; and wheresoever men have been known to have the least opportunity of this, there they have always been found to make the nearest approach to brutality; for a proof of which, we have had several unhappy instances in our colonies, where such wretched parents, as have been sent there for their crimes, have rather chosen to expose their innocent infants in the woods, than deliver them to be brought up from them, according to our laws. Several of these have been taken up at ten, twenty, and even thirty years of age; but all of them were found as void of reason as the brutes their companions, only with this difference, that the older they were, still the more uncapable of being brought to reason afterwards.

The only exception that has ever been known of this kind, is the person who just now left us; though his case, it must be acknowledged, was widely different: for he had the best education he was capable of receiving for the first two years of his age, which, doubtless, considering his natural inquisitive temper, and the greatness of his capacity, had a vast influence over him his whole life after; whereas the others were rent from human society in the very first dawn of life, without ever receiving the least impulse of that sort to excite their observation of things without them, and, as it were, set the wheels of their rational faculties in motion. But neither was this all; for the many secret notices and intimations which he frequently felt upon his mind, he is often heard to declare, are a sufficient indication to him, that they were either the immediate effect of God himself, or of some inferior benevolent spirit, by his permission or appointment. The consequence of all which was, that, after about nineteen years continuance in this solitary state, when he was brought into human society, by well near as miraculous a providence as that which had all the while preserved him in his separation from it, he was found, in all respects, abating the use of speech, to be more like a philosopher than a savage. The truth of this, I make no doubt, from the knowledge I have of his courteous disposition, you will be made acquainted with from his own mouth, if requested; and that in so much more advantageous a manner, that I shall be loth to anti-

cipate any more of his history. And this was the sum of our conference that day with the good old bishop.

The next morning we prepared for our intended voyage, and were sent for, according to promise, by our generous inviter, whom we found waiting for us in his barge. He seated us with himself under an awning, and presently the bargemen began to ply their oars, carrying us up the stream with a gentle motion, and with the greatest ease to themselves, by the help of wheels erected above the banks for that purpose.

It was now the season of the year in this place when all things appeared in their utmost gaiety, which, with the exceeding sereneness of the sky, seemed to invite us to solace ourselves with the delights of a rural prospect. On each side we were all along presented with a pleasing scene of the works of nature, which afforded us infinitely more satisfaction than the most finished performances of art. The river, for many leagues, ran winding through a spacious vale, and abounded with vast shoals of fishes, which every now and then leaped out of their element to catch the nimble flies as they hovered over the stream. On each hand lay extended a range of lofty mountains, well replenished with flocks and herds, from whose heights the brooks and rivulets, in their descent, formed many agreeable cascades; and, to complete the delightfulness of the prospect, nothing was seen to cover the surface of the ground but a perfect verdure, intermixed with a beautiful variety of sweet-smelling flowers, and here and there a grove of stately trees, which resounded with the chearful melody of the winged choir, and wafted to us the most grateful odours.

After we had some time contemplated these delightful appearances, which gave us no small pleasure, Automathes began to acquaint us with the occasion of our invitation. My father's name, says he, is Eugenius, the chief of one of the most ancient families in this kingdom. He has often heard of your arrival here, and been acquainted with many things which our people have heard from you concerning the religion and customs of the several foreign countries from whence you come. Ever since, he has had a passionate desire of seeing you; but, by reason of his advanced age, and unfitness for travel, he excused himself from taking so great a journey, in hopes that it would be full as acceptable to you to make the visit to him.

We thanked him for the honour he had done us, and expressed our joy at the opportunity he had given us, before our departure, of conversing with a person of his father's great worth and experience, whose history, together with his own, we were informed to be so singular.—What you have heard of that, returned Automathes, is so far true, that I imagine few persons have undergone an equal share of the sufferings of life with my father. And after all, thanks to a kind Providence, he is likely to carry his grey hairs to the grave in peace, and be buried in the same sepulchre with his ancestors, if his mind be not, in the mean while, otherwise determined. The circumstances of his life, proceeded he, so far as it is interwoven with my own, are indeed wonderful; and the least return I can make, for the favour of your company along with me, shall be (if you think it acceptable) to give you a brief relation of the same. This we could none of us forbear from expressing an eager desire to hear, and signified to him, that nothing, at that time, could have a greater command over our attention. Upon which he went on as follows:

My father, says he, at thirty-five years of age, was joined in marriage to a young lady named Sophia, of birth and quality nothing inferior to himself. This couple lived together in all the felicity of a married state, for seven full years, before they had any issue; about the end of this time came I into the world; but, such is the uncertainty of all earthly happiness, my birth seemed to give birth to their sorrows, for they afterwards enjoyed together few days of satisfaction in their native country.

About the same time, which happened in the late reign, a rebellion was reported to be hatching by certain discontented lords in this neighbourhood; which, by the timely care and prudent management of the prince, (our excellent king) was suppressed even as soon as attempted. Among several who were taken into custody, as supposed encouragers of this intended insurrection, my father had the hard fortune to be one, to the great surprise of all who knew him. This fell out through the underhand dealings of some ill-designing persons, who could not brook the high esteem he was in with his sovereign, and therefore sought all occasions to work his overthrow; and so effectually did they bring their ends about by the advantage which this opportunity gave them, that, by a decree of the senate, he was sentenced to banishment, and had all his estate condemned as a forfeiture to the crown, against whatever the king himself could do to prevent it, who was all this while fully persuaded of his innocence.

Thus we see upon what a deceitful foundation all human grandeur is fixed. They, who attain to the most exalted stations, are continually pushed at by them beneath, and the higher men climb, still the greater danger is in their fall; whereas they, who can sit con-

tentedly in the lower stations of life, are not so subject to the changes and caprices of fortune, nor have they the like temptations to render their lives uneasy. As they are entirely free from the troublesome passion of envy in their own breasts at the good fortune of any above them, so have they infinitely less occasion of fear from the envy of any below them. And these I account to be the only persons whom health and liberty can make capable of tasting all the sweets of life, without any of the bitters of it.

Upon this unjust sentence, my father, accompanied with his faithful consort, who was resolved to live and die with him, was in a short time constrained to embark, and, with heavy hearts, bid adieu to their native country, their only attendants being a servant of each sex. The chief treasure they were permitted to carry with them, was myself, who, at that time, had scarce reached twelve months old; and was nourished at my mother's breasts, contrary to what, I am informed, is the custom of people of distinction in your countries: for that mother, with us, be her rank never so high, who should think it beneath her to nurse her own child, would be thought highly unworthy of the name of a mother, and be looked upon as little better than a monster in nature; this duty being never excused here but upon occasions of the most apparent necessity, or when the life of the mother or child is endangered by it. And this was the first taste of our approaching sufferings: a sad prelude to a much sadder conclusion!

Our voyage proved very successful, till we were just preparing to turn in for our port; at which time, about noon, as I have often heard the melancholy story from my father, the wind chopped suddenly about to the north-west, so that they could not keep in with the land; and shortly it blew so violent a tempest, that the sailors could by no means work their ship, but were forced to let her scud before the wind, which she did at a prodigious rate. This continued, without intermission, till the fourth day in the morning, the wind continuing all along near the same point, when the sailors discovered an unknown coast right ahead. This put them all into no small consternation, concluding that, except the wind should speedily either slacken or change, or they should fortunately fall in with some bay or river, we must all inevitably perish; but the wind was so far from abating, that it rather increased, and in a short time they perceived the ship strike fast upon the ground. Upon this the sailors, having their boat in readiness, immediately got all hands into her, with every person else in the ship, (my father, mother, and self only excepted) expecting every moment that the vessel would stave in pieces. Yet, notwithstanding all this, my father judged it safest to stay by the ship, as the event proved it was; for the tide of flood, coming strongly in, presently set her again afloat without receiving much damage, and a few rolling waves drove her upon a soft beach, a little distance from the shore. And in the mean while he had the sad view of beholding all the rest of his company buried, with their boat, in the sea, a great distance from him; after which, as if the raging elements had now done their worst, there came on a flat calm, so that in an hour or two's time the ebb left the ship dry upon the beach, and gave us an opportunity of escaping safe to land.

But small seemed to be the comfort which this unfortunate couple could promise themselves from such a deliverance; for the place on which they were cast was found to be an uninhabited island, so that my father was forced to make up a slight booth of twigs for us to lodge in the first evening in the most convenient place he could find, in which he was much assisted by several things from the ship; and indeed the ship proved of singular use to us, in both furnishing us with food for the present, and enabling him to provide for the future, though with no small fatigue to himself; for his whole work, for several days after our first landing, was in bringing from thence whatever he thought might be any way serviceable to us. And, among other things, I must not forget taking notice of a little dog which was preserved along with us, and became afterwards a principal means of my future preservation.

When they grew better acquainted with the place, upon which a wonderful Providence had now cast them, they discovered it to abound with multitudes of deer, goats, and fowls of various kinds, so that, by help of his bow, my father was enabled to procure us plenty of provisions; and, as long as we had his assistance, there seemed to be no danger of suffering by want. Nor had we any thing to fear from noxious animals, in a place where no such were to be found. Here was no venomous creature to deter us from resting at our pleasure securely upon the ground, nor the least appearance of bird or beast of prey. The young fawn and the kid grazed here without fear from the lion and the wolf, and the little birds chanted forth their notes, without any molestation from the hawk or the kite; so that, in this respect, we seemed to inhabit the paradise of our first parents, an universal peace reigning through the whole animal creation. The only necessary of life now wanting, was some small cottage to protect us from the heats of the sun and incle-

encies of the weather; but this my father
ortly completed for us in the middle of a
elicious grove of trees, upon the ascent of a
ill, within view of the sea near where we
rst landed; for he still had hopes, that,
ne time or other, it would be our good for-
une to discover some ship passing that way
hich might receive us on board, and be a
eans of bringing us again into the society of
ankind. But, alas! vain were these hopes,
r we were too far transported out of any
ourse which we could ever expect to be used
y any ships belonging to our own country,
aless by some miraculous providence; and
r the ships of any other country to visit
s, this was what we could not entertain the
east notion of, since we were now removed
o vast a distance farther from that which we
ever had conceived to be the nearest habita-
le part of the world, next to this remote
place of our nativity. So that nothing now
seemed remaining for us to expect, but that
the longest survivor, after he had buried the
rest of us, should have his own corpse left to
rot above ground, without burial.

After this manner lived this lonesome pair
in their new habitation. Their food chiefly
consisted of herbs and roots, and their drink
was limpid water, with which they were plen-
tifully supplied from a small brook which
glided by the door of their cottage: but it
can hardly be expected, that persons, who
had been accustomed to their way of living,
could presently be reconciled to so surprising
a change. It will be easy to guess, how hard
a thing it is for people, who have known no-
thing all their lifetime but an uninterrupted
state of ease and tranquillity, to be thus sud-
denly bereft of all the former support of their
worldly happiness. The remembrance of their
former condition returns every now and then
upon them, and the soft pleasures and deli-
cacies to which they have heretofore been al-
ways accustomed, only serve to render their
present hardships more intolerable. And all
this happens, because such like are seldom
truly sensible of their dependant state, and
the obligations they lie under to the Hand
that sustains them. They receive all things
without once seriously considering that they
do receive them, or are ever liable to be be-
reft of them; and are thus, as it were, lulled
asleep by the false pleasures and allurements
which daily surround them, from whence
scarce any thing is able to rouse them but
the smart of adversity; the loss of the bless-
ings they once enjoyed being the only way
to make them sensible of their intrinsic value,
and the double obligations they lay them un-
der to the bountiful Giver. And happy it is
when men are hy brought to a due sense of
their duty by the chastisements of Heaven,
whatever it may cost them in this life.

Thus it happened with my parents. Till
now they had never rightly experienced the
exceeding vanity and emptiness of all worldly
enjoyments, nor, till now, had ever been
truly serious in the great business of prepa-
ring themselves for the enjoyment of heaven;
and this, my father often says, was the first
time he ever attained a perfect knowledge of
the inestimable value of his Bible, where they
now found a sovereign remedy for every dis-
temper of the soul, and a safe asylum to flee
to in all their troubles and anxieties. This,
therefore, among all those blessings of life
which Providence had graciously supplied
them with in their solitude, they ever es-
teemed the greatest. Here they were fully
convinced what false steps they had all along
hitherto taken in their pursuit after happi-
ness. It showed them, that true felicity can
only be had by placing their affections upon
objects of the same duration with their im-
mortal souls; and, no such being to be found
among the things of this world, they were,
therefore, only to be fixed upon the things
of another. It taught them, that religion was
to be preferred before every thing else in
life, and convinced them how highly they had
been to blame for the wretched coldness and
indifference they had formerly shown for the
worship of God, while they had the happy
opportunities of receiving all those celestial
benefits which Christ has promised to a re-
gular obedience of his own ordinances. The
remembrance of all their gross negligence in
these respects, for some time, drew tears from
their eyes; and they thought it a just judge-
ment of God upon them, that they should, in
this manner, be deprived of those blessings
which they had heretofore so wantonly and
so ungratefully abused. And these bitter re-
flections drove them to that sure refuge of
every true penitent heart, which was, to pour
forth their souls before their offended God in
devout and diligent prayer, bewailing and de-
testing their former mis-spent lives, and beg-
ging, for the sake, and through the merits,
of their Redeemer, that, whatever he should
think fit to inflict upon them in this life, he
would not refuse them the necessary assist-
ances of his holy spirit to prepare them for
the next.

By a constant performance of these reli-
gious exercises, they found their souls in a
short time, as it were, quite moulded into
another frame; the consequence of which
was, a perfect reconciliation of mind with
their present condition, without the least un-
grateful remembrance of their past misfor-
tunes. They now looked upon themselves to

he as sufficiently supplied with all the real necessaries of life as ever, though not in so splendid a manner. Their homely fare went down with as good a relish, as when they were entertained with more costly dishes, and their sleep was as sweet upon their beds of moss, as what they formerly enjoyed upon those of down; the reason was, because they now ate and slept only to satisfy nature, and not luxury. It is true, they had not now the same advantages of society which their former life afforded; but this was balanced to them, when they considered that they had so much less of vanity and impertinence. In fine, they began to look upon this change as so far from being an evil, that they blessed God for using such a means to bring them to a true knowledge of themselves; and were, in the highest degree, thankful for the many conveniences Providence had furnished them with in this desolate place, the want of any one of which would have rendered their condition much worse.

Thus were they beginning to relish a more true and solid felicity than what their former condition had ever afforded them; and, to add to their satisfaction, I now began to divert them with such innocent little actions as are common to children of my age. But Heaven had yet in reserve a far more weighty affliction for my father than any he had hitherto felt; for, within seven months after our shipwreck, he was bereft of the better half of his soul, his dear Sophia, who, not being able long to endure this severe change in her manner of living, took sickness and died, thereby leaving a new care upon his hands to provide for me, who, till now, had been wholly nourished at her breasts. I want words to express the grief he conceived at this new calamity, which as far exceeded all others, as the weight of a mountain exceeds that of a mole-hill. He for some time made the senseless woods and hills resound to his piteous lamentations, and now thought all room for future comfort entirely taken from him. But at length, after the first sallies of his passion were over, reason and religion took place; and, when he came to serious reflection, he carried himself with more moderation. Thus the religious man has something within to support him under every inconvenience which can befal him from without; for, whatever calamity befals him in this life, he opposes it to the joys he has in prospect in the other, and by this means has a ballast to keep his mind steady through all the tempests of this lower world, which every other person wants. My father could not, indeed, but be deeply sensible of the greatness of the loss he sustained by this affliction, which lay the more heavy on him by reason of his present circumstances; but this was much alleviated, when he considered that hers was the gain, looking upon her as only gone a little before to a place where he expected shortly after to follow, and again enjoy her fellowship infinitely more to the satisfaction of both.

Having partly calmed his mind with these reflections, he prepared to reposite her corpse in the ground with as much decency as his circumstances would permit; and so, like the widowed turtle, was left alone to look about for the maintenance of his babe. And herein the hand of Providence appeared very signally for his assistance; for, some time before this melancholy accident, having found a lame hind followed by her fawn, he brought both to his habitation, and, killing the fawn, made an enclosure around his cottage for the old one, which yielded us a comfortable supply from its milk, but, above all, was serviceable to me after my mother's death; and, as if nature had endowed me with more than common means of providing for my own sustenance, in prospect of what was afterwards to come to pass, my father, at his return from shooting, would frequently find me either sucking at the dugs of this brute animal, or scratching up certain roots to eat with which the island abounded. The former of which actions I suppose was learned from the fawn, which I had seen kept two or three days with its mother, and the latter from my companion the dog, who fetched most of his subsistence thus out of the ground. And it was not long before I had need of all this knowledge how to provide for myself.

The loss of his beloved consort (as I before observed) put a stop to my father's growing felicity, and, in spite of all his fortitude, for some time reduced him to a state more disconsolate than ever. The thoughts of her sweet fellowship came ever and anon into his mind; and, as often as he looked upon me, my innocent smilings, as ignorant of my own loss, drew showers of tears from his eyes. One day, laden with these sad reflections, as he was looking out to sea, he imagined he discovered land not far from the island we now resided upon, which, upon a strict examination he found to be real; and so far was he out of love with his solitude, that he studied how he might get himself transported thither with me, at all adventures, in hopes of finding some of his own species to converse with, which now seemed to be the sole aim of all his wishes. While he was big with these thoughts, recollecting the ship's boat, which lay still upon the beach, he went to examine whether she was capable of carrying us such a voyage or not; and, perceiving her still sound and entire, with a great deal of toil he got her launched into the flood-mark

nd waited the coming of the tide, that he ight draw her up into an adjacent creek, cing resolved to put his purpose in execution s soon as he saw the weather more settled, vhich at that time was not very promising.

Thus do we foolishly neglect the real enoyments which are in our power, in a continued pursuit after such supposed ones as are ot so; and the desire of disengaging ourelves out of a lesser evil, frequently throws s into a greater. For this unfortunate undertaking proved only a further addition to our calamity, by causing our separation, and so bereaving us of those helps we might afterwards have received from one another by continuing together; for, no sooner had he got into the boat, and thrust her a little from the shore by the assistance of one of her oars, but the ebb, coming on, insensibly sucked him into a current, which hurried him into the main ocean in spite of all his attempts to the contrary; and, before evening came on, the boat was stranded on another small island, which lay about five leagues distant from the former, on the opposite side to the land he first discovered. This island was, indeed, plainly discernible from the island where I was left; but, either through the fogginess of the air, or his neglect in observing towards that quarter, it had hitherto escaped his notice.

Any one may easily imagine what consternation my father was in at this unlooked-for accident; and the thought of his own perishing in the deep, than which he expected nothing less, was not half so afflicting to him as the concern he had for me. But when, contrary to these expectations, he so soon got his foot once more upon firm land, he was not without hopes of returning to me again by the advantage of a contrary tide. To which purpose he made the boat fast to a tree, and, night coming on, retired up the island, where, finding a large hollow oak, it served him for a lodging place till the morrow. But no rest could he take for reflecting upon the miseries which I should undergo in his absence; and his troubles were increased, when he perceived it, about midnight, to blow a violent tempest, which he saw, to his sorrow, must detain him from me till I should be in danger of perishing for want of his relief.

But, if this was so grievous to him, what agonies might he be expected to be driven to on the morrow, when he beheld the boat, wherein lay all his hopes, washed away with the sea. At the sight of this he stood for some time with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven like a statue, and then, recovering himself, cried out, in the most piteous manner, O my infant, my infant! at the same time wringing his hands and beating his breast with all the tokens of a deep despair; and so far had he now forgotten all bounds of moderation, that he even cursed the hour of his birth, which had brought him into such a world of misfortunes.

Then did he run along the shore in search after the boat, hoping he might happily find it somewhere thrown up by the tide; and, when he perceived this in vain, he sat down to weep like a child and give vent to his grief, always blaming and condemning himself for this last foolish undertaking, which had thrown him, as he conceived, into the lowest depth of misery. And thus was my father, after all his other calamities, wrested from the last resort of comfort he had remaining in the world, giving up his child now also for lost, after the most miserable manner. By all which he well saw, that a man's afflictions can never be so great, but they are still capable of being greater.

For some days after this unhappy chance, he continued wandering about, without either meat or sleep, till, through grief and abstinence, he found his strength so far decayed, that he thought it not possible for him long to survive; and the near prospect of death, which was now the only thing desirable to him, was the only abatement of his anguish.

In the height of this extremity, as he once lay along the ground, he was overtaken with a profound sleep, when his troubled mind represented to him the idea of his beloved Sophia, who, looking upon him with an air of the utmost tenderness, he thought, reproached him in these words: Is it thus, Eugenius, that you bear the momentary sufferings of this life? I thought you had arrived to greater proficiency in the school of affliction, and your faith, by this time, had been proof against any thing which could befal you in your present state. Consider the many thousand souls in the world, whose sufferings are vastly greater than yours, and whose crimes, it may be, are, in the sight of Heaven, much less. It is true, you are confined as well as they, but surely in a confinement much more tolerable. They lie chained at the oar, or, perhaps, are shut up in loathsome dungeons, whose stench is enough to stop the breath of their charitable visitors, being quite debarred from the comfortable sight of the sun: you walk at liberty, having nothing to annoy you but your own disturbed thoughts. They scarce obtain food sufficient to support nature: you have of the best of the fruits of the earth to taste at pleasure. They are as destitute as you of all hopes of future deliverance; and, perhaps, have this more to afflict them, that they are in daily expectation of finishing a wretched life by a shameful and painful death. If you

say that your present grief arises not from your own misfortune, but from the misfortunes of another, through your default; let this satisfy you, It was by the direction of Heaven that it should be so, who will bring all to an happy issue when he sees fit.—After she had finished these words, she seemed to vanish away in the air, leaving him to reflect upon what he had seen and heard.

When he awoke out of this dream, he found himself very much refreshed, and restored to his former serenity of mind, with the pleasing appearance he lately beheld; and, looking upon me now as certainly dead, he began to prepare for his residence in this place, which, as he had none else to take care for, was equal to him with the other. But herein I proved much better than he expected; for though I had not yet arrived to full two years old, I made a shift for myself, after the manner you have already heard.

The island upon which my father was now cast was much like the former, and abounded with the same sort of inhabitants. But these could not be of the same advantage to him now, since he was bereft of his bow and arrows, and all sorts of instruments to provide them; so that his food now consisted wholly of herbs and roots, without any more nourishing diet; only his Bible he carried still along with him, and by that means enjoyed one comfort which he had otherwise wanted. And so much now did he converse with this, especially in the Psalms of David and the books of the New Testament, that he could repeat all these mostly by heart; and so carried always along with him both the truest director and most effectual comforter for any incident and trial which might befal him.

In this condition lived my father and for near nineteen years, he in one island and I in the other; but in the end Heaven found out a means for our deliverance, and my father saw himself put into a capacity of once more visiting his native country, and, what was least of all expected, obtained another sight of me.

The accident fell out thus: One of the king's transport ships, being driven by a storm quite out of the knowledge of all her directors, fortunately came up with these islands, which were three in number, and put ashore in the island where my father resided; and, notwithstanding his ragged disguise, he was known to most of the officers, who could scarce tell how to express the joy they conceived at so unlooked-for an accident, by which means fortune had put it in their power to do service to one for whom they had so high an esteem.

After they had tarried some hours on this island, they returned with my father on board, treating him according to his dignity, and clothing him with the best apparel they had on board; but, before they pursued their voyage homewards, the captain, in compliance with my father's request, accompanied him into the other island, that he might once more visit the tomb of his beloved consort before he took his final adieu of the place, and inter also the remains of his child, if they were to be found.

But here my father, to his surprise, found so great an alteration in and about his former cottage, that he could scarce discern it to be the place it was; a proof to him that it must since have been occupied by some later inhabitant, and of this they were all sufficiently convinced, when, to their great astonishment, they beheld a naked youth come undauntedly among them out of the woods, as desirous of their acquaintance, but all the while silent. My father was presently sensible that this must be his son, who, by some extraordinary means, had been thus preserved; and my near resemblance of him bespoke no less to the whole company. It will be easy to imagine how much he was transported at this unexpected sight. He ran towards me, clasped me in his arms, and was some time not able to speak for the overflowings of his joy; myself, in the mean while, showing no less tokens of affection, after my mute and unpolished manner, as if secretly acquainted with the nearness of our relation. After these mutual endearments were over, my father, taking his last farewell of my mother's tomb, beckoned to me to follow him with the rest of the company to the ship, which I readily and joyfully obeyed, like one unwilling by any means to be separated afterwards from him.

After all things were in readiness, we set sail for Soteria, where in a short time we safely arrived, to the wonder of every one who saw us. The general notion had been, that we were cast away in our transportation to banishment, which was no small affliction to the king and most of his subjects; my father's innocence of what he was falsely and maliciously accused being soon after made clear to the world.

The surprising news of his return was most joyfully received by his majesty, who forthwith determined to make him all possible amends for his past sufferings; in consequence of which, all his estates, with the profits of them ever since his banishment, were faithfully restored, and the highest court preferments were offered him. But these he modestly refused, as being quite out of love with a life of splendour and noise, and chose rather to pass the remainder of his days in privacy and retirement.

He retired to the seat we are now going to,

where he has ever since remained; so disposing his temporal estate as he thinks may best secure his eternal one. His chief employment, besides his devotion to his Creator, is in works of benefaction and charity to his fellow-creatures; delighting most to imitate God in that most amiable attribute of his goodness. His house is a peaceable asylum for the distressed and miserable, and he is always a zealous defender of such as have been wronged and oppressed. The principal thing which can recommend any man to his favour, is honesty and integrity; and where these are found, he looks over smaller errors, and gives the most charitable allowance for greater. What time he sets apart for company, is spent with a few select friends; and his meals rather savour of frugality, than profuseness.

And thus, after all his afflictions, he is often heard to apply that testimony concerning Job to himself, "That his latter end is better than his beginning;" since he is now happily free from all those trials and vexations, to which his former state of prosperity exposed him. Only the death of my mother, whose beloved idea can never be erased out of his mind, that he esteems as a calamity never to be retrieved to him, while he remains on this side the grave.

As for myself, my father could not, indeed, but lament the ignorant condition in which he found me, being as destitute of all language as the brute beasts my companions; but the exceeding tractableness of my disposition gave him great hopes, that due care might happily retrieve the loss I had sustained in my education, which happened in the principal time of life for acquiring it.

But in this I much surpassed his expectation; for, when I became capable of expressing my thoughts to my tutors, to their great amazement, they found me more like a polished Christian, than an ignorant savage; having attained as just a notion of many important truths, as if I had learned them from the mouth of one of the wisest sages. I seemed to them to have convinced myself of the manner of my own original, from that of other creatures; and, from the works of the creation, to have inferred the being of the Creator. The utter incapacity of thought in matter, as such, seemed to have instructed me in the independence of these one upon another; and from hence I appeared to have gathered the natural incorruptibility of the thinking principle. I was discovered to have learned a sort of arithmetic peculiar to myself, and my necessities had also taught me to perform several problems in geometry.

Thus you have heard a short relation of my father's troubles, together with the manner of my own preservation: An instance, perhaps, of as surprising a providence, as can any where be met with in history; which, among other uses, may serve to show the kindness usually meant us by the chastisements of Heaven; and thereby excite our gratitude under every cross accident which may befal us. The ways of Providence are not to be fathomed by our finite comprehensions; and we usually look upon the evil of every disappointment of our hopes or designs, without considering at all the immensely greater good it may possibly bring along with it, which alone can render it an evil indeed. He who views my father's circumstances, in their worst situation, as bereft of all human comforts, and left in a desolate island to shift for himself, may, perhaps, be apt to judge his case very miserable: but he will not continue long to think so, when he attends to the issue; for the good he has thereby attained, does infinitely surpass all the evils he suffered.

And, with respect to myself, I look upon my banishment from human society as so far from being an evil, that I account it one of the greatest blessings which could have befallen me. It may, perhaps, be thought, that I have by this means lost many valuable opportunities of improving my knowledge; yet, when I compare this inconvenience with the benefit attending it, I cannot but look upon my gain as much superior to my loss; for, if I had not the advantage of good examples, I was at the same time freed from all danger of receiving hurt from ill ones. The mind, we know, like a tender plant during its immature state, is capable of putting on any form, but much more susceptible of bad impressions than good; the affections being generally engaged before the judgment is able to discern the consequence. But in me it was just the reverse: My first conversation with mankind had some resemblance to Adam's appearance in the world, immediately after his creation; my mind being in the best capacity to examine what was offered, before it gave its assent to either side of a question: so that, in this respect, my ready compliance with the principal truths of revealed religion is one of the most strong arguments against those stale cavils, which are brought by unbelievers from prejudice and education.

But all this while, I would have you take good notice, that I attribute not these improvements in knowledge, which I was discovered to have made in this solitary state, to the strength of my own natural faculties; for I am fully assured, that if I had had no advantage from human education, nor any

other helps from without, I should have been found as destitute of all appearance of reason as the brutes: But my condition was vastly different from this; for, doubtless, the education I received from my parents, how little soever it may seem, was some advantage, in setting my thoughts on work, and awaking my attention to whatever was about me. But what I lay the main stress upon, is, the secret hints and intimations which I then frequently perceived upon my mind, quite different from any thing I have ever experienced since my acquaintance with human society, when the occasions for them seemed to cease. These I can attribute to nothing but the communications of some separate intelligent being; by means of which my very dreams were often an uninterrupted chain of the exactest reasoning concerning the subject I was employed about when awake. And this invisible instructor, I have good cause to believe, was generally, if not always, the spirit of my deceased mother; the Almighty seeming to have given her the power and permission of performing that for her child after death, which she could not do when alive. One great reason for which belief is, the near agreement between the idea which I had frequently represented to me in such dreams, and the several pictures designed for her in her life-time, which I have since seen.

Here Automathes broke off his story, which had all the while been attentively listened to by the whole company. The hard fate of his father and mother drew tears from the eyes of most of us; we could not forbear relenting at so melancholy a tale, and showed the utmost tokens of a deep compassion. The unparalleled fortitude also of this afflicted pair, through the course of their misfortunes, was, for some time, the subject of our discourse; and we could not but admire with what resignation and constancy they bore the burden which heaven had thought fit to lay upon them.

But the strangest part of this relation was what regarded Automathes himself. The manner of his preservation in the island, and his way of living during his solitude, was what we had all a desire to know; and the means, by which he acquired the knowledge he spoke of, did vastly raise our curiosity. We, therefore, unanimously requested, since the time and opportunity permitted, that he would favour us with a history, which seemed to abound with such a series of wonders, and promised us so much satisfaction in the hearing. In compliance with which he courteously proceeded, as follows:

### *The Relation of Automathes, concerning his own Life in the Island.*

When I run over the transactions of my own life, as far as my utmost remembrance can carry me, my sight seems to terminate in the point when I first, as it were, found myself in being, in or about my father's cottage; beyond which I am entirely in the dark as to my original, having not the least remembrance of any of my own species before the arrival of the king's ship with my father, unless some faint ideas which now and then presented themselves to me, like the remembrance of a dream. Nor do I remember any thing of the hind, by which I imagined I was for some time suckled; my whole living consisting of the before-mentioned roots, with the fruits of the trees in their season, which I became acquainted with from the example of the fowls of the air. About this place was the former part of my life entirely spent; and I can well call to mind the branch of an adjacent tree, under which I could once have walked upright; but, immediately before my transportation hither, would scarce reach the height of my navel. From hence would I often take my little journeys, and sometimes wandered so far, that I could not possibly have found the way back, had it not been for my companion the dog, who, whenever he missed me, failed not to search through every grove and thicket, keeping a continual barking till he found me, at which he would show no little joy.

During this part of my life, my rational faculty, to my remembrance, seems as if it had lain quite dormant. I never made the least reflection upon my condition, nor turned my thoughts to the contemplation of any thing about me, unless it was now and then, for my diversion, to view the beauty of the flowers of the field, and the shining colour of certain insects, which I found creeping among the grass. I would also gaze at the brightness of the sun, the moon, and the stars; but all this without the least consideration of their original or use. Every object, which came within the reach of my senses, could not but impress its idea upon my mind; but as these impressions came without any act of my own, so lay they neglected without further notice, till some accident renewed the impression.

And this, if not worse, as I observed to you before, must always have been my case, had it not been for the advantages I have already mentioned; for I ever hold this to be a most certain truth, That in the state that mankind is at present, without the education of others, no man could ever arrive to so high a degree

of knowlege above brutes, as is found among the most degenerate savages of the human species through the known world: And, for a proof of this, I need only appeal to the sense and experience of every reasonable person, if he will be so honest as to allow of such conviction.

If we consider man with respect to that knowledge only which is necessary for his animal life, we cannot but own a vast difference between him and the rest of the visible animal creation. Other animals do in general show a knowledge in themselves how to apply all the abilities which nature endows them with to the proper ends for which they were designed, without the least instruction from others. In every distinct species of them, each individual appears to act perfectly with the same design and intention; which we, therefore, infer to be none of their own. And this innate principle in them we call by the name of instinct, to distinguish it from that self-consciousness and power we have over our actions, without which no action we do can properly be called our own.

Thus the young bull needs none to discover to him the use of his horns; the colt naturally annoys his adversary with his heels, and the boar with his tusks. This instinct admonishes the bee and the ant to provide their winter's sustenance in summer, and teaches them to prepare suitable receptacles both for that and their young. It is this which instructs the mole to avoid its adversary, by burying itself in the earth; the swan, by flying to the waters; and the pheasant, to the woods. Thus the young linnet, when stolen from his dam, is no sooner fledged, but he shows how sensible he is that his wings were given him for flight; and if we confine the little animal a sufficient time longer, we shall hear him as distinctly warbling out the harmony peculiar to his kind, as if he had been carefully taught each note by his absent sire; but, what is more surprising, if he be thus brought up, with a female consort under the same confinement, and both be accommodated with proper convenience, and suitable materials, we shall behold them, with one consent, to undertake the building of a nest, of so near a resemblance to that out of which they were taken, that, if it were possible for both to be compared together under the same advantages, it would be hard to distinguish the one from the other.

But how different is man from this! If any knowledge were innate or natural to him, one would think it should be that of distinguishing his proper food; a knowledge which seems common to the whole brute creation, who need none to instruct them how to seek after and embrace the good, and reject the bad. Yet in this itself we cannot but be sensible, that, (even when our food is ready provided for us) were it not for the frequent cautions we receive from such as know better than ourselves, we should be as likely to eat our destruction as our nourishment. What a subsistence, then, could such creatures as we be supposed to make for ourselves, if left wholly destitute of such provision made by others for us!

Again, when we consider the structure of the human body, we are apt to conclude, that nature has designed man for walking in an erect posture, and no other. But experience shows, that, though we have the daily example of others for our imitation in this; yet, after we have arrived to sufficient strength, and generally to some degree of reason too, the utmost care is often found little enough, before we can be perfectly reconciled to it: From whence we have all the reason in the world to conclude, that if nature were left solely to herself, she would leave the human species without this lowest distinction of the man from the brute, how natural soever it may at first sight appear to him; and it can scarce be imagined, that he would any otherwise make use of an erect posture of body, than as is seen by those ridiculous quadrupeds which approach nearest to the resemblance of mankind.

In like manner, it is usually urged, that mankind is by nature designed for society: And doubtless he is, for both that and religion; but then it must be in a way suited to his rational nature, and as he is an accountable creature. For which purpose all the acquirements necessary to these principal ends of his life do seem left, as much as possible, to be actions of his own reason and choice; and when they cannot be so to him, he must, of consequence, be destitute of them.

Thus, though the faculty of speech be the aptest and most complete means we can imagine, for one man to communicate his thoughts to another, and consequently, as such, is a most necessary qualification for society; yet we see, that this, again, is no otherwise to be had than by the help of society. The conversation with our fellows is both the end of language, and the only natural means for attaining it; and, after what manner soever we are bereft of the opportunity of conversing with our fellows, we must be equally bereft of this faculty. A person born without the sense of hearing, and he who by any other means is removed from the opportunity of ever hearing speech, are both alike in this respect: and as the natural defect in the former is always experienced to be attended with a want of speech, though the person have no defect in the organs of speech, so

must the accidental defect in the latter: as witness my own case.

By like reason we may conclude, that a total want of all opportunities of conversation with our fellows, will necessarily be attended with as total an ignorance in all those actions and observances which are peculiar to society. What is it that could suggest to such a person the necessity of superiors and inferiors, of government and obedience? Where must he learn the knowledge of what is comely, and what is not so; of what is reputable, and what is base? And what notions could he frame to himself of human laws, compacts, engagements, and the like?

But some of these things may, perhaps, seem to be said gratis; therefore, we may again have recourse to undeniable matter of fact, from whence any man of common sense may easily convince himself, what despicable creatures mankind would certainly be under such circumstances. It cannot surely be denied, that how much soever any man, or nation of men, are bereft of the means of education, so much the nearer still do they approach to a brutish ignorance; and to show us to what a low pitch mankind may degenerate through the want of this, we have several instances, according to your information, from the wild inhabitants of several remote parts of the world; yet you are sensible, that the most brutish of these people are not without the peculiar education of their country handed down to them; and, bad as it is, if they were deprived of that, they would be in a much more depraved state than they are.

What, then, can be said concerning that opinion of mankind's capacity, by the mere strength of reason alone, to attain to the knowledge of a God, and a sufficient sense of their duty to him, and to one another? It is certain there can be no religion without some previous knowledge of a God; but God, for wise and good reasons, appears to have made the knowledge of himself scarce any otherwise attainable by us, than that of the existence of other beings absent to sense, which we always receive from the information of others. It is, indeed, as natural for the human mind to give its assent to all truths which come within the reach of its comprehension, when duly offered, as it is for the eye to see its way in a clear light; and, consequently, the notion of the existence of God may be called natural in that respect. But it is no more natural for the mind, by its own force, to come to the knowledge of absent beings, without the information of others, than it is for the eye to see what is before it, without a beam of light to direct it. It is true, that the Divine Goodness is continually shedding his influences upon every one of us, and the wisdom of God appears in all his works; but if that infinite wisdom and goodness had not vouchsafed to make other manifestations of himself to mankind, besides these most general ones, we would just about as soon have been led by them to the notion of a God, as a person born without the capacity either of seeing or hearing, would be brought to a notion of the sun, by the perception he sometimes might have of the warmth of its rays: and our notion of God in the former case, would be as effectual to create in us a sense of religion, as the blind and deaf man's notion of the heavenly bodies in the latter, would be effectual to suggest to him the science of astronomy.

After all, if any other proof be requisite to show how vastly short human knowledge must be without education, in comparison to what it now is with it, even in its lowest degree, I would only desire every man to search diligently and impartially within himself, and examine what acquirements he can find, deserving the name of knowledge, which have not proceeded, either directly or by consequence, from the information of others. Sure I am, that (abating the knowledge he has received from sensation concerning the bare existence of sensible things) he will not be able to produce one single instance which, as I said, can deserve the name of knowledge. All that nature has done for man in this respect, is only the endowing him with a capacity of receiving instruction. It is, indeed, not to be doubted, but that, without instruction, he would form several complex notions of external things; as a thinking being he could do no otherwise. But then these could be drawn from such things only as occurred to his bodily senses, our first notions of which, we know, are always confused, and generally erroneous, till afterwards corrected by education; and to expect nature to do this of herself, is all one as to expect, that a garden should spontaneously eject every thing disagreeable to the senses, and dispose itself into delightful walks and artificial parterres, without ever a hand to cultivate it; for, as a garden without cultivation can afford no more order nor pleasure to the sight than a neglected wilderness, so a mind altogether without education, can make no visible distinction between the man and the brute.

And now I suppose it will be natural to ask, how it then came to pass, that I myself should be found so well qualified, who had so little a share of the education I am now speaking of? To this you have already heard an answer, by which it appears, that all the improvements I made were as truly owing to the education of others, as if I had been brought up from my infancy in one of the colleges of

this kingdom. The difference chiefly lay in the quality of my instructors; and, had it not been for such assistance, I had, doubtless, still continued as much an infant in knowledge, as has been reported of others under the same solitary circumstances; but, by this means, to me the want of human conversation was, in some degree, compensated by my society with brutes; and the instruction I received from their silent language, served instead of a politer education.

The first time I remember myself to be brought to serious reflection, though doubtless I had reflected upon many things before, happened on this manner: One remarkably hot day, I had wandered something farther than common from my cottage, and, going to a lake to quench my thirst, I was surprised with the appearance of a creature, as I thought, in the lake, of a shape very different from any thing I ever yet had seen, which, when I stooped to the water, seemed to leap upwards at me, as if in a design to pull me down to it. Terrified at the supposed danger, I started backwards, and fled with all possible haste to a neighbouring wood for shelter, where I skulked for some time, before I durst look out again to see whether or no I was pursued. At length, my thirst returning, and perceiving no farther appearance of harm, I took courage to visit another part of the lake, where I hoped to drink with less disturbance; but no sooner did I stoop down to the water again, than I was scared back with a like spectacle, as before; and this second disappointment made the place become so dreadful to me, that I thought my greatest safety was, in being at the farthest remove from it.

It may perhaps be thought strange, that I should all this while be so afraid of nothing but my own shadow. But this, I suppose, was the first time I ever had beheld it in the water, or, at least, had taken notice of it; all the other fountains and rivulets I had hitherto seen, though sufficiently clear and transparent, having been either too shallow, or too rapid, to cast a reflection deep enough to fall under my observation; but, not long after, I grew better acquainted with such appearances.

I cannot, though, forget the deep impression which this affright left upon me; an impression so strong, that, for several weeks after, I durst hardly look out of my cottage, always imagining that this terrible phantom was in search of me; and my sleep was, for some time afterwards, disturbed with fearful starts and dreams: but time wore this off, and the continual sight of no danger emboldened me to walk about as usual; only the lake was a long while after frightful to me, whenever I came near it.

This accident seemed, as it were, to rouse me out of my hitherto stupid condition, into a sense of myself; which first broke forth in such inward expostulations as these: What am I? How came I here? Upon which I would every now and then run over in my mind all the transactions which occurred of my past life, to the present time; and so intent was I on these contemplations, that I became heedless of every thing else, and as I walked along would often stumble and fall over whatever came in my way. But my mind was taken off from this thoughtfulness concerning herself, as her curiosity prevailed towards other things, which now began to drive me abroad more than usual, to take notice of every object falling in my way; and this, I conjecture, might happen about the ninth or tenth year of my age.

In one of my perambulations towards the south part of the island, I chanced upon a delicious vale, surrounded on every side, in form of an oblong square, with several hills of a considerable height, whose verdant ascents, being here and there bestrewed with many delightful arbours, afforded one of the most entertaining prospects I had ever seen. This vale was watered with a crystal brook, which took its rise from the fore-mentioned lake, and, forming many sportive meanders, was lost a few miles below in the sea.

Here, coming to a place where the water ran smooth and deep, I could not but with some astonishment observe another sky, as I thought, at the bottom; or rather, here seemed to be no bottom at all, but another world presented itself to view, which had all things answering in an inverted order to this above. While I stood musing at this sight, which, for some time, filled me with a kind of pleasing horror, anon the dog's shadow also showed itself, as he coursed along the river's brink; and, upon my nearer approach, the bottom appearing, discovered all to be nothing but the natural reflection of the water; an appearance which I had hitherto been entirely unacquainted with. Then, immediately recalling to mind what had heretofore so much affrighted me, I concluded it to have been nothing else but mine own image and resemblance; and, venturing nearer the water, though not without some diffidence, I was agreeably taken to find it so indeed.

This, as it were, surprised me into a notion of other creatures of my own species, which, till now, had scarce ever entered into my head; for, when I took notice of myself and the dog, as two solitary animals different from all others, without any thing to be seen any where like us, and recollected what I had already seen concerning the general method by which all other living creatures propagate their likes, withal observing the conformity be-

tween us and them in many respects, I concluded, that our coming into the world must have been after a like manner. I was certain, on my own part, that I had not been here always; and I could not but make the same inference concerning the do The cause, therefore, of our being alone I conjectured as follows:

I had often had a fair view of the island where my father all this while resided; and, having experienced the appearance of objects to decrease as their distances increased, I supposed the main ocean to be nothing but a great lake, encompassed with land, of which that island was a part, the rest lying beyond the reach of my sight. That land, I imagined, was inhabited with multitudes of creatures of my own species, from whence I supposed myself and the dog, by some means, to have been transported from the rest of our fellows to the place we now were in, which I conceived to be the same in the middle of the sea with those hillocks or islands I had often taken notice of in the afore-mentioned lake. Such were my first conjectures concerning my original; and what served to confirm me in this opinion, was the structure of the cottage where I slept, which, when I compared with the regular apartments of a kind of beavers inhabiting along the lake, I guessed must have been built by some of my own predecessors for a like use.

But the greatest proof of being originally a foreigner to this place, was the several instruments and utensils found in my lodgings, together with the remains of the boat; which last, as I before remarked, after my father's unfortunate voyage with it into the other island, was driven back again by the storm, and left upon the beach. This I suspected to be, as it really was, a vessel contrived on purpose for such transportations over the sea. And when I considered the difference of the materials in my cottage, not only in shape, but for the most part in consistence too, from every thing else in the island, so that they appeared as so many anomalies in nature, I doubted not but it was the very same in which they had been conveyed, together with myself and the dog, into this desolate part of the world; and it being not impossible but the same which happened to me might also happen to others, this put me in expectation, that one time or other I might probably see some other human creature make a like voyage to the same place.

Such were some of the first essays of reason in me: how just the conclusions were, must be referred to the judgments of others. My first notions of things seemed to be entirely casual, and the inferences I drew from thence proceeded no farther than my necessities prompted; and though the method of my instruction has been said to be supernatural, yet the book out of which I was taught, was no other than the book of nature.

But what is the beginning of reason, but the beginning of sorrow to creatures whose reason can only serve to discover their wants and imperfections to them? These reflections bereaved me of that undisturbed tranquillity which I had enjoyed during my less thoughtful condition. While I knew no want, I had no uneasiness about any; but now my mind continually ran upon the thoughts of human society. Without this I imagined there could be no happiness in life, and I therefore envied the blessing in every other species of creatures; and, had the boat been in sufficient repair, I cannot tell but this passionate desire might have engaged me in the same imprudent undertaking which occasioned my father's separation from me. So strong an inclination has nature implanted in us for the conversation of our fellow-creatures, in order to communicate our joys and griefs, and sympathize under one another's sufferings.

But I was effectually diverted from these ungrateful thoughts, when I came to apply more closely to the study of nature, which everywhere presented me with fresh scenes of wonder; and the more I observed, still the more was my curiosity increased. The first thing which drew my attention was, how the ground brought forth its fruits, by which all living creatures were nourished, and seemed to receive their whole essence. I observed the manner how the trees, the grass, and the flowers grew, each yielding its proper seed for new clothing to their mother earth on their decay. The beautiful contexture also, which appeared in each individual, gave me no small delight; and in time I learned how these successive renewals of nature exactly corresponded with the motions of the sun, at whose annual approach the woods and meadows put on a smiling green, and the flowers shot forth their heads; and at his removal to the more southern climates, all things seemed to fade and droop, as if they only lived in hopes of his return, which never failed at the fixed time. I marked the agreement between the moon and tide, and the revolutions of the lesser heavenly luminaries were the subject of my nocturnal contemplations. I also employed some time in considering the figure, situation, and beautiful variety of the colours in the rainbow. I discovered the necessity of rain and the solar heat, to ripen the fruits of the earth; and the use of morning and evening dews, to supply the absence of the former, was likewise known to me. I considered the admirable structure of the bodies of every species of animals within my observation; how appositely they were framed to serve their several purposes and ways of living, and what

surprising art and foresight they showed for the preservation of themselves and their young. In fine, I beheld the marks of wisdom wherever I cast my eyes. An universal harmony and alternate dependance appeared through all the parts of the creation; the most neglected things, when duly examined, being not without their manifest use. In short, I was everywhere surprised with an apparently wise design, where the least design of all was expected.

Thus, from the works of nature and providence, I was naturally led by my invisible monitor to the knowledge of the First Mover: for beauty and fitness are, as it were, the signatures of reason impressed upon matter; and wherever these are brought to our observation, we are as necessarily constrained to acknowledge them for the work of some intelligent agent, as, from the sight of a shadow, to conclude the substance from whence it is projected. Nor are all the seeming defects in the structure and economy of the universe, in any comparison, so strong an argument for ascribing it to the effect of chance, as the least visible imperfection in the most accomplished human performance is to prove the same concerning it. Yet, strange perverseness of men! there is no person who does not readily grant, nay, would be ashamed not to grant, the strokes of the artist's hand in the latter; while some would pretend an utter insensibility of the infinitely more flagrant tokens of skill in the former, how evidently soever they are pointed out to them. They think it a disparagement of their reason not to perceive the workmanship of man; and yet affect it as an argument of the sublimest reason, to be blind to the finger of God.

And with the same reason, as these marks of wisdom in the operations of nature infer the intelligence of the primary cause, do the perfect dependance and connection, which appear through the whole performance, imply both that and his unity: for, whenever the mind attends to this stupendous complication of movements, among which she cannot but look upon herself as a part of the whole, and is brought to observe the entire dependance each has upon another, she is necessarily cast upon one First Mover, and forced to trace all from the same power; which power, when she reflects upon all the different powers perceived within herself, she must needs conclude to be the original fountain from whence they also proceed; and, consequently, that this must be the centre of all possible perfection. And as I was certain there was a time when myself in particular was not, so I was forced to conclude, that there must have been a time when this whole creation in general was not, at least in the manner I now beheld it; and that the First Cause alone must exist prior to every thing caused by it.

After I was brought thus far in so mysterious a subject, it will be easy for you to guess to how many perplexities I was driven, in contemplating the nature of this Infinite Being. The works of nature alone are a subject which must for ever excite the admiration of the most perfect finite intelligence; what then can be said for the contemplation of the Author of nature himself? The utmost that mortal can know of this adorable Being, is only that he is, and that every thing else depends upon him for all that they are or have; and all that is required from us, is only to act like beings sensible of this dependance: and so far my benevolent instructor seemed to take the utmost care I should not be deceived.

The result was, I now began to view all things in a quite different light from what I had hitherto done. I did not now only look upon things as they respected one another, but as they also stood in relation to God. Whenever I cast my eyes upon beings inanimate, they served as a speculum, wherein I contemplated the admirable wisdom and power of that adorable Being, who thus ordered and upheld them; and when I carried my meditations farther, and considered, moreover, how all those, by his direction, conspired to the well-being of the animal crention, and of myself in particular, my resentments were wholly turned upon that more moving attribute of his goodness. I now found something which did more than barely engage my admiration, by also kindling my love, and exciting in me the deepest sense of gratitude. I could not but with pleasure reflect upon that inexhaustible stock of beneficence which thus freely shed itself upon a world of intelligent beings, who had their whole dependance of happiness from thence.

Here I must note, that all along I supposed every living animal to have also the same consciousness and power over their actions which I had. I looked upon them as rational creatures as well as myself, and accordingly was all my behaviour toward them; and whenever I attended to the harmonious chantings of the feathered tribes, or delighted myself with beholding the innocent sportings of the nimble-footed deer, I esteemed all as the several ways of expressing their gratitude to the invisible Author of their being: all things seemed to conspire together, in singing forth the praises of the great Creator of heaven and earth; but of all the methods of expressing the resentments of the mind, I ever esteemed that of the voice as most natural, by which the animal seemed to pour forth his thoughts with his breath. This, therefore, I concei-

ved was most likely to be the method used among men to communicate their minds, in conversing with one another.

The first time I had these pleasing thoughts, I perceived a secret joy to dart into my soul, the impressions of which were so strong upon me, that the tears ran plentifully down my cheeks. Of such force are the tokens of the divine beneficence from what men call the mere light of nature alone, to excite our adoration and gratitude; but how much stronger motives has every faithful Christian to provoke these acknowledgments, from the joint consideration of those surprising instances of kindness and condescension, whereby the Second and Third Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity have farther engaged wretched men? And thus you have heard how the first rudiments of religion began to appear in me, from the consideration of the goodness of God to his creatures, by exciting me to those angelical returns of praise and thanksgiving.

To the best of my remembrance, it was about this time of my life, when one evening, having been very much taken up with contemplating the beautiful colours of the rainbow; a while after the sun went down, I was also diverted with the sight of an *ignis fatuus* in a piece of low meadow-ground, not far from my cottage. I observed how swiftly this appearance flew from place to place, sometimes seeming as if quite extinguished, when anon it appeared more glaring than ever, dancing on the opposite side. This was the first time I had ever beheld any luminous body, besides those in the heavens; and, supposing it to be something of the same nature with them, my curiosity was highly raised to have a nearer view of it: but I found myself very much disappointed in the attempt; for still as I drew near, it fled from me, and all my endeavours could not bring me within the reach of it; so that, after I had sufficiently tired myself, I gave over my fruitless pursuit. But, as if this time had been determined for so desirable a discovery, in my return home my eyes were also drawn aside with a spot of ground in my way, which seemed to be all bespangled with little stars; which being lights neither so large, nor of so unsteady and volatile a nature as the former, and wholly confined to one place, I secured one or two of them in a hole in the ground, which I covered warily with a stone, purposing the next morning to satisfy my curiosity with a more perfect view of them; but when the morning came, I found I had imprisoned a couple of worms, of the same sort with which I discovered many creeping about the same place, though I could perceive none of them to have now any more lustre than the grass among which they crawled. I therefore released my prisoners from their confinement, not without some self-condemnation for the injury I had done to creatures which I supposed, like all other animals, to be endowed with the same resentments as myself, despairing now ever to discover more of the nature of those glorious lights which adorned the heavens; and, spending the whole following day in and about the same place, as the darkness of the evening came on, I perceived how all these little animals recovered their former brightness, though I now observed that they emitted a much fainter light than what I had observed in the before-mentioned wandering flame.

I must here remark, that though I had several times seen lightning from heaven, yet this I took to be only gleams of light proceeding from some invisible cause, which I always imagined had nothing in them common with the cause itself; for I judged light and darkness to be nothing else but different modifications of the air; the former being occasioned by the action of the luminous body upon that, much the same way as the undulations of the water, occasioned by the throwing a stone into it: and the same notion I had of the production of sound. But an accident afterwards fell out which gave me a more perfect knowledge of the nature of light and fire than I could have wished, though the order of my story requires that I relate other occurrences first.

I remarked before, that I was found quite destitute of speech; but let this be understood only of such speech as could be of use for conversation with mankind. I had, doubtless, learned from my parents to pronounce several of our own country words, after such a broken and imperfect manner as was peculiar to children of my age; but the remembrance of all those words, which I had thus acquired in my conversation with them, naturally ceased when the occasions for using them ceased, upon their removal from me. But though I was so soon deprived of the conversation of my parents, yet I had the enjoyment of that of my companion the dog to such a ripeness of years, that the words I made use of upon those occasions could never be erased out of my mind; and, upon serious reflection, I would often wonder by what means these had occurred to me, till, in the end, I satisfied myself that I must have learned them from some of my fellows.

In one of my journeys again to the before-mentioned vale, having lost the sight of my dog, and calling out pretty loudly to him, after my accustomed manner, I was strangely startled to hear the same words distinctly repeated five or six times, on each side of me, one still continuing to answer the other, till they were quite out of hearing. Upon this, I concluded

for certain within myself, that these must be the voices of so many of my own species; but wondered that none of them were within sight, since the mountains on each side of this part of the vale were quite open, without ever a tree or shrub sufficient to cover them. I then ran up to the top of the mountain, from whence the nearest voice seemed to proceed, where I had a view of the whole country to a large distance on every side: but when I could not perceive the least appearance of what I expected, I descended again to the former place; and calling the second time in the same words, I was answered directly as before. But what now increased my surprise, the dog coming barking up to me, I perceived was successively answered from the hills the same way. This made me suspect, whether or no the proper habitations of such creatures as myself and the dog, were not in the bellies of those mountains, from whence we had issued by some unknown subterraneous passage: but I was presently checked from making so irrational a conclusion, when I reflected upon the absurdity of it; and when I had afterwards discovered the like repeated answers made in this and the like places, not only to the voices of other animals, but also to whatever other noise I could make with sticks or stones at pleasure. I inferred it to be nothing but what was natural to such situations of the ground reflecting the sound, as a rock does a stone thrown against it. Whence I learned also to make no more wonder at the echo of a voice than at the shadow of a body.

About this time, I have cause to remember how I was taken with a very grievous indisposition, which, I believe, held me for some weeks; and though it hindered me not from going abroad, yet I was so debilitated by it that I could scarce drag along my sickly carcase. While this continued, I would often lie all along upon the ground, basking myself in the sun, and my disordered imagination now and then represented the clouds flying over me in various shapes; sometimes I would imagine I saw the head of a bird, a deer, a goat, or a man, and sometimes I would conceive that I saw one or more of the same creatures in its full proportion; and thus would I amuse myself with these aerial figures, till, perhaps, I fell into a slumber, which, when it happened, gave me no small refreshment. In one of these slumbers, between sleeping and waking, methought I once heard a noise, which I can compare to nothing nearer than the sudden beating together of two soft pillows, as regular as the beatings of the pulse. When I first took notice of it, I supposed it to be at a vast distance, growing still louder and louder as it approached; and all the while I had not the least power to move so much as a finger, to rescue myself from the supposed danger, my eyes being still wide open. At length I thought it came just upon me, at which time the noise grew so great, that it quite took away all sense of hearing from me; and, to add to the terror I was put into, I now fancied myself bestrid by a monstrous goat, which immediately pressed down upon me with a weight not to be expressed. I continued for some time in this agony, not being able to stir one joint in my body, till my supposed tormentor left me of his own accord; and I found my body afterwards all over as wet with sweat as if I had been drenched in the sea, even bedewing all the grass beneath me. I think I was two or three times afterwards visited in my rest with the same troublesome guest, which I have since learned from our physicians, was nothing but so many fits of the distemper which they call an *Ephialtes*, or night-mare, occasioned by such a pressure of the bulk of the brain upon the cerebellum, as hinders the animal spirits from having their due influence upon the nerves, by a total obstruction of the passages, which renders the lungs incapable to perform their office; and this, they say, generally happens in the night time, when the body lies in a supine posture, though the first time it came upon me in the day.

But Providence seemed to procure me a cure for this distemper in the following manner: I had one day wandered from my cottage to the east part of the island, to the bottom of an opening which faced the opposite shore. Here, being quite tired with walking, I lay down upon the ground, as usual, amusing myself, as I mentioned before, with gazing upon the clouds, which floated in the sky. I had not continued long in this situation, ere I perceived the sky to be quite overcast; and at the distance of about sixteen furlongs up the valley, to the south-west, I saw a part of the clouds above the hill, forming itself into the shape of an inverted cone, which suddenly shot forth to so great a length, as to extend from the sky to the ground. While I wondered what should be the meaning of this uncommon appearance, I was strangely terrified with a roaring noise, approaching nearer and nearer to me from the same quarter: and before I could get upon my feet, I found myself encompassed with a sea of water, rushing down from the hills on every side, which presently raised me off my feet, with a current so strong, that I must certainly have been buried in it, if I had not had the presence of mind to bear up myself along the stream, with the same motion of my arms and legs which I had often observed, after the flight of my shadow, in the legs of the dog, while he swam

after me through such brooks and rivulets as were out of his depth. In this condition I made towards a cave, caused by this inundation, in the side of an ascent below me, as the nearest land I could reach: but before I could strike the ground, I was overtaken by a fresh gully of water, which threw me with such force against the bank, that, my foot slipping, in recovering myself I fell with my face upon the ground where I landed; and the blood gushed out of my nose so plentifully, through the violence of the fall, that it made even a stream into the water from the place where I seated myself, after this deliverance.

In this place I sat not long ruminating upon what had happened, ere I perceived the waters again to abate, as suddenly as they arose, and all things again put on their former appearance; which made me rightly conjecture, that this was some sudden eruption of water from the clouds, which, as I have since learned, is a thing that frequently happens at sea, and seldom upon land, but near the sea-coasts; and I was heartily thankful that it fell out so far from my cottage, which otherwise might have been of much worse consequence to me, in destroying that to the ground.

But this proved so far from being hurtful to me, that I have since much reason to believe it was at that time of singular service; for the large discharge of blood which this occasioned, was doubtless a great help to nature in throwing off my indisposition, as I afterwards found it; and I cannot but think that this accidental bathing in the water contributed not a little: however, this latter was so far serviceable, that it emboldened me to frequent use of the water hereafter, which the most approved judges with us generally maintain to be a sovereign preventive of many distempers; for this taught me the practice of swimming, one of the most delightful exercises, especially in the hot seasons, which I ever made use of: and this I experienced to be the most advantageous to me in the sea; after which times, especially, I always found myself refreshed with new life and vigour. By the same means also, I obtained a new subject to employ my admiration, concerning the wonders of the creation; and, consequently, new matter to excite my adoration of the great Creator. This brought me to the knowledge of a new species of creatures, whose proper element was the water, though during the whole time of my continuance upon the island I never discovered by what means they were fed; nor did I ever see a fish otherwise out of the water, than as they leaped of themselves out of it at a great distance from me, which I judged was done only for their diversion, and must be the same in effect to them as diving under water was to me.

About this time of my life, to the best of my remembrance, was also my first hearing of thunder. I took notice before, that I had frequently seen flashes of lightning; but never till now, that I could recollect, had heard the least crack attending them. The weather being excessively sultry and hot, I betook myself to the water, after my accustomed manner upon such occasions. Here I was strangely alarmed with a rumbling noise, as I thought, at the south end of the island. I immediately made what haste I could out of the water, to go to the place from whence this proceeded, and learn what should be the occasion of it; but before I could reach the shore, my ears were saluted with six or seven peals of the same dreadful music, every succeeding one seeming to approach nearer than the foregoing one. I at first thought that it was the fall of a very high precipice, which I had often viewed with terror in the same place; but the approach of the noise soon convinced me, that it was made in the sky; and within an hour's time, I had it directly over my head, with such a loud rattling as I had never before heard; then, night coming on, the sky seemed all over in a flame, the rain every now and then pouring down in such floods, that the surface of the ground appeared quite covered with streams of water. Any one may readily guess into what amazement I was driven in this dreadful situation: I could not tell what to think, nor where to turn me. To go to my cottage in this extremity, I thought was to no purpose; and therefore I chose to tarry abroad and see the event, let come what would. To hear such loud reports on every side, and yet not see anything which I thought could occasion them, was to me quite unaccountable; and therefore I concluded all to be the immediate handy-work of God himself. The vast floods of rain sometimes put me in fear, lest they should again come in such quantities as to carry me away with them, like what I told you before had happened; and though this always proved contrary to my expectation, yet I could not but think that nature was about to undergo some surprising change. In short, this tumult in the sky continued for the greatest part of that night, and in the end went gradually off, in the same manner as it came on; after which I observed the sky again to clear up, and presented me with a fine star-light and serene morning; and upon the approach of the sun, to my inexpressible joy, I found the fields and woods affording a much more charming prospect than I had ever before known; the little birds chanting forth their notes, as if rejoicing at their late deliverance.

Many were my thoughts about this last phenomenon of nature; but it was always above my capacity to give any satisfactory

account for it; and therefore I shall trouble you about it no further, than only to inform you, that, in that place, I think I scarce heard thunder above three times afterwards; but never, in my remembrance, to such a degree as at that time.

Some time afterwards, as I was rambling along the banks of the sea, the winds began to rise in so violent a manner, that presently the face of the water appeared all over in a white foam, the waves rolling mountain-high; and it was with the utmost difficulty that I could stand upright upon my feet. In this extremity, I made what haste I could home to my cottage, as the fittest place of shelter; but all the way was with the utmost danger of my life, from the fall of several large trees, which were blown up by the roots close by me, while I could do little else but crawl upon all four.

At length, with much hardship, I reached my habitation a while before sunset, which being pretty well defended by its situation from the storm, I found all things in the same condition as I left them; only a little shelf, close behind where the door had formerly hung, was blown down, with two small beautiful stone bottles upon it, one of which was broken. These had always stood here unobserved by me, containing a most delicious and heady sort of wine, which my father had saved, among other things, out of the wreck; and, belike, deposited it in this place to have recourse to, upon occasion, as a cordial.

Being very much fatigued, I took no notice of any thing that evening, but went to my rest as usual, where I was quickly hushed asleep by the whistling of the wind among the trees, and continued so till morning. When I arose, I beheld the sky perfectly clear and serene, without the least breeze of wind to be felt; and by the vast quantities of water which I saw pouring down the hills at a distance, and filling the rivulets all around, I could perceive what a heavy weight of rain had fallen in the night; but I was a while at a stand, to know whence the agreeable scent proceeded which perfumed my cottage, till I traced it from the remains of the broken bottle.

This tempted me to taste some of the liquor, which still remained in one of the fragments; and, being transported with the delightful relish of the bewitching juice, I found a way to open the other bottle, of which I quaffed so largely, that I perceived the effects of it in my brain before I was aware. At first, I wondered what should be the matter with me, being in such a condition as I had never before experienced. The ground on which I stood seemed to rock from side to side, and every thing around appeared in a whirling motion, so that I could scarce stand upon my feet; and, fearing that my cottage should overset with me, I made what haste I could out of it, but could find no place more stable to fix my feet on, till I fell into a profound sleep by chance, among some bushes of rosemary, into which I had thrust myself in this disorder. I awoke no more till the next day, when I found myself in a most piteous condition: I was scarce able to bear the intolerable pains I felt in my head, and the nauseous relics of the wine, which every now and then kept belching up upon me, made me as much out of love with the liquor, as I before had admired it; and, to add to these torments, my body was all over sore and stiff with the several bruises I had got by my repeated falls. In short, it was some weeks before I threw off the disorder this brought upon me; and out of vexation for the injuries I had received, I threw the remainder of this baneful liquor, bottle and all, into the sea.

During the time of this indisposition, I had a heaviness upon my spirits, which inclined me to sleep more than usual in the day; and by that means, being driven from my accustomed rest in the night, I spent a great part of that time in walking abroad from place to place, while every other animal lay hush and still, without any thing to interrupt their sweet repose, but from the unwelcome disturbances which I sometimes gave them; and by means of these nocturnal perambulations, I made several other discoveries, which I before was ignorant of. Among the rest, I often had the opportunity to see the seeming shooting of the stars from place to place, and sometimes they appeared as if falling to the ground, where I once or twice found a white jelly-like matter among the grass, which I imagined to be distilled from them; and hence foolishly conjectured, that the stars themselves must certainly consist of a like substance.

One of these nights, the moon being in the full, and the sky serene and free from clouds, I had the first observation of that luminary in an eclipse. I was surprised to see it all on a sudden grow dark and dismal, at a time when I rather expected the light should increase by the addition of the twilight; and looking up into the sky, to my exceeding amazement, I beheld a great part of the moon turned red as blood, and presently her whole body was of the same colour, with a little spot or dent in the middle, which appeared perfectly black. I stood wondering a long time at this uncommon appearance, not knowing what to make of it, till anon I observed the redness by degrees to go off on the opposite side; and before the sun was up, I was not a little delighted to behold the moon again resume her former splendour.

Not long after, I had also the sight of an eclipse of the sun, which I presently concluded to be occasioned by the interposition of the body of the moon. But this of the moon I could never assign any proper cause for, till I became acquainted with the derivation of her light from the sun, and considered the necessary projection of the earth's shadow into the boundless expanse of the heavens.

On another of these nights, before this disorder left me, the moon having not yet lost much of her full brightness, I was startled with an appearance of a different nature; by which, whether I was more frighted or pleased, from my unexpected coming upon it, I cannot tell. As I was thoughtlessly turning about the corner of a hill, I beheld one in human shape placed directly in the way, a little distance before me; a sight which made my heart flutter within me, and immediately brought to mind all those pleasing notions I had formed to myself concerning the society of my fellows, which I now thought I should certainly have the enjoyment of; but wondered how this person came hither, or, if he always resided in the island, that I should never see him before. All the while I beheld the object continue in the same posture, without seeming to take the least notice of my approach: But, as I drew nearer, I was not a little disappointed to see all my hopes vanish, when I discovered it to be nothing else but the stock of a decayed tree, which, by its situation to me, and the reflection of the moon, assisted with the strength of my own imagination, was thus represented. The time was not yet come for me to enjoy the conversation of mankind; but I was still to content myself with the fellowship of my little dog, and such other brutes as were natives of the island, some of which afforded an excellent pattern of prudence and industry, for the imitation of men.

The beavers I before spoke of, were creatures with whom I always kept a particular familiarity, as being the most sociable of all animals. I remarked with what true policy every distinct community was governed under its peculiar monarch; in what amity these several little nations lived with one another; how prudently they dispersed themselves into new colonies, as their numbers increased above what could be conveniently managed under the same government; what wisdom they showed in chusing out an agreeable situation for their new settlements; and how exceeding skilful and dexterous they were in erecting houses and fortifications, when they had found out a place suitable to their desires.

I would often visit these newly-begun towns, attended with my dog; and took a great deal of pleasure to view the laborious inhabitants carrying on their works. I observed their method in building and repairing their dams, and admired their singular industry and providence in laying in fresh stocks of green wood for sustenance, while the proper season for that sort of labour continued. But what most delighted me was, their manner of gnawing down the bodies of huge trees with their teeth, and their surprising dexterity in conveying them down to the lake, and applying them to the uses for which they were designed. In all which works I particularly ingratiated myself into the favour of these creatures, by my readiness, upon every occasion, to lend them what assistance I was able.

From the example of these creatures, I afterwards learned to make several improvements within and about my own habitation, especially in the rivulet which ran before my door; and about forty paces below my cottage, the situation of the place being convenient for my purpose, I employed my time for some weeks in making a pond for myself, in which I used to bathe every morning as soon as I arose from my bed.

Now my mind began to turn from the survey of things about her, to the contemplation of herself. And here I referred all sorts of being to two classes, viz. active and passive, or mind and matter. The former I looked upon as the principle of all action, upon which depended every motion and variation of the latter: and as the motions and variations of matter in general, in the works of nature and providence, were constant admonitors of the One supreme invisible Agent, on which they necessarily depended; so the seemingly free and voluntary motions of those portions of matter in particular, which constituted the body of every animal, were like tokens to me of as many inferior invisible agents, on which they had their dependance. Every one of these inferior agents, as I before took notice, from the resemblance of their effects, I concluded to be of the same intelligent nature with what I felt within myself; and as I perceived in the structure of my own body an innumerable variety of motions, all as independent of any power of my own, and as much above my comprehension, as the motions of the heavenly bodies, or any other most distant part of the creation, so I supposed the same of all animals in general. The mind, therefore, or that inward principle by which I thought and acted, I inferred was what could be only and properly myself; the body being no other to her, than as the house to the inhabitant; or rather, as the present instrument, by which she conversed with

the rest of the material world, and received all her intelligence of things without.

But when I came to make a more close examination into the nature of the soul, a new scene presented itself to my meditation. I here discovered a world within, which seemed an exact transcript of the world without. I observed the astonishing nature and unlimited capacity of this store-house of the mind; which, according to the degree of her attention upon any thing, did always receive and retain a stronger or weaker impression from it, and yet had always room for the reception of as many more. I reflected upon the unlimited power with which I was endowed, of calling or dismissing, augmenting or diminishing, compounding or dividing my ideas at pleasure; by means whereof I seemed to enjoy a sort of divinity within, and resembled the same in its imaginary world, which God himself is in the real. Here in my own person I could do all things without labour, and had every thing at my own disposal, without resistance or limitation; I could in a moment volt from one corner of the heavens to another, and dart the greatest distance with the same facility and speed as the least. I could in the twinkling of an eye command a world of beings out of nothing, and in as little time remand them again into their primitive state. I also took notice of the perfect dependance and connection which my ideas had one upon another, as well according to the order of their first admission into the mind, as their near affinity or similitude one to another; so that by attending to any one idea, this usually presented to the memory many more along with it, which had either been received at the same time, or were in some sort related to it.

I likewise considered the soul, while the senses were locked up with sleep, and she seemed as if banished for a season from her seat of empire, in which I experienced a two-fold state: Either, first, when she was quite bereft for the time, both of all sensation of things without, and likewise of any perception of their images impressed within; or, secondly, when she was only deprived totally of her outward sensation, but still retained the inward perception of her ideas, among which she seemed to float at random; and this last is what we call a state of dreaming.

While I was employed with these contemplations, I used frequently to visit the beavers; among whom I observed a new colony very busy in gnawing down trees for their dam, after the manner already related. It was a pleasant diversion to me to behold these large bodies come tumbling of their own accord down from the ascent where they grew into the lake below. But this pastime concluded in one of the most melancholy disasters I had ever met with. As the dog was coursing up and down the hill, one of these trees, in its descent, unfortunately pitched upon him, and killed him upon the spot. Affrighted at the accident, I ran without any regard to my own safety, and catching him up in my arms, carried him a little distance off, and laid him upon the grass. Here, examining what mischief he had received, I could perceive no visible breach in his body, save a little skin rubbed from one of his knees; but I guessed at the greatness of his hurt, by supposing the like to have befallen myself.

After I had continued some time looking on, I grew impatient to see him rise again upon his feet, and fawn upon me as usual; for I had never yet seen the dead body of any animal, no, not to my remembrance of the smallest insect; and his motionless condition made me at first conclude him to be only asleep. But after I found all endeavours in vain to bring him to himself, my confusion increased; and I began to suspect that the body was not only bereft of sense and motion for the present, but was also rendered incapable of performing the functions of life ever after: for I considered, from my own experience, that every degree of violence impressed upon me was usually followed with a proportionable degree of pain, which was an utter enemy of sleep. I reasoned moreover with myself, that a greater force with the same instrument, or the same force with a different instrument, might have been capable to separate every member of the body from its fellow; or at least to have reduced it into a state as unlike what it was, and as uncapable of recovering its former condition, as I had seen a flower, or blade of grass, after I had bruised it between my fingers. And in the end I became thoroughly convinced, that this must be the case of my companion, whom I was now to expect no more conversation with; but in a short time must behold his body mingled with the earth, like what I constantly saw happen to every thing which received its growth from thence. But when I came to apply these melancholy reflections to myself, it is not in my power to make you sensible of the uncommon emotions which arose within my breast: and when I suspected that my ceasing to live might be no other than a ceasing for ever to exist, which seemed to be the case of the dog now before me; this struck me with such a horror and amazement, that, for some time, I seemed as if driven into the very condition I so much dreaded.

When I was partly recovered out of this consternation, the day drawing to an end, I left the carcase upon the grass, and retired to my cottage, with a mind sufficiently disorder-

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ed: and the dreadful apprehensions always running in my head, of what was to befal me hereafter, would suffer me to take no rest the greatest part of that night.

I now considered the exceeding uncertainty of life, and the change I was assuredly to expect, sooner or later, to a different condition. I plainly perceived, and wondered at my dulness in not considering it before, that such creatures as I were not framed for an endless continuance; but were every moment liable to be deprived of the life we enjoyed, by innumerable casualties, from almost every thing about us. And should we, by a singular providence, be secured from all these, yet I was sensible we carried the seeds of death also within us; while I observed it to be the unalterable law of all living things, after they arrived to certain degrees of perfection, to fade and die away of their own accord. So, which ever way I looked, I saw a time must come, when the body I now carried about with me should cease from all its motions, and be reduced to the earth, from whence it proceeded.

And this return of the body to its first principles, suggested a like return of the soul, upon this dissolution, to God, the fountain of all intelligence and power. The soul, as I before observed, I took to be only and properly myself: this, therefore, I conceived could no more lose its existence than the body, which, however dispersed and mingled with other matter, must be still in being, somewhere or other, though in a different form. But whatever change might happen to the soul upon this separation, I conceived it could not be thus dissolved into parts, because I could not apprehend any integral parts of which it consisted. And to suppose it dispersed into more places than one, seemed to argue a capacity in me of being divided into more I's or Selfs than one; or that I might exist at the same time in many places, which was a conclusion too shocking for me to admit.

I then began to look as far backwards as I could upon my original, to try if I could remember myself in any other condition, before I was confined to this bodily vehicle; supposing it very probable, that I might again be reduced to the same condition, whenever I came to be separated from it. But here I presently perceived myself lost in eternal night, and left to grope out my way in the unfathomable abyss of supposed forgetfulness; and such a state appeared no way pleasing to me. Because whatever existence I might then have, I was at the same time not conscious [illegible] I suspected might be the case; [illegible]ed was no better than annihilation. [illegible]hen it occurred, that the not remembering my existence in another state, could be no more an argument, that therefore I had at that time no existence, or, which is all one, no consciousness of it, than any former transaction of life, which had slipped out of my memory, could be an argument to prove the same concerning it. But whatever existence I might have, before I was confined to the body, since I perceived the soul to enjoy always the greatest freedom in being most free from sensual objects, I concluded, that therefore her total release from all such, which could only happen by her separation from the body, must be a state of the most perfect liberty; and when I looked upon this as her return again to God, I could not but judge it also a state of the completest felicity.

By these conclusions, the change which lately appeared so dreadful to me, began to look with a much milder aspect. I considered this dissolution of the body, whenever it came, as a welcome deliverance of the soul from all those burdens and miseries to which I saw her continually exposed in her present condition; when I should entirely be abstracted from matter, become free as the air in which I moved, and, what was above all, be translated to the most intimate conversation with, and fruition of my Maker; by means whereof I should obtain the most perfect apprehension of many desirable truths, of which I had now very little or no perception. And my heart being thus eased of the load which oppressed it, I fell into an agreeable slumber, which continued till morning.

The next day, pretty early, I went again to visit the corpse of my companion; and, when I came within sight of the place, I was surprised to see a whole herd of beavers gathered about him; and, as I drew near, I discovered these animals, some of them busy in digging a hole in the ground, while others were preparing to put the dead body into it, which by this time was grown offensive to the smell. At first I did not well approve of this piece of kindness to my attendant; but, after some deliberation, perceiving the necessity of it, and recollecting how I had heretofore seen something like it performed by those beavers to some of their own species, I conceived it must have been upon a like occasion.

As soon as the funeral was over, the company dispersing, every one to his proper employ, left me alone to ruminate upon what had passed; and for some time, notwithstanding all my philosophy, the object before me, and the reflection of the like befalling myself, made my flesh tremble upon the bone, and my hair stand upright; so abhorrent to human nature are the thoughts of her dissolution.

Thus was I deprived of my most familiar companion, having no other animal now left

to converse with, but either when I visited the works of my acquaintance the beavers, or was diverted with the more gamesome frolics of the young fawns and kids; and so sensible was I of the loss, that for a long while after, I could not recover my former briskness and gaiety.

I amused myself now with a more close review of the furniture and utensils which I found in my cottage. These, as I before observed, were the most sensible convictions to me, that the place had been heretofore occupied by others of my own species, however I came to be left alone. I had here a daily prospect of the relics of the workmanship of some unknown animal, which were not only different in form, but even in consistence, from every thing else to be seen through the whole island. And as the admirable skill which appeared in most of these, argued them to be effects of a design much beyond the reach of any animal upon the island; so the ends and uses which I afterwards discovered in some of them, were irrefragable evidences that that design was human.

I had for a long time taken notice of two or three knives and forks, and a hatchet, all disposed upon a shelf, whose sharpness I found an use for from the like use which I beheld the beavers make of their teeth. With these were laid an hammer, and a bag of large nails, of the same sort with others which I beheld here and there struck into the sides of the cottage; on which were hung several of my father's necessaries, now grown over with rust and filth; viz. a sword, a bow, a large copper skillet, and a silver tankard, with some spoons in it of the same metal. But all these, except the hammer and nails, I never was so ingenious as to assign any proper use for. The matter also, of which they consisted, I was an utter stranger to; and ere long, the scabbard of the sword, the skillet, and one of the spoons, were made sacrifices to my curiosity, to the great prejudice of my hatchet, and one of the knives; by which experiments I thoroughly learned the colour and malleability of these several metals. And as by these means I spoiled them of the forms in which I found them, so I concluded they must by some like operation have been first brought into the same. But the sword being of the finest steel, afforded another new appearance, by its plentiful effusion of sparks upon every stroke it received; some of which, darting against my face and hands, gave me a different idea from what I had formerly received from the *ignis fatuus* and glow-worms before-mentioned. And I would afterwards often divert myself with striking this weapon against the hatchet, or any stone which came in my way.

I examined also the contrivance of my sleeping apartment, which was situated in a corner least exposed to the door, and covered with a sail, all but a place cut out for my entrance, in form of a tent, within my cottage. My bed consisted chiefly of the ragged remains of three or four pair of sheets, a couple of quilts, and the same number of pillows, all raised a foot or two from the ground, with a heap of moss, encompassed within four pieces of strong plank to prevent its spreading abroad. The linen had doubtless been formerly disposed in order, and kept clean and sweet; but during all the time of my remembrance, it had lain mostly rolled up in an heap, in a corner of the bed; and I slept bare upon the moss, as other creatures did upon the ground. When I came to view these rotten bed-clothes and the sail, I judged them, from their contexture, to consist of certain fibres, of some sort of wood or grass, thus artfully woven together, in imitation of a spider's web.

While I was thus taking a survey of my household furniture, I cast my eye also upon a great chest, and a couple of boxes, hitherto wholly neglected by me, which my father and mother had made the repositories of their apparel. These with little difficulty I found the way into, where I perceived still new objects to feed my curiosity. I pulled out apparel of all sorts, for both sexes, which had been so well disposed, as in all this time to receive little or no damage; but as it was then impossible for me to guess at their use, I returned them again into their places. But I was more fortunate in opening a till in the end of the chest, in which were deposited some books and white paper, a few black-lead pencils, pens, and an ink-standish; a pocket magnifying glass, a seaman's scale, and a case of mathematical instruments; a curious fan, a small looking-glass, a golden watch, and a snuff-box of the same metal.

The first of these things which drew my attention, were the transparent bodies; I mean the glasses and crystal of the watch. And I was filled with no small admiration to find my touch thus stubbornly resisted by bodies so nearly resembling unstable water, which I had ever experienced to be no more able to bear against the lightest pressure, than it was to stop the penetration of the rays of the sun; though I concluded the mirror to be a different substance from the others, till, ignorantly trying how it would bear the stroke of my hammer, I broke it into a hundred pieces; by which means, much to my dissatisfaction, I discovered it to be the same sort of substance; only the bright consistence behind I perceived was the occasion of its reflection of shadow; and my too rough manner of handling the crystal of the watch brought

it also to the same fate, which made me more careful for the future of trying experiments upon any thing else. And thus my magnifier escaped a like disaster, whose property of magnifying objects to the sight I presently observed, and could attribute that effect to nothing but the convexity of its sides, while the same things appeared without alteration, when beheld through the equally thick fragments of the other two.

But above all I was delighted with the sight of the fan, which perhaps was one of the completest pieces of painting in miniature Soteria could afford. This little machine might be said to bring the absent world to my presence, and in a great degree anticipated my coming into it. It is not in my power to make you sensible of the agreeable surprise with which I was seized, when, as soon as I took it into my hand, it fell open, and displayed the landscape of a delightful country, abounding with many strange appearances, and unknown creatures, such as I had never seen before. But I was most affected with the sight of several in my own shape; among whom I had the fullest prospect of two, from their seeming nearer situation than the rest. This comely pair, whose minds seemed wholly taken up with the contemplation of each other, were seated under the umbrage of a spreading beech; and close by their feet a crystal fountain appeared to bubble out of the ground, which sent forth its streams into a neighbouring river. But both these, like all the rest, I observed had their whole bodies, save their faces and hands, hid from the sight, under much the same sort of coverings which I had before found in the chest and boxes; and not long after, I was sufficiently curious in comparing them together, even going so far as to try them upon my own back, though I could never endure myself to wear them. One of these painted figures, by his rougher and more majestic mien, I guessed to be the male, and he seemed to have his habit suited for more robust and hardy exercises; the other, whom therefore I took for the female, appeared of a much delicater composition; her apparel, which was also more gay, reaching down to her feet, and a couple of babes were standing at her knee. I cannot omit taking notice, that the exquisite beauty, and agreeable sweetness, which I observed in the countenance of this lovely female, made me gaze upon her with more than common delight; and I concluded, that the sex to which she belonged must be a master-piece of nature's workmanship. This part of the painter's device, which was the principal design of the piece, I since learned, was intended for a shepherd and shepherdess solacing themselves, with their children, a little distance from their bower, which appeared in a grove of trees; and close by them were laid their crooks, with a dog stretched all along upon the grass, and their flocks were likewise grazing within view, upon a neighbouring hill. The whole prospect behind was a pleasant variety of verdant hills and dales, interspersed with many enclosures of corn and shady woods; among which might be seen, here and there, the figure of a man, or a woman, painted mostly in pairs; and several cows and horses appeared also feeding upon the heights, which, with the sheep, were three species of animals wholly unknown to me. All along the river, which ran winding through the middle of the country, I observed several kinds of waterfowl, seeming to swim to and again, and wantonly flutter and duck into the water, as if eager to surfeit themselves in the grateful element. But here I had a more engaging object, from the sight of a barge rowing up the stream, which immediately brought to mind the remains of my father's boat, still lying upon the beach, which I had ever considered as a vehicle built for the same purpose; and the rowers in it were fairly disposed to view. At a place more remote, I had likewise the prospect of a stately edifice near the river, surrounded with many pompous walks and gardens, which, when afterwards beheld through the magnifier, afforded a vast treasure for my speculation; for by that means, the minuter strokes of the pencil, being sufficiently magnified, gave me a more distinct view of the whole, and every where unfolded new designs, which were hid from the naked eye.

All the while I first beheld this curious piece, my mind was so swallowed up with the contemplation of every object, that every figure seemed to be in reality what it only represented; and my whole existence appeared as if translated into the picture I was viewing. And after I had satisfied myself enough with gazing, laying the fan out of my hand, I was like one newly risen out of a dream, or a trance; and it was some time before I could persuade myself that I was really awake: so deeply was I affected with these delightful appearances.

The only remaining things worth notice among my furniture, were the books, mathematical instruments, paper, and pencils; the uses of which I became also in some degree acquainted with, though this perhaps may be judged quite above my capacity. The books were three in number, (all which I still carefully preserve) viz. a treatise of divinity, a piece of history, and a large system of the mathematics.

When I first opened these, it cannot be

imagined that I should have any more knowledge for what use they were intended, than of what matter they were composed. I turned over the leaves; but it was all one which end of the book was towards me, which from me, or whether I turned to the right hand or to the left; and I could hardly satisfy myself, whether the characters imprinted on the leaves were the effects of nature or art. And had it not been for the cuts interspersed here and there, especially in the history, and the geometrical schemes which abounded in the mathematical book, I believe I should have for ever laid them aside, without further examination. But these, being more intelligible than the letters, convinced me of their design, and were afterwards a direction for me to hold the book; and the mathematical volume became of great use to instruct me in the principles of that science, though without the least knowledge of a letter contained in it.

This taught me the use of the ruler, compasses, and brass semicircle, from their exact resemblances upon the paper, with various ocular applications of them; by which means I presently learned several manual operations, such as to measure a right line by equal parts, to describe a circle, to bisect a right line, erect and let fall a perpendicular, to inscribe a regular polygon of any proposed number of sides in a circle, and to measure the angles or openings of two intersecting right lines by the equal divisions of an arch.

I had also a frequent sight of the nine digits or figures, both in the book and upon the instruments; and observing the same figures always to denote the same numbers, I became at length perfectly acquainted with their use, and likewise discovered how these alone, with the character called a cypher, were adapted to express all numbers imaginable, by the variation of their places; a contrivance, the exceeding ingenuity of which did not a little please me.

But though I had this success with the figures, yet it was impossible for me to have the like with the letters of the alphabet, which were put to signify things I had not the least notion of: yet I proceeded so far as to attribute to them the same design of communicating the thoughts with the other, which was the utmost I could ever make of them; and I presently found out a way, by help of the black-lead pencils, to impress several marks of my skill in geometry upon the unwritten paper, in which I made continual improvements.

After these discoveries made in my household furniture, which I suppose might fall out about my fifteenth or sixteenth year, I began to undertake some alterations and amendments in my house. I repaired my roof, and filled every breach I could find in the walls with clay, levelling my floor with the same matter. I cleared out all the fulsome rags and moss I had heretofore slept upon, and supplied their place with such as was fresh and sweet, which I frequently renewed upon occasion afterwards. I made me new shutters of wicker-work for the door and window, by a pattern of that which had been formerly made by my father for the like purpose.

But among all these alterations, my principal aim was to make the ground about my cottage have some resemblance of the gardens which I beheld represented upon the fan; and in this my father's work had already prevented much of my labour, by the enclosure he formerly made for the hind. My habitation, you must understand, was seated in the centre of a little circular plain, of about sixty paces diameter, which nature had formed in such sort, within the bosom of an hill, that no direct ingress was left for the winds, but through an aperture of about thirty paces, which gave me a full prospect of the sea to the southward, fronting my door. This aperture my father had strongly paled in, with materials taken out of the ship, leaving only a passage in the middle for egress, from whence I had an easy descent to the shore of the bay, where we first landed; and what added much to the beauty of my situation, from each end of the pales nature had also planted a delightful range of mulberry trees around the top of the hill, the vacancies between every two of which being also paled in to complete my enclosure; all which laborious work my father had performed, out of an apprehension of danger from some hurtful animals, which might abound in the island unknown to him.

My first attempt was to repair all the breaches and decays which length of time had made in my fence, hanging up a new door of wicker-work at the entrance, to prevent as much as possible the encroachments of the beasts of the field. I then proceeded to dress the ground within my circumference, and disincumber it of every thing which was unsightly or unpleasant. I grubbed up all the unnecessary bushes and shrubs, and lopped off the impending boughs of the larger trees, so far as they came within my reach. I cut away the long and withered grass, and made all around appear with a smiling verdure. I also laid open the three sloping ascents of the hill which encompassed my bower; the regularity of which above one another was the greatest ornament to my situation. The height of each of these ascents was nearly the same with my cottage, and each had a walking space above of the same breadth, the highest be-

ing bounded with the range of mulberries; and, at the foot of the lowest to the eastward, the fountain took its rise which formed the rivulet by my door, whose banks were all along enamelled with variety of sweet-smelling flowers, after the same manner as the ascents of the hill; the rich fragrancy of which, together with the orange-trees, abounding more here than in any other part of the island, invited numbers of bees into my confines, which made their nests, some in the hollows of the trees, and others in the declivities of the hill; by which means I had an opportunity of becoming perfectly acquainted with the wise economy of these winged insects.

Upon the highest part of the hill, directly behind my cottage, a little mount reared up its head, in form of the lower frustum of a cone, overlooking the whole country around, whose summit made an horizontal plain of not more than ten paces in circumference. This I took the pains to cover with a smooth cap of clay, erecting a stile near the centre of about a yard in height; which was my contrivance to trace out the points of shadow, according to the different times of the day, and seasons of the year, that I might attain a more perfect knowledge of the motions of the sun. But here I had many experiments before I could answer my design, till at last I found out a way to make my stile out of a piece of the copper skillet, drilling an hole through the top to admit the rays of the sun; by which invention I both obtained a more certain perpendicular to my plain, and a truer method of marking the points of shadow from a lucid point, without any perceptible penumbra.

This daily practice of marking out the points of shadow, presently suggested to me a meridian line from the foot of the stile, in which I saw every day's shortest (or mid-day) shadow constantly to fall; and I observed, that all lines drawn from the same centre, making equal angles on both sides the meridian, must every day coincide with the shadow of the stile, the same spaces of time before and after noon; and that the length of the mid day shadow alone was sufficient to mark out the annual access and regress of the sun. I made me therefore a circle from the foot of the stile as a centre, to as great a circumference as my plain would admit; the northern limb of which I divided into five equal arches, of twenty degrees a-piece, on both sides the meridian, with lines drawn from the centre to each: and thus I had the angles of shadow marked out for an hundred degrees, on each side the meridian. But I presently perceived the insufficiency of this to measure time, which was the end I aimed at by it, from the greater or lesser disproportion between these angles and the like arches of the sun's course, according as they were more or less distant from the meridian; and this I had no remedy for, till after much study I invented a time-teller out of one of my boxes.

I chose out the compacter of these, which, after I had emptied of what it contained into the chest, I endeavoured to make as tight as possible, to contain water; and when I had brought it to my mind, I made a hole in the bottom, fitting it with a stopple. Afterwards I proceeded with all the care and exactness I was master of, to make another horizontal plain close by the fountain, drawing a circle, and erecting a perpendicular stile in the centre, both of the same dimensions with that on the mount; and having found the meridian line, I placed my box in a right horizontal position across the outlet of the fountain, filling it with water. Then waiting till the sun came upon the meridian, I immediately let out the water, and, as soon as the box was empty, marked down the shadow upon the circle, filling it again out of the fountain, and placing it in the same situation; all which was done with such expedition, that the box was scarce empty before it was full again, and the orifice was kept continually running. This I kept repeating till the setting of the sun, still marking down the points of shadow at the end of every box-full thus ran out, and laying the same extent with my compasses upon the circle to the eastward, which the shadow made to the westward; and by that means I obtained a pretty exact dial within my enclosure, for almost ninety degrees on both sides the meridian, or from near six in the morning to six in the evening, which I afterwards increased at my leisure, as the days grew longer.

When I had brought this to as great a perfection as I was able, I expunged all my lines of shadow, save the meridian, upon the mount, and laid down the same with these in their places, having there a more commodious situation for my intended observations of the heavenly bodies. Out of the lid of the water-box I formed a quadrant, of about two foot radius, graduated as I had seen in the book; which, upon occasion, I applied perpendicularly along the meridian (with the limb towards the stile, and the centre upon the extremity of the lucid ray,) to measure the different altitudes of the sun in its mid-day situation. The same also served me to take the meridian altitudes of the moon, which I performed by leaning along the side of the mount, where I made a place to fix my feet, and drawing the centre to my eye fixed against the north edge of the plain. And I was so intent upon these two great luminaries, that I seldom carried my observations of this sort to the stars, perceiving none of them, except

four or five, but what always kept the same situation one to another; so that whenever I obtained the true altitude of one, I could refer all the rest to it in their order.

By this frequent practice I learned the gradual increase and decrease of day and night, according to the access and regress of the sun; as also the number, nearly, of diurnal revolutions which he took up in finishing his annual course. I determined the menstrual periods of the moon, and from the exact conformity I beheld between the changes of her face, and her distance from the sun, I could, at any time, compute her age by a circle contrived for that purpose. And from the frequent experience of eclipses, both of the sun and moon, I also arrived to a true notion of their causes, being perfectly instructed in the borrowed light of the latter from the former. So far proceeded my astronomy.

And these constant exercises in the description of lines, circles, and angles, brought me likewise to an acquaintance with several truths in speculative geometry; for which purpose, after my paper was spent, I expunged the lines out of my dial by the fountain, and drew all my schemes upon that, inserting and blotting out at pleasure. I perceived the proportionality of the homologous sides of similar figures, and the equality between all the alternate (as well as between all the opposite) angles made by the intersection of the same right line with any number of parallels. I learned the equality of the angles in a triangle to a semicircle, and of any outward angle in the same to the two inward opposite ones. I found out the subduple proportion which any angle, at the circumference of a circle, bears to one at the centre, standing upon the same basis. I discovered the equality of the areas of all parallelograms upon the same basis between the same parallels, which put me also upon studying the proportions between other dissimilar surfaces; and I likewise attained to the knowledge of Pythagoras's theorem of the equality between the square of the longest side in a right-angled triangle, and the sum of the squares of the two shortest. And as lines led me to consider the surfaces of which they were the limits, so did these surfaces bring me to an acquaintance with the solids bounded by them; for the right understanding of which, I found great helps from the actual formation of several regular bodies out of clay; though the draughts themselves, which I found of these in the book, were adapted in the best manner to assist the imagination, as being delineated according to the exactest rules of perspective, and every where skilfully shaded. I observed the duplicate proportion which similar surfaces, and the triplicate proportion which similar solids had of their altitudes, or homologous sides; and as I naturally pitched upon the square for the mensuration of the former, so did I apply the cube for the standard of these latter. I learned the chief properties of the sphere, the cone, and the cylinder, and became intimately conversant with the five regular bodies. I formed an ellipsis from the oblique section of a cylinder, and had some notion of the other Apollonian curves, from the actual sections of a cone.

I made also some progress in the more abstract theory of numbers, as well as in the more sensible speculation of magnitude. I was necessarily led to that prime distinction of number, into integer and fracted, according as the quantities they were brought to express were discontinued, or continued; and I considered them likewise in respect of their composition as even and odd, prime and composite, and compared them also together as commensurate and incommensurate. I deduced the principal truths which belong to the doctrine of proportions, and arrived to some skill in progressions, both arithmetical and geometrical. But yet I would have you take notice, that I attribute all those high acquirements in numbers as well as magnitudes, rather to the assistance of the book, than my own invention alone; for when I had attained to the knowledge of the numerical figures, as you have already heard, I seldom failed, through the whole work, to fish out the author's intentions by them, though I understood not the meaning of a word he wrote.

The next remarkable accident which occurred to me, during my stay in the island, was that which gave me the experience of fire. One evening, as I was cutting down the relics of an old rotten tree within my enclosure, whose situation did not please me, accidentally missing my aim, I struck the hatchet against a stone, which occasioned sparks to fly forth in abundance. After I had removed this without my pales, in my return I beheld some of the chips, lying close by the remaining stump, to send up a vapour, something like what I had seen arise in the morning from the dewy savannas, but far more gross and dense, as well as more quick in its ascent; and, as I approached nigher, I perceived the flame, which immediately brought to mind the *ignis fatuus* and glow-worms heretofore: But when I came to handle this, as I had done the worms, the pain it gave made me draw in my fingers with a great deal more speed than I put them forth; and by and by, the flame, catching hold of the stump of the tree, began to burn with some vehemence. I stood wondering how this strange thing came here, which I took at first to be a living animal, from its creeping along the ground, and

seeming to catch at and consume every thing in its way; and I was well nigh confirmed in this belief, by the fall of some drops of rain, at every one of which, as at the receipt of so many blows, it appeared to recoil back, and send forth its complaints, as if from a sense of the injury it received; but I changed this opinion, when I beheld the sparks flying from it, and observed the sudden increase made from the smallest of these, wherever it met with proper materials; which brought to mind the sparks struck from the hatchet, from whence I immediately concluded all this to proceed.

I spent some time in making experiments upon this wonderful phenomenon: I observed its emission of light and heat, like the sun and stars; from which resemblance of its effects I concluded the resemblance of their natures. I took notice also, how apt several sorts of matter were to be destroyed by it, while others it affected no otherwise, than as it heated them for the present, or discoloured them with its smoke; but water it seemed always to abhor. And I pleased myself one while with supplying it with fuel, and anon quenching it again with water from the brook, till at last, by pouring on too much, I quite extinguished it.

My thoughts were mostly that night employed upon this new discovery, and on the morrow I took the hatchet and sword, to try farther experience upon the tree, now lying without the south-west side of my enclosure, where, at the first trial with my instruments, one against another, I got fire, which presently set the tree all in a blaze. I pleased myself awhile with the sight, but this was soon over, and my heart began to quake, when I beheld it out of my power to extinguish it; and catching hold of a large coppice of trees, which stretched along to the sea at north-west, it in a moment sent up such huge pillars of fire and smoke, that it threatened to lay the whole island in ashes. And doubtless the mischief would have been vastly more, had not the wind at that time chanced to blow from the land, and by that means preserved my enclosure and cottage, which must otherwise have inevitably fallen with the first in this dreadful ruin.

I was in the utmost consternation to see the devastation I had caused, my ears being quite stunned with the incessant roaring of the flames, and crackling of the large trees, mixed with the loud yells of the beasts and fowls, all endeavouring to escape as far as possible from a sight so terrible; and so great was the combustion, that it was fairly visible to my father in the other island. But when I came to think of the injuries this indiscreet piece of curiosity must bring upon my fellow-creatures, and imagined I heard the cries of several helpless animals perishing in the flames; O Heavens! with what horror was I seized! I ran round the flames in the most distracted manner, without the least regard to my own safety, still pouring forth the most bitter lamentations, till at last, through very anguish of spirit, I fell all along upon the ground, and could bear up no longer; my resentments being all the same, as if I had occasioned the destruction of so many of my own species.

The fire continued burning that whole day, and the greatest part of the night following, during all which time I could not keep my eyes from it, continually showing the utmost tokens of rage and despair for having been author of so much mischief. At length, when it had destroyed all before it to the shore, for near a mile distance, it began to abate for want of proper matter to supply it, and a great quantity of rain falling next morning quite extinguished it.

But though the fire was extinguished, so was not my trouble. This accident raised a tumult in my bosom, as much beyond my own power to appease, as it was beyond my power to quench the flames which occasioned it; for it gave me the first sad experience of the severe lashes of a self-condemning conscience, a trouble to which all my other griefs were comparatively as nothing. I had hitherto experienced no afflictions, but such only as proceeded from things without, things upon which the soul had no real, at least, no lasting dependance; so that whenever she obtained a better knowledge of her own state, it would not fail either to show her the vanity of them at present, or, however, give her the comfortable hopes (if not the assurance) of their removal hereafter. But this was a wound given to the soul herself, and consequently a more perfect knowledge of herself was the way to add to her misery, by making her more sensible of the great evil of the loss of innocence, a loss which could never be retrieved by any ability in herself, and which must needs proportionally deprive her of the favour of God; and whenever I reflected upon the wretched havoc which, by this fact, I had made in the workmanship of God's hand, and considered the intolerable injuries I had done to so many of my fellow creatures, I could not but tremble to think how justly I had provoked our common Creator.

It is true, I could not condemn myself in this fact for having the least intention of harm; yet this would not acquit me, when I considered the sufficient warning I had from my former experience of the danger in what I was meddling with, which convicted me of the most imprudent rashness in making such

an attempt, without first duly weighing its consequences; and the faultiness of this action put me also upon a careful review of whatever I had acted heretofore, which brought to my remembrance a multitude of other failures and irregularities; so that this stood no longer alone to accuse me.

Thus, while I only contemplated the workmanship of my Maker, every thing conspired to yield me all the satisfaction I could wish; but now, when I began to turn my thoughts upon my own actions, nothing appeared but what struck me with an inward sense of guilt and shame, and served to abase me in my own esteem. I perceived how all those actions which regarded the government of myself, had been rather from the impulse of blind passion, than the result of steady reason; and I could not but stand self condemned for acting thus below my dignity, if there had been no other aggravation to convince me of my own exceeding vileness and unworthiness.

It may perhaps be objected, as incredible, that one in my condition should entertain such bitter resentments from a conscience of any misdemeanour which I could be capable of committing, since I had not the same opportunities, either of knowing or transgressing my duty, with other mortals of my own kind. But this objection, in a great measure, carries its answer along with it; for as to the knowledge of my duty, though this perhaps might not be so extensive, yet it was certainly as quick and sensible as in most persons. The resentments of conscience in the soul I take to be perfectly analogous to the sense of feeling in the body; and as the feeling loses its native tenderness by frequent blows and bruises, so, after every succeeding commission of the same sin, the conscience becomes less and less afraid to repeat it, till in the end the man grows hardened in wickedness; and the examples of others alone, contribute not a little to abate these inward reluctances. And therefore, as I had not the same opportunity to wound the conscience, so I had not the same opportunity to render it hard and insensible; and consequently was more deeply affected with every divergence I suspected myself to have made out of the steady paths of right reason. But I return to my story.

My only comfort now was from a resolution to amend all past miscarriages, by greater care hereafter, and so endeavour to make my former experience my future cure. But alas! I soon found that I reckoned without my host; and the knowledge I had of other things only served to show how little I yet knew of myself. I discovered, to my sorrow, the natural depravity and perverseness of my whole temper, in which I felt not only a miserable slowness of understanding to know what was good for me, but even an opposition in my very will to do it, and a reluctance against receiving caution to shun an evil, though never so sensible of its fatal consequences; so that, when I beheld how suitably every animal about me acted to its nature, I seemed to stand alone, as an exception to the whole creation; and that superior gift of reason, with which I was endued, appeared only as a reproach to me, while I perceived myself upon all occasions so prone to contradict it.

But let it still be remembered, that I had not here the least prospect of that cruelty acted by one brute animal upon another, in most, if not all, other places in the world; which must either be attributed to the peaceful nature of the creatures themselves, consisting chiefly of such as lived upon the fruits of the ground, or else to a particular providence in keeping me from the sight of their frays; though I am rather inclined to believe the former. And I am apt to think, that had I been conversant among creatures more savage and ravenous, I should have participated more of the savageness of their nature; and consequently (as I before observed) would no more have been capable to make that progress in knowledge to which I arrived, than to have preserved that exceeding tenderness, of which I am now speaking, towards all creatures endowed with life. For I apprehend, that this extraordinary harmony and regularity in the behaviour of every dumb animal about me, according to the several stations in which their Maker had disposed them, was a principal cause which made my own irregularities appear so superlatively odious and detestable to me, and I seemed to myself as a foil to the whole animal creation.

I then reflected from whence this great disorder of the soul should proceed; whether it might be particular to myself alone, or it extended to the whole species in general, from whence I received it by descent. But when I considered the deep root it had in my nature, so that it seemed as if interwoven in my very constitution, I no longer doubted the latter to be the case, and that it was the peculiar curse of the whole human race; and this vastly abated that strong desire which I had so long retained for the society of my fellows, making me now justly suspect, whether I was not much more happy in my solitary state, than I should be in the company of a multitude of beings, whose irregular inclinations could promise so little regularity in their actions.

I considered the many disappointments and vexations, which their repeated follies and imprudences must necessarily bring upon them;

and I concluded the frequent animosities and quarrels they must have one with another, from that readiness to do injuries, and impatience to suffer them, to which their inordinate self-love would naturally lead. Neither could I entertain any hope of a better performance of their duty to their Creator, from affections thus wholly bound up in the creatures; or that they should have any true relish of the pleasures of the mind, whose cares were so intent upon the gratification of their senses. In short, I took the inhabited world to be nothing else but a black scene of all that wickedness and impiety which might sadly be expected from beings so depraved; and I afterwards found the truth of this conjecture rather to be lamented than disputed.

But when I came to meditate upon the divine attributes, I was at a loss how to reconcile this seemingly severe dispensation with them. I thought it impossible, that the infinitely good, wise, and just God, should ever create a multitude of reasonable beings, and leave them under a necessity of acting contrary to that reason, and consequently of being miserable. I could not therefore but conclude, that he had provided some remedy for this disorder, which I was ignorant of.

Then it occurred to me, that since the whole of our duty, both to God and ourselves, is founded in the due sense of our sole dependance upon him; and since we can hardly be otherwise made sensible of our dependance upon him for any thing, than as we are constantly reminded of the great inconveniences which must redound to us from the want of that thing; it was therefore highly probable, that God had purposely left these wants in the most sensible part of us, to oblige us to have continual recourse to him for their supply, and so keep up in us the tenderest sense of our dependance upon him. In all which God could be said to deal no otherways with us, than as a wise and tender father does with his children, who at once studies both how to preserve them in the constant practice of their duty towards him, and in the best condition for themselves; by keeping them in a continual dependance upon him for those good things, which, if once committed to their own free disposal, he knew they would not only be afterwards apt to forget their obligations to him for, but would infallibly abuse to their own destruction. And when I considered how wretchedly prone we are, upon all occasions, to be forgetful of benefits received, and how ridiculously subject to value ourselves upon every excellence which we suppose ourselves in the possession of, as if we had not received it, I could no longer doubt but God made use of some such method as this to keep us in the constant remembrance of our infinite obligations to him, and make us truly sensible of our own vileness and unworthiness: so that the infinite goodness, wisdom, and justice of God, were most of all justified in that very act which seemed most of all to contradict them.

Hence I argued thus: Since God, for wise and good reasons, has left man, by nature, in an indigent and imperfect state; and since this appeared to me to be one of his reasons for so doing, that he might keep up in us a due sense of our dependance upon him, by obliging us always to have immediate recourse to him for the completion of our happiness; it followed, if this be the case, that he must have condescended, by some supernatural means, to make it known to mankind to be his will, and have given them all necessary instructions about it; since otherwise they could not be supposed to have any comfort or advantage from it. And these supernatural revelations, I supposed, had been made to men immediately after their first creation, and ever since been transmitted from father to son: consequently I, who had been always thus separated from the conversation of man, must needs be altogether unacquainted with them. But in regard that my own welfare was of as much value to me, as that of all the rest of mankind was to them, and since others might perhaps be in the same or little better circumstances than I was, I therefore persuaded myself, that the gracious God would make no man's misfortune his fault, but would take the same account of our best endeavours, as if we had enjoyed better advantages.

This put me the first time upon that other act of religious worship, which is the consequent of our needy state; I mean that of prayer and supplication to the Divine Majesty for pardon of all past miscarriages, and his gracious assistance to enable us to do better hereafter; without which assistance I was highly sensible all my own endeavours would be vain and fruitless. And, as an answer to my earnest and humble petitions, I felt my former comforts dart in upon me with more advantage than ever: and, by thus frequently applying to the only fountain of calm delight, I found all that inward peace and satisfaction which God has promised to such as make him their whole stay and refuge.

But alas! it never yet entered into my thoughts, that there were men in the world, to whom all those kindnesses of Heaven should be insufficient to overcome their wretched ingratitude and perverseness; and I heartily wish, for their sakes, that I had never yet had the conviction of so sad a truth. It is true, as I before observed, I was perfectly sensible of the proneness of human nature to

every thing which is evil; so that, if men were left to themselves, I could easily judge the miserableness of the consequence. But when I considered the wise reasons of this dispensation, and the ample provisions which God had made to prevent what might follow, if men were not wanting to themselves, I never suspected that any one could be so unaccountably blind, as wilfully to neglect (much less to despise and contemn) the means prescribed by his Maker for his happiness. I supposed every man's sense of these things to be the same with my own, and that he had no occasion for other incentives to his duty, besides the happiness or misery which must naturally accrue to him from the performance or neglect of it. But when afterwards I came to see how men really behaved, and perceived their inward corruptions, by the force of custom and example, so much more inflamed, and consequently so much harder to admit of a cure, than I expected, I was soon convinced of the necessity of those divine promises and threatenings of future rewards and punishments, as well to engage men closer to their duty, as to rectify all the present irregularities in the world, which might proceed from the injurious behaviour of some towards others; and by so doing God has left all such incorrigible offenders without the least shadow of excuse.

About this time I had a very narrow escape from being drowned in the lake, which had certainly been my fate, if the friendly beavers had not come fortunately to my relief. You must note, that the lake which I have so often mentioned, was the only one in the island, and had, in all likelihood, been entirely formed by the industry of these creatures out of a few small rivulets descending from the hills above, after the same manner as is frequently done by them in this country; and, as a proof of this, there are still the remains of many dams or ramparts sunk under water, and generally the lake consists of a great number of ponds or pools, one emptying itself into another by a fall of about two feet in height, and the outside ramparts are in many places not less than twenty feet in depth; an evident token that they have been erected successively, as the numbers of these little nations increased. Here, in my diversion of swimming, I unluckily chanced to entangle one of my legs in the large branch of a tree, which the stream had some time driven down upon one of those sunk ramparts, from whence, with all my struggling, I could no way disengage myself; and had I not got my body turned, so as to support my head a while above water, by resting my hands alternately upon the rampart, I had, without doubt, perished at once. But by this means I preserved my life, till a company of beavers within view came up, who, being made sensible of my distress, by waving one hand to them as well as I was able, and shouting after my way, swam all with one accord to my assistance, and in a little time set me at liberty, by gnawing asunder with their teeth the twigs which involved my leg; though I was well nigh spent with bearing so long upon my arms before they came up to me. After so singular a deliverance, I spent some time in returning my grateful acknowledgements to Heaven; and, having rested a while upon the rampart, by and by I recovered strength to swim again to the shore. And though I ever had a much greater esteem for the beavers than for any other species of animals residing upon the island, yet this last good office I received from them kindled that esteem into a tender and affectionate love, especially to that particular cast or family, from whence I received it; and, shortly after, an uncommon accident furnished me with an opportunity of making them a grateful return.

The beavers of this island, being in no fear of annoyance from the land, have generally their huts or cabins built entirely out of the water, close upon the edge of the lake; contrary to what is (for the most part, if not always) done by them elsewhere. Taking therefore another journey to the lake, which was my usual exercise in the hot seasons, for the benefit of bathing in the water, I wondered to see all the beavers, belonging to that society, gathered about their apartments in a seemingly great huddle and disorder; and, as I drew near, I perceived the poor creatures in the utmost consternation at a fire, which by some accident had catched hold of their architecture, now become exceeding combustible through a long season of dry weather. When I beheld my faithful friends in this distress, who seemed wholly ignorant to make the least opposition against the ruin, which this dreadful and unknown devourer was bringing upon them, I ran back, with all the speed I had, to my cottage for one of the before-mentioned boxes, with which I returned in a few minutes, though the distance was considerable; then immediately plunging it into the water, I threw a load among the flames, continuing so doing till the burning began sensibly to abate. In the mean while, it was pleasant to see how the beavers, as soon as they took the hint, ran unanimously to the water, and every one, filling his mouth, discharged in a manner all at once upon the fire; by which means we conjunctly got it quickly extinguished, after it had damaged about six or seven of their little apartments. But by what accident this fire happened, I

could never learn. It is plain it was a thing as much unknown to these creatures, as it had formerly been to myself; and, had I not come to their assistance in the critical juncture, their whole fabric had doubtless been burnt to the ground, without the least notion in themselves how to prevent it by any means in their own power. But this was a sufficient instruction to them how to ward off a like danger, should they at any time hereafter be threatened with it; and the damage they now received, I saw perfectly repaired by their industry within a few days afterwards.

The next remarkable accident that occurred to me, was a fresh discovery among the furniture of my cottage, which added not a little to my future delight. You may remember I told you of a till, in one end of a great chest, which furnished me with several curiosities of human art; this, reaching not within a foot and an half of the bottom, left a wide space of the chest not yet taken notice of by me, where I found a large drawer, extending the whole breadth of the chest, and near two feet further towards the opposite end, in which was deposited the most beautiful box, as I supposed it, which I ever yet had seen. This I took out, and set upon the lid of the chest, upon its four feet; and, turning it from side to side, I observed it all around most curiously embossed with a great variety of odd figures, of the most glorious colours, all upon a ground of shining azure. But all the while I could find no entrance into the inside of it, only on one side, about the middle, there stuck out a kind of handle, or winch of brass; this I attempted to draw out, with the utmost precaution, for fear I should bring the whole machine into the same condition with the before-mentioned mirror and crystal of the watch, and I found it would no way yield to my force, but by turning it round in one direction. I therefore gave the handle this motion smoothly and leisurely, hoping that by such means I might find the opening which I desired: but this struck me with a new surprise, when my ears were saluted with the most ravishing harmony I ever had heard. My first thought of this strange occurrence was, that a number of some sort of living creatures were confined within this enclosure, who thus joined their musical voices together in concert, in obedience to the motion of my hand; but upon more consideration, I concluded the whole to be nothing but some human performance, contrived on purpose to delight the ear; as I had already seen several inventions, whose sole end could be only to entertain or deceive the sight. Nor was I herein mistaken; for this supposed box, as I afterwards learned, was an hand organ, set to a solemn air, and had formerly belonged to some of those unfortunate persons who were cast away in the boat upon our first arrival in the island; and it always afterwards served me for the same use, to which, it seems, it had been put by its pious owner, which was to heighten my religious ardours, and assist me in expressing the joy I conceived at the infinite obligations I stood in to my great Creator.

By this time I seemed to have received all the supernatural assistance in my attainment of knowledge, which my invisible instructor judged necessary to give me in this solitary state; so that I might henceforwards, in that respect, be compared to a child newly intrusted to walk alone, without the help of his go-cart or leaders. I cannot say, that I ever after this had the same perceptible hints and discoveries made to me from without, which I frequently experienced before. I have told you how I had great reason to believe, that the spirit of my deceased mother was the chief, if not the only instrument, which Heaven had all along employed in this kind office to me; and how careful she had been in this respect, you may judge from what you have already heard, which shows as if she carried no less maternal tenderness and concern for me with her into her separate state, than what she had while living upon earth. The strongest argument for this belief, was now at last a sensible manifestation of herself, as if upon her final adieu to me in this life, when she had, as it were, executed her commission, and was about to return into the mansion of rest, prepared for her among other blessed spirits, till the general resurrection.

One morning, after I had been diverting myself with the organ, I went up to the highest terrace behind my bower, and there walked for some time to and fro, repeating the tune in my mind to which that instrument was set. While I mused thus within myself, I heard a melody at a great distance, as I thought, up in the air directly over my head, which, for sweetness and solemnity, as much exceeded the music of my organ, as I esteemed that above the mere whistling of the wind among the trees. I looked wishfully upwards to see what might be the occasion of this wonderful harmony, which gave me a sensible delight, beyond any thing I ever had felt; but, after all my earnest gazing, I could see nothing but the blue sky over me, from whence I imagined it to proceed. I was entertained with this ravishing music, from the same place, for more than an hour, which seemed to me to consist of a number of human voices, divided into a nigher and more distant chorus, answering each other alternately, by a continual variation into still new modulations. At

length these two choruses seemed to meet and unite all their voices together, descending much nearer to me with a melody much louder, and, if it was possible, much more harmonious; but, for the greatest part, in very different tones. Besides the *vox humana*, in all its different notes, was now added to this heavenly concert, at proper periods, the softness of the harp, the viol, and flute, with the majesty of the trumpet, the clarion, and deep-toned cymbal; but all to infinitely greater perfection than any thing I ever afterwards heard from the same instruments in the hands of man. At the hearing of this last, I was quite transported out of myself with ecstatical raptures, and I seemed as if nailed to the ground where I stood, till I perceived the harmony move off towards the middle parts of the island, and in a little time it went quite out of my hearing.

When I was recovered out of these transports, I cast my eyes the way which this heavenly melody seemed to lead; and at a place, just beyond my cottage, where I knew the ground formed an easy descent for a considerable distance beyond, my eyes were presented with the figure of a rainbow, whose colours were far more lively and strongly reflected, than any thing I ever before had seen of like sort; and yet I observed it to be situated quite contrary to nature, with its southern foot pointing towards the sun; from whence, and from the total absence of clouds from every part of the sky, I concluded that this could not be occasioned by any reflection of the solar rays, as I knew the rainbows were. But what was most wonderful, was a transparent cone, of a shining yellow, enamelled all over in the fashion of marbled paper, after the most curious manner, with all sorts of beautiful colours, which arose from the ground to the height of a tall tree, in the centre of the rainbow, on the brow of the descent directly before me; the whole affording now as much pleasure to the sight, as the former occurrence had given to my hearing.

I walked easily forwards, with my eyes fixed upon the glorious appearance before me, wondering every now and then within myself to what all these supernatural occurrences should tend. And all the way as I walked, I observed the rainbow, and its enclosed cone, to keep still the same distance from me, and the same situation to one another, till I came to the edge of the descent; at which time all vanished out of sight in the twinkling of an eye, and discovered right under the cone an appearance far more grateful than any of the rest. O Heavens! what emotions did I now feel, to see one actually before my eyes in the shape of one of my own species! And though I was convinced within myself, that this must be only an aerial form, like what I had seen just before; yet I could not but conclude it to be the vehicle of some intelligent being, from all the preceding circumstances. In short, it was the exact image of my mother, as she is represented by a piece of painting, which I hope in a little time to have the pleasure of showing you, only in a different posture. At the first sight she appeared seated upon a grassy hillock, beneath a spreading bay-tree, with her head reclined upon her left hand, supporting her elbow upon a stone on the same side. Her clothing was a gown of sky-coloured blue, here and there besprinkled with little stars, and her hair was tied up with a scarlet ribbon behind; in all respects agreeable with the drapery of her picture, and the perfect idea under which she had many times represented herself to me before in my sleep. As soon as she seemed to cast her eyes upon me, with a pleasing aspect, she beckoned with her right hand for me to come nigher, and, rising up from her seat, called out three times distinctly, Automathes, Automathes, Automathes. These words, you may be sure, sunk deep into my mind, though I then understood nothing of their meaning; they being the first, to my remembrance, that ever I had heard from others, and were pronounced with such an air of tenderness and pity. But I had a better apprehension of the design of her beckoning: therefore, in obedience to that, I moved slowly towards her, my legs trembling under me all the way as I went, and the tears running plentifully down my cheeks, through excess of joy; and, when I came within reach of her, she laid her hand upon my head, which I cannot tell whether I felt or no; after which she also immediately vanished into air, leaving me to wonder at the strangest occurrence I ever yet had met with.

Some hours passed, after all this scene was over, before I could persuade myself that I was really awake, and that the whole was any thing but the illusion of some pleasing dream; and I cannot tell, that I should, at this time, be able to persuade myself otherwise, if it were not for two circumstances of this apparition of my mother. The first was that of her calling me by what I afterwards found to be my christian name; the second was the circumstance of the place where she thus appeared to me, which was no other than over the very grave where my father had reposited her corpse; the green hillock and tomb-stone having been raised there as a mark by himself, and the bay-tree, by what I can understand, grew in the same place, of its own accord, since her interment: and wheresoever a miraculous appearance is attended with the like tokens of its reality, I think it a piece of vastly greater indiscretion

in him who sees it to distrust his own senses, than to run the risk of being ridiculed for suffering himself to be imposed upon by mere creatures of the imagination. The case is, indeed, different, when we hear such relations from others at second hand. Here, beside a clear rational conviction, which the relater is required to make appear within himself, that he is not deceived or imposed upon by others; to make his relation credible, we must be also thoroughly satisfied with his own sincerity and veracity. And when we hear a number of witnesses, thus qualified, attesting the same thing, then, and not before, does such fact become an object of true faith; and to refuse our assent in such case, is not only an act of rudeness to the relaters, but an argument of great insincerity and perverseness of temper in ourselves. Nor can it well be expected, that persons of this disposition have ever had any true faith in matters of religion, who thus think it below their discretion to give the least heed to a relation thus strongly attested; for the matters of fact, by which any divine revelation has, at any time, been introduced into the world, do no otherwise externally require our assent to the truth of them, than as they come to us, supported by the same kind of evidence; and the facts themselves, we know, are equally, if not vastly more, out of the common course of nature. But yet, in some countries of Europe, where Christianity itself is said to be the only religion professed, we are informed by your company, that it is always esteemed a mark of the utmost weakness for a person to give the least credit to any thing which looks like a miracle, though he be never so rationally convinced within himself of the reality of it, by all his senses; and if he go about to attest the truth of what he had seen and heard, though with never such strong circumstances, to gain the credit of others, he cannot take a more effectual course to lose his own, let his veracity and discretion, in all other respects, heretofore, have been never so indisputable. Nay, so zealous, it seems, are many to gain a reputation for their wisdom and prudence, in detecting all such idle tales, as they are pleased to call every thing of this kind, without exception, that they stick not to use as much falsehood, and unfair dealing, in order to discredit a true relation, as has ever been used to bring credit to a false one. And, if this be so, I cannot but think it a much surer sign of the wretched blindness of this present self-conceited generation, than all that superstitious ignorance and credulity, with which they superciliously reproach their wiser ancestors.

At length the time drew near when I was to be received into the conversation of my fellows; an happiness which I had all along panted after. But when I came to attain what I so long and so earnestly desired, setting aside the advantages I acquired from my Christianity, I can hardly tell whether it contributed more to my happiness or misery. So it is with all earthly enjoyments; they promise mountains in the expectation, but are only shadows in the possession; which should teach us, that the soul can have no true happiness, but by placing her affections upon what is of the same duration with herself.

One day, as I was reclined upon the bank of the fountain within my enclosure, I resolved, for a moment, to unbend my mind from all cares and pensive thoughts, and employ myself in contemplating the delights of the prospect which surrounded me. One while I diverted myself with viewing the sportive boundings of the young fawns and kids upon the opposite hills, whose dams grazing beneath, by their repeated calls and watchful looks, expressed the tenderest concern for their respective young. Anon I drew in my eyes to less distant objects, remarking the little journeyings of the painted insects among the grass, to whom, methought, each blade resembled so many lofty trees; and the curious structure of these minute animals to me, was a notorious instance of the infinite wisdom of their great Creator. Then did I listen to the shrill music of the morning larks, to which the soft murmurs of the purling stream, joined with the gentle hummings of the laborious bees, made an agreeable bass.

This delightful melody, by degrees, lulled me into a profound sleep, when methought I saw myself in company with several of my own kind, one of whom engaged my attention above the rest, from something in his countenance and air, which at once possessed me with the utmost veneration and tenderness for his person. With these I thought I was carried into a distant country, inhabited chiefly with their fellows. The place at first appeared no way desirable to me, it being so full of frightful gulphs, and dangerous precipices, that it was with the utmost difficulty I sought out my way; but in the end these incumbrances were all removed, and I came into a region where I had the prospect of nothing but what was pleasant and agreeable: and all the while methought I was accompanied with the awful and amiable person, whom I had noted so much at first.

After I awoke out of this dream, I took a walk, as usual, up the hill, behind my cottage, to observe how the day spent by my dial; and, looking toward the sea, I was greatly surprised to see an huge body, of a very odd form, some distance from the land, which seemed like an hill floating upon the water

I went immediately towards the shore, to have a more perfect view of this new appearance: yet with such caution, as to keep myself unseen by it, if it should prove a living animal, as I at first suspected it.

When I came to the water-side, I lay down among some shrubs, to observe the issue; where I was presently more surprised than ever, to see a smaller body moving from the first towards the land, of directly the same structure with the vessel whose remains lay still upon the beach, and which I had seen painted upon the fan; and as it approached nearer, I fairly beheld the passengers it carried, several of whom were presently disembarked upon the shore at less than a stone's cast from where I lay, the rest staying by the boat.

You may easily guess into what transport I was driven at this agreeable sight, when I thought I should be no longer deceived in the actual enjoyment of that which I had so long wished for. As soon as these new comers were landed, the first thing they cast their eyes upon were the remains of the boat, which lay just by them. Here they stood a while viewing the situation of the country, and holding a consultation together (I supposed) which way they should direct their course; during all which time I contemplated their appearance and demeanour with the utmost attention and delight, myself continuing still unseen by them. And what gave me the greatest pleasure, was the articulate sound of their voices, alternately answering one another, which was a plain indication to me, that this was the manner of communicating their thoughts to one another, concerning each new object which occurred to their observation.

By and by observing the greatest part of them begin to move up the country, directly in the way which led to my cottage, and not doubting but that was what they had in view, I watched their motions as warily as possible, still skulking behind the trees, to prevent my being discovered till I should voluntarily present myself to them, which I was fully resolved to do, before they again left the island.

But another view of the actions of some of the company went a great way to make me lay aside this resolution, and gave me so disagreeable an idea of mankind, that I was in suspense whether I should not chuse rather to continue always in my solitude, than seek to associate myself with such creatures, though apparently of my own kind. I observed three persons, each armed with a bow and sheaf of arrows, to separate themselves from the rest farther up the country, where they had a large herd of deer in view. These poor creatures seemed to be filled with no less wonder than myself, at a sight so wholly strange to them; they stood gazing upon their enemies, without the least suspicion of harm, till they were within reach of the arrows; at which time those fatal shafts were let fly so speedily among them, that, before they had the sense to escape by flight, I beheld about fourteen of them wallowing in their gore. I, who had never seen such barbarous cruelty before, was filled with horror not to be expressed, at so dreadful a spectacle; and I could scarce bear the sight, when I heard these bloody destroyers hallooing for some of their fellows in the boat to come and assist them in carrying off their prey.

While this was doing, I observed the rest of the company on shore by this time come to my bower, where they seemed as if struck with surprise at what they saw, proceeding successively to examine all my rude contrivances with the utmost attention; but what appeared to employ them longest, was my dial upon the mount. And now, being got so near as to have a more perfect prospect of their faces and habits, I was sensibly struck, when I found them, for the most part, to be the very same persons whose exact resemblances I had just before seen in my dream; and he, whom I then marked above the rest, was no other than my own father.

I am not ignorant how averse many persons are from giving any heed to dreams; which indeed, for the greatest part, are nothing but the result of our waking thoughts. They are a confused assemblage of those ideas, which we have heretofore received through the senses; and, in general, men dream of nothing but what, in its component parts at least, they have some time either actually seen or heard. But the before-mentioned dream, as well as the idea I received of my mother, can by no means be reckoned among this class; for certainly the perfect ideas of those persons, in their respective habits, could no more have been then impressed upon my mind without design, than their exact pictures could be supposed, by the same means, to be delineated upon paper; and whatever person has, at any time, had such visions of things, which were never seen by him, I presume he may rest assured, that they proceeded from the impulse of some intelligence without him.

The manner of my presenting myself to my father, and my return home with him, you have already heard; to which I shall add no more, but only give you a little further account of my great uneasiness at the sight of the murdered deer. I went with my father to the boat of my own accord; but the remembrance of the miserable fate of these creatures being always in my head, quite

soured the pleasure which I should otherwise have conceived from the thoughts of this new change. I knew not what they could propose to themselves in such cruelty towards creatures which had done them no harm; and when I came to see the heaps made of their carcases in the bottom of the boat, the horror was so great which I conceived again at the sight, that had it not been for the fearful apprehensions of undergoing the same fate from their too swift arrows, I should certainly have broke again from them, and made my escape into the woods. My father soon discovering the cause of my disorder, acquainted the captain of the ship who was along with him, who commanded the boatmen, to remove all these obstacles again to land out of my sight; and after the boat was cleansed of the blood, I went into it with less diffidence. But as soon as they had got me safe in the cabin of the ship, the sailors, unwilling to lose so valuable a prize, returned for them again. The practice of killing animals for food was what I had not the least notion of; and I have always, to this day, such a strong antipathy against eating their flesh, that I can never be brought to taste it, what way soever it be cooked up, in order to deceive me; my whole food consisting of nothing but what comes of milk and the fruits of the earth.

But my ill opinion of mankind was yet much increased, when I became acquainted with the many murders and bloodsheds which they committed upon one another since the beginning of the world. This I thought was the highest instance of the exceeding degeneracy of human nature, and put men below the most savage brutes. And when I came afterwards to read the many dreadful judgements of God upon mankind, especially in that of drowning the old world, in the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, and in the extirpation of the seven nations by the sword of the children of Israel, I could not but look upon all these as no less signal instances of the divine compassion towards their miserable state, than of justice upon them for their wickedness; for to have continued such monsters of iniquity longer upon earth, I concluded would only have been giving them an opportunity to heighten their crimes; and, consequently, both to increase their own misery, and bring infinite numbers after them into the same wretched circumstances.

And thus I have given you a brief history of my life, and the manner of my attainment of knowledge from my infancy, till the time of my entrance into human society, which happened towards the end of my twenty-first year, after I had continued in the island about nineteen years and ten months; and it is now near eleven years since. Through all which, I would have it well observed, that I attribute those acquirements no more to the effect of my own capacity alone, than if I had the most complete education which the world could afford; for I have all the reason in the world to believe, that if I had been left entirely to myself, after my father's departure from me, I should have been little better than my dumb companions. From whence I cannot but conclude, that man, by nature, depends as much after his birth upon the care and instruction of others, to bring him to act agreeably to his rational character, as he before depended upon the action of others to give him his birth; and if so, I think it may easily be made appear, that all nations of men, how distantly soever placed from each other, do actually derive their education from a supernatural original, and that ever since their first appearance in the world; which I take to be as clear a proof of the certainty of divine revelation as can be acquired, when it is demonstrated, that not only the knowledge which is peculiar to Christianity, but even that which is necessary to distinguish men outwardly from mere brutes in human shape, could possibly be derived no other way, than originally from God himself, in a manner equally extrinsic to pure nature. This being truth, the proof of which has so near an affinity to my history, I therefore beg leave to conclude with showing the arguments upon which it is grounded.

Observe then, if you please, that by education I all along here principally mean, that by which men are enabled to act suitably to the great ends of religion and society. From this we hold every other kind of human education to take its rise, whether good or bad; and, notwithstanding the proneness of human nature to mistake its greatest good, I affirm, that there is still so much of the good effects of this remaining amongst the most barbarous nations, as, when joined to the light of natural conscience, is sufficient to make the savage Indian an infinitely more polite, and better educated man, than the most accomplished immoral European.

Again let it be observed, that by mankind I here understand man only in the state he is at present; and accordingly by his first appearance in the world, I mean his first appearance in this state; for what he was before, is quite out of the question. If his nature was once more perfect than it is now, as we have great reason to believe it was, then those first men were no more the men that we are, than angels can be accounted men; but whatever instructions we, of the most fallen generations, have received from them, is all one as if it had been communicated to

us by an angel from heaven; and, consequently, is as much a supernatural revelation in quality, as any of those divine exhibitions recorded in Scripture, which God was afterwards pleased to make in compassion to our degenerate state. On the other hand, if mankind was, at any time, more imperfect than what it now is, then this new improvement of our nature will import no less than a new creation; which yet, as appears from what has been said, is quite insufficient to render us capable of acting up to our rational character, without the education of others. Since therefore, under such a supposition, we could not at that time have this education from ourselves, it follows, that, if we had it at all, we must have it from some intelligent Being superior to ourselves; and, consequently, it must again be supernatural in its original.

There is no other way, therefore, left for us to derive the education of mankind, any otherwise than from a supernatural original, but by supposing it attained gradually by a long experience; each succeeding generation still building upon the improvements made by the foregoing one, till it arrived to its present height; the falseness of which supposition will appear in the three following respects. For I affirm, first, That it is quite above the ability of human nature in itself to make such an advance. Secondly, It is contrary to the universal agreement which is still found in the education of all mankind. Thirdly, It is contrary to the perfections of God.

First, I say, it is above the ability of human nature to make such an advance. I think I have already proved sufficiently, that, without the helps and instructions of others, it is scarce possible to conceive how we should preserve our bare subsistence in life. But grant that we had the capacity of doing this, it must be a life of beasts, and not of men; and that always without any possibility of amendment from ourselves. When we reflect upon the exceeding depravity of our nature, which is such, that, even in the best dispositions, the bodily appetites and passions have an absolute predominance over the reason, without the constant checks of discipline, it can never be imagined, that wretches, left thus entirely at their own discretion, should apply their rational faculty to any thing but what regarded mere self-preservation, and the gratification of their corrupt inclinations. And the older such persons grew, in the worse condition they would always be; and the less fit for discipline, should they, at any time, have the opportunity of it afterwards; for the lusts and passions, being by this means left without all manner of restraint, would every day grow stronger and stronger; and the reason (with regard to the government of these, which is the principal office of reason in this life) would always continue in its infant state, unless we can be so vain as to imagine, that weakness, as such, can be an overmatch for strength. And how unlikely it is, that persons of this complexion should ever be able to form themselves into societies, how much soever their condition might require it? For society can never be preserved, but under some form of government; which implies a restraint upon the passions, to keep them so far within the bounds of right reason, that every individual member may have his actions directed to the good, at least not the hurt, of the whole. But such is the untractable stubbornness of human nature, that it is often found difficult enough to keep it in subjection to the most necessary laws of society, even in the best ordered government in the world. How then should these persons come to have so much regard for the welfare of one another (as such a combination must necessarily imply,) who could never know any good, but that of gratifying their sensual appetites; nor any evil, but that which tended to their disappointment in this? As soon might we expect to see the whole multitude of ravenous beasts betake themselves voluntarily to feed upon grass, or the fowls of the air confine themselves from the use of their wings. And if mankind, in this situation, can never be conceived capable of any kind of voluntary submission, which contradicts the bent of their inclinations, it is certain that they cannot, in the same condition, be supposed capable of improvement from any opportunities of education. Experience shows, that how much soever education is lost or neglected, so much the nearer still does mankind approach to the condition of brutes; and every day may convince us, how prone men are by nature, upon all occasions, to avoid the yoke of discipline, when left wholly to their own option, and how liable to fall away from that education which they have once received. From whence again it appears, that should we even grant an unbeliever that human education was actually received this way, he would find some difficulty to account how it comes to pass, that no nations of those primitive brutes in human shape have ever been heard of running wild in the woods, speechless, and upon all four; for since it is by education alone that we are otherwise, and since human nature, when left to itself, is so abhorrent from all government and discipline, is it not something strange, that none, in any part of the world, should be found to continue in their native state, or fall back again into it? And indeed, as it is, the Christian himself has sufficient cause to wonder, that no such nations of men are at this day to be met with

But then he applies this to its true and proper cause, which is no other than the watchful providence of God for the good of mankind; for, doubtless, a merciful providence it is, considering the wretched corruptness of human nature, that so much of this education is still remaining, even among the most ignorant nations, whose conditions must otherwise have been inexpressibly worse than it is. And we, who live under the happy influences, and shining light of the gospel, have the utmost reason to return our grateful acknowledgments to Heaven, for the great advantages which we, by that means, receive above our fellows. For us, therefore, to be so stupidly arrogant, and detestably perverse, as to attribute to ourselves, not only that common grace, which God has thought fit to make all men more immediately dependant upon himself for, but also the advantages, in this respect, which he has vouchsafed to us beyond the rest of mankind, is certainly a crime of the blackest dye, and can only serve to show how ill we deserve any thing. But,

Secondly, This supposition of men's acquiring their education from their own natural abilities, is, again, contrary to that universal agreement, which is discovered in it among all mankind. Every custom, or acquirement, received from education, is purely arbitrary, and generally involves in it so many accidental circumstances, that it would be the greatest odds for any two persons, unknown to each other, much more many, to fall upon the same thing. Suppose, in our travels, we meet with any two nations agreeing in any one particular point of their education; though they be never so distant from each other, we are apt to suspect that such particular must have occurred to both from the same instructor; and the more agreement we discover of this sort between these nations, the more still are we confirmed in this belief. But when we see this agreement reach to the most familiar parts, and first principles of education, such as are received from the nurse, and appear in the most common actions of human life, we can scarce forbear to conclude with ourselves, that those distant nations are assuredly branches of the same stock, and derive not only their education, but their very life and being, from the same original fountain. And such an agreement appears still to be remaining between all nations of men in the known world, who are found to have no greater difference in their education than what may reasonably be supposed inevitable, in so long a discontinuance of intercourse and communication with each other, as must needs have happened since their first separation. How comes it else, that no people have been discovered at any time, but what are trained up to walk always in an erect posture only; none but what have some remains of government and religion, and some notions of a God and a future state? For I think it beyond all contradiction, that none of these particulars could be the effect of mere nature alone. Again, what reason can be assigned for the universal concurrence of all mankind, in attempting to express their thoughts by no other means than that of speech, by articulate sounds of the voice, made by the motion of the lips and tongue? By what means could it happen, that the tongue, at least, should have any share at all in this, when the same thing may be demonstrated to be capable of being as fully performed, and more easily taught, by the bare tuning or modulating the voice, which is said to be experimented in China? Whence comes it, moreover, that there is no greater difference in a thing of so arbitrary a nature, between the most distant people, than what must necessarily follow from the inevitable change which a few years are always found to make in the language of the same people? What account can be given, why it should happen that very often the same things do still continue to be expressed in nearly the same terms, by nations which are at the farthest remove from a suspicion of having ever had the least knowledge of, or correspondence with, each other? Besides, is it not something wonderful, that those people, whose knowledge seems to rank them in the lowest degree above brutes, should yet, in their language, discover a penetration so much beyond their depth? For when the speech of the most barbarous people comes to be nicely examined, there is always found more of art and design in it, than can possibly be expected from persons of such slender abilities: so that, whoever were the first inventors of it, we may rest assured that they were of better capacities than themselves. Again, how happens it, that, in most countries upon earth, the inhabitants have traditions still continuing among them, by which they are informed, that their ancestors came originally from other places; and all in general agree, that the whole race of mankind were derived from the same parents? And, if we will believe the most inquisitive of your travellers, and such as have had the best opportunities of conversing with them, the remotest Americans, before they had the least acquaintance with you of Europe, were not without obscure remembrances of the fall of mankind and the universal deluge. I shall only mention one instance more of this agreement, and that shall be in a thing of the most arbitrary nature imaginable: What was it, then, that first introduced the practice of religious sacrifices? A practice which, before the great

sacrifice of the eternal Son of God for the sins of mankind, appears to have been as universal in every age and place of the world, as religious worship itself; and still continues so in most, if not all countries where the name of Christ has not been heard. Other instances of this agreement between men might be produced; but these, I conceive, are sufficient to prove, that all mankind do actually derive their education, not only from the same common teacher, but the same common parent; who, doubtless, at their first creation, received it immediately from God, and that in a way as different from the common course of nature, as the manner of receiving their being.

Thirdly, the supposition of mens acquiring their education of themselves, was also said to be contrary to the perfections of God; for this supposes, that some time at least must have passed, after the creation of mankind, before they could have attained even to the lowest pitch of the most ignorant savages, and proportionably longer time yet must be required, to bring them to higher advancements; a supposition not only contradictory to what has been already said, but also quite irreconcileable with the infinite wisdom and goodness of God. For what an horrid scene of misery and confusion does this supposition present us with, for several of the first ages of the world? To be compared to nothing but a dismal howling wilderness, the habitation only of beasts, and noxious animals, where the most fierce and ravenous creatures were always preying upon the more mild and gentle; and among all these brutes, those in human shape were the most defenceless and contemptible, and exposed to the rage of every assault; so that, in a natural way, nothing but their immense numbers, to glut the appetites of all their devourers, could be conceived sufficient to preserve the whole species from being, in a little time, quite extirpated from the face of the earth. And yet the offspring of these despicable animals, as the event proves, are now arrived to be lords over all the rest, and that too by their own sagacity and wisdom, the seeds of which were always in them from the beginning; as if mankind were capable of themselves to advance their condition to so much a higher pitch of excellency, than what their Maker thought fit to place them in at their first creation. But neither, according to this opinion, have they wrought so great an improvement only upon themselves; but the face of the whole earth, by their means, is transformed well-nigh as much from what it was, when they first inhabited it, as heaven is from hell. What a fine picture have we here drawn of our sage forefathers, and what a glorious instance of the strength and abilities of human reason? Or rather, in the whole, what a blasphemous reflection upon the Divine Majesty? As if wisdom and goodness itself should create a race of beings, endowed with a capacity of perfection and happiness, at the same time leaving them quite destitute of those helps and assistances, which alone could render that capacity of the least service to them; and afterwards, to amend the matter, those helps are vouchsafed to their more deserving progeny, who show their gratitude in always scornfully spurning at the Hand from whence they receive them, and proudly ascribing every excellency to themselves, as the effect of their own powers and abilities.

From all which, I presume, the necessity of a supernatural revelation is abundantly manifest, when it is proved, that not only the knowledge peculiar to Christianity, but even that which distinguishes men from mere brutes in human shape, could no otherwise have been attained. Consequently, the consideration of the infinite goodness, wisdom, and justice of God, leaves it beyond all dispute, that such supernatural revelation was divine; the sound of which was sent forth, at man's first creation, and is still heard in all lands, and will ever continue to be so till the end of the world. And from the consideration of the same infinite goodness, wisdom, and justice, compared with our exceeding proneness to fall away from the good education we have once received, it is so far from being contradictory, that it becomes even necessary for divine revelations to be now and then afterwards repeated, to recover the dying flame; till at last life and immortality was brought more fully to light through the gospel. And though designing wicked men may have sometimes taken opportunity, from the weakness of human nature, to impose upon their fellows in this, as in many other respects, yet God has never left himself without a witness, but has always given sufficient tokens, whereby the sincere intelligent inquirer may distinguish the spirit of truth from the spirit of error.

And now let us see how easily this naked truth disarms the unbeliever of all his weapons, and turns them upon himself. His main strength lies in his so much boasted arguments, or rather senseless jargon, drawn, as he pretends, from the eternal reasons and nature of things. These words he makes use of, like a kind of charm, to bewitch his unwary readers out of their senses; or, as other jugglers do, to divert the eyes of their spectators from a discovery of their slight. To prove how agreeable this dispensation is to the reasons of things, nothing more, I presume, can be required, than to show its

necessity for the ends of man's rational life, as an accountable creature; accountable to himself, to his fellow creatures, and, above all, to God.

Man has naturally but two ways, by which he can come to the knowledge of the existence of things without him; the former by his own bodily senses, and the latter by the information of others. If he be deceived, in this respect, by all his senses, he has seldom, or never, any power to correct the error; but, if he be deceived by the information of others, he is so far blameworthy, as he has neglected the abilities he had to avoid the deception: such as a consideration of the possibility of the thing; a due examination of the credit and sincerity of the persons informing him; the views such persons may have in their information; the possibility of being deceived themselves; the circumstances they bring to strengthen their evidence; their punctual concurrence in the same thing; and the like. It appears then, that if man admit nothing of this kind as knowledge, but what he actually receives in at these two doors, he can be accountable for no error in belief which he can fall into, but what comes from the information of others. But in the inferences which may be drawn from these things, and indeed in the quest after all other kinds of knowledge, since every man cannot but be sensible how liable he is to be deceived; if, therefore, he think a truth to be of any concern to him, he will be sincere and diligent in using all the means in his power to avoid deception; and the only means provided for him, to supply his own defects, is the information, education, or instruction of others.

It appears then, that this dependance of mankind upon one another for the cultivation of their minds, is the only occasion given for the exercise of their sincerity in the search after truth, the strongest tie to hold them together in society, and the most powerful engagement to a mutual love and gratitude. And the same obligation of the whole species of mankind to God, in thus graciously condescending to be himself their first instructor, ought doubtless to be of no less availment to excite the same affections in them towards him; and, if it fail of having a proportionable effect upon us, we are, of all creatures, the most unworthy.

Again, by the same means, we have the strongest curb to restrain the insufferable pride of our nature, by which we are always apt to think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think; for, if any argument can, this true prospect of the exceeding poverty and despicableness of our state by nature, must needs be of force sufficient to persuade us to such an humble and lowly opinion of ourselves as is becoming. And such an evident conviction of the pillar upon which we stand, and the fountain from whence we derive this and every other benefit, should make us for ever renounce all self-sufficiency, and place our entire dependance upon its true foundation, which is no other than God himself.

In like manner, this dispensation gives the only opportunity of discovering the sincerity of our obedience. Religion, we know, consists in nothing else but the expressions of our obedience to God, as rational creatures; but, as rational creatures, no action can be said to be performed by us, in perfect obedience to another, which is not the result of the most perfect conviction and choice; that is, we must have the fullest satisfaction of the reasonableness of what is required from us, and, being left wholly at our liberty, must do it with the purest intention, for the sake of him by whom it is required. It is true, that no man living can come up to such a perfection of obedience, in either of these respects; but yet no human action can further be called an act of obedience, than as it agrees with both. There must be a knowledge within ourselves of the motives why we pay our obedience, or it is no obedience in us; and it must also be an act of our own free choice, directed to the party to whom it is paid, or it can be no obedience to him. And if either of these qualifications be wanting, though the other be in its utmost perfection, that can be no true act of obedience; for though a man act never so freely, in obedience to another, yet if he knew no reason why he acts so, his obedience is not the obedience of a rational being. Again, though he act never so knowingly, yet if what he does be wholly for the sake of some private advantage, or merely for the gratification of his own inclinations, this is not an act of obedience to the party requiring it, but a pure serving of himself. These are the measures by which men value every act of obedience which is performed to them. It is always more or less acceptable to them, according to the satisfaction and aim with which it is directed in the party that pays it, as it is the effect of a real love and esteem for them, and an ingenuous trust and confidence reposed in them. No act of human obedience can so fully come up to this character, as that which a truly humble and grateful mind in distress pays to his noble patron and director; for then we look upon such an one not barely as our instructor, but as our protector and benefactor; and obey not only out of a sense of esteem, but of gratitude and love. And our gladness to resign up our weightiest concerns to the direction of such a person, is the fullest token we can give of our entire confi-

dence in his wisdom, goodness, fidelity, and power; motives which every man is most desirous should be the foundation of the obedience he receives, because they show him valuable to others for those qualifications which are most valuable to himself. But it is plain, were it not for this dependance which one man is obliged to have upon another, and all of us upon God, there could be no opportunity of paying such obedience, even to God himself, so as to discover whether we dare put more confidence in him than in man. To him alone, in strictness of speech, can such obedience be due, because he alone is endowed with a sufficiency of those qualifications, and alone is capable to know whether it proceeds from such an inward esteem for, and affiance in him, as is suitable for creatures to pay their Creator. The best mark which can possibly be given of our real esteem for any person, is when we are ready, upon all occasions, to resign ourselves up entirely to his guidance, and are never more satisfied than when we have his word to confide in. Till this be tried, it can never be known to men whether the obedience which is paid to them, be not mixed with some degree of compulsion or design, in the party that pays it. Men can never be equal judges of this, since they are unable to discern any difference between the effects of the vilest hypocrisy, where it is artfully carried on, and the most upright sincerity. But this cannot happen to the great Seer of Hearts; therefore no such obedience can pass with him.

In the state, therefore, men are, it seems impossible for them any otherwise to manifest the sincerity of their obedience to God, than upon the principles of faith; and the end of all divine revelation, especially that most perfect one made by our Saviour, is to cultivate this among men. It is the revelation, which God has been graciously pleased to make of his will to mankind, which gives the only opportunity of trial, whether we have that high regard for him, and lowly opinion of ourselves, which is requisite; and accordingly, as we show a greater degree of chearfulness and readiness in the performance of those actions, to which we are thus influenced, so much the stronger evidence still it is of our high love and veneration for, and our stedfast reliance upon, our infinitely wise and gracious Instructor; which is the sum and substance of every religious duty. He who thus obeys God, like the holy psalmist, has a respect unto all his commandments. He will not spare the most beloved lust, much less hypocritically indulge himself in any darling sin, in hopes of atoning for it by a stricter performance of some duties, where he has not the like temptations to divert him. He acts like a person who is truly sensible that he is under the continual inspection of Him, from whom no secrets can be hid; and who is infinitely both able and just to render to every man according to his deeds. And therefore he esteems his favour better than life itself, and dreads his displeasure more than any thing he can suffer in this world.

Again, this obedience of faith is the highest trial, whether we are consistent with ourselves. In earthly affairs, we often find it necessary to yield up our own understanding to the guidance of others, and we willingly submit ourselves to many restraints and self-denials, for the sake of our temporal welfare; and he is condemned as highly imprudent and unreasonable, who thinks this any disparagement to him. If, therefore, the provision for the convenience of our passage through this world have so much influence over our actions, where we are but to continue for a short time, no more to return again for ever, how much more strongly ought we to be affected in making the necessary preparations for the world to come, upon which no less than our everlasting happiness or misery depends? These are such awful thoughts, as one would think could not but excite us to put forth all our endeavours, if they took the least hold upon our minds.

If we think it reasonable to proportion our cares, according to the just value of things, we ought to be as much more hearty and solicitous for the welfare of the soul than of the body, as we know the one to be of more importance to us than the other. And, that we may not plead ignorance in this weighty affair, God himself has graciously condescended to be our instructor, who cannot err; and has given the fullest evidence to convince us, that such instructions come from him. It is, no doubt, our duty to examine diligently, whether any truth comes thus attested; but, when once we have sufficient evidence of this, to make the least demur is impiety; and to dispute, the most presumptuous blasphemy. If, as St John says, "we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater." If, in so many instances, we suffer ourselves willingly to be guided by the testimony of fallible man, how much more by the testimony of the infallible God? In this case it is our greatest prudence to show the most perfect resignation to his direction, and lay our reason and understanding at his feet. And whenever we find ourselves involved in doubts and uncertainties about our spiritual affairs, this obedience of faith will teach us to cast off all vain reliance upon our own wisdom; and, in the lowest submission of soul, apply to Him, who is the fountain of all knowledge; and who, for our encouragement, has

graciously promised, that, if we thus ask, we shall certainly receive.

We see then what temper of mind is necessary to render a man a fit disciple of the blessed Jesus, and a fruitful hearer of his word; a temper which no man can want, but through his own default; for it consists in nothing else but of a true sense of the exceeding insufficiency which he every day experiences in himself; a sincere and hearty desire to have that insufficiency supplied, and a perfect resignation to the directions of his gracious Instructor. It is that honest and good heart, as our Lord himself calls it, in which, as in good ground, there is a sufficiency of kindly soil and moisture for the seed of the word to take root and spring up: it is that humble and teachable disposition, which every man brings along with him who is desirous to arrive at a proficiency in any kind of human knowledge; and if he show but the same candour and regard for the things of another world, which he thus does for the things of this, it will not fail to advance him to a sufficient progress in the knowledge of things divine.

But though right reason do sufficiently discover the reasonableness of this behaviour in the weighty concern of the soul, yet a sad experience shows how very rarely it is put in practice: men seldom show themselves thus suitably disposed, when they should seek after a cure for their spiritual blindness and ignorance, though God has liberally provided them with proper and sufficient remedies, if they be not wanting to themselves. In our pursuit after worldly knowledge, we usually act like men who have a true sense of our need of such knowledge, and take all prudent methods not to be deceived; but in our quest after that knowledge which tends most to our real happiness, the understanding is rarely so quick in apprehending our defects, or the will so hearty and sincere in endeavouring after their removal; which is the reason why so few arrive at any degree of proficiency in this divine learning. And the great cause of this wretched indisposition, is generally a vicious education; by which mens affections are preengaged, and their relish so depraved, that they can have no taste for these heavenly doctrines. They have no notion of any happiness, but such as they have framed to themselves in the ways of sin and death. They are slaves to their sensuality, their vain glory, their covetousness, their ambition, or pride; and because they are not of God, they cannot hear God's words.

And now, from all that has been said upon this subject, we may observe, that (besides the outward dependance, which all creatures must necessarily have upon God as the first cause of their being, and their continual preserver in that being) mankind has another outward dependance upon his Maker peculiar to himself; by which he seems to be distinguished from the whole visible creation: I mean this dependance of education; a dependance which altogether regards our rational nature; and from its being derived to us by means entirely extrinsic and adventitious, as necessarily implies a divine revelation imparted to all men, as the former implies our creation: and both these are alike arguments of God's watchful providence over his creatures. My endeavour hitherto, you see, has been to prove, that all the instructions which relate to the government of ourselves, are as much derived from God, independent to mere nature, as the instruction of any one particular person in the same way derived from another. The manner of communicating both has the same similitude and analogy to one another, with the ends for which they are designed; and as the latter obligation is the most effectual cement to hold men together in the bonds of society, so the whole strength of that cement is owing to the former, in uniting us all to God by religion.

In like manner we may observe, that not only the Christian, but every man living, does actually stand by faith, in a more extensive sense of the word. They stand by faith as men, with regard to that teachable disposition of mind in their childhood, which rendered them capable of receiving the first principles of divine instruction, to polish them out of their native rudeness, and in any degree enable them to act suitably to their human character. And by reason of that poisonous contagion, which these seeds of good education are always found to be more or less infected with, from the corruption of our fallen nature, it becomes absolutely necessary that we be restored again, as little children, from all those wicked prejudices, and inveterate ill habits, by such means contracted, before we can be said to stand by faith, as Christians. But, because it is impossible for so great a change to be effected by any ability in ourselves; therefore the Second Person of the adorable Trinity, by the most astonishing instance of the divine condescension and love to wretched men, has procured us a new and sufficient supply of supernatural aid, which is always to be had upon our sincere application to him for it: and thus we see, through the whole work of our creation, preservation, and redemption, how our heavenly Father deals no otherwise with us than as his children, and partakers of the divine nature; which is by keeping us always to have the most sensible dependance upon him for all that we either are or have; and by such

means drawing us to himself, and to one another, by the cords of a man, and the bands of love.

And this may again suggest to us the unpardonable ingratitude of those persons, who profess themselves to be such enemies to faith in religion; though without faith, it is plain, there can be no such thing as religion, nor any means by which a man can otherwise sufficiently express his obedience to God. It is by faith that they themselves have the least notion what religion is; and they depend as much upon divine revelation for all their knowledge of that kind, as the Christian himself, though they have not the same honesty to own it; so that, though the faith of such persons may be said to be divine in its foundation, yet it is altogether diabolical in the superstructure; they believe in the same manner as the devils themselves, and may the merciful God, whom they thus presumptuously blaspheme, open their eyes before it be too late, that they may not tremble with them too!

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By this time, being come within view of the house, where we were to be the night entertained, Automathes broke off his discourse, and we returned him our hearty thanks for the pleasure he had given us in this wonderful narration of his life upon the island in such lively descriptions, and for the many ingenious and instructive reflections, with which he had all along so artfully mixed it. Above all, we assured him, that we could never sufficiently discharge the obligations he had laid upon us for those judicious inferences, to which he had improved it in the conclusion. These gave us the most ample demonstration of the unparalleled strength of his genius, the extensiveness of his capacity, and the clearness of his conceptions; and we expressed no small satisfaction in this evident proof, which he had favoured us with, of the absolute necessity of divine revelation, from a consideration which had scarce ever before entered into our thoughts.

We landed at a wharf on the south side of the river, from whence a fine gravel walk, of about a furlong in length, proceeded directly up to the main gates of a spacious court before the house, having all along a forest of stately cedars on each hand. The house itself was seated upon the summit of an easy ascent, and was beautified with a magnificent cupola upon the roof, which commanded a large prospect to the eastward of the finest country I ever beheld. The gardens were delicious, and kept in the most elegant order, being enriched with several delightful springs, which were improved into the most curious water-works.

As soon as we were conducted into the house, the aged Eugenius, being acquainted with our arrival, came and bid us welcome, and showing us into a stately room, gave us the kindest entertainment. Here we spent the evening with discourses upon various subjects; but what delighted our courteous entertainers most, was the information we gave concerning the religion, government, customs, and some of the most memorable transactions of the several kingdoms and states in Europe; and afterwards we were each conducted to a separate apartment to take our repose.

The next morning, Automathes entertained us with the sight of his mother's picture, which he had before mentioned, and showed us most of the furniture and things found by him in his cottage, such as the great chest, magnifying glass, mathematical book and instruments, the fan, watch, and organ; all which they brought away at their return, as also a draught of his dial upon the mount. And now we solicited a like relation of the manner how Eugenius had spent his life in his solitude; but Automathes informed us, that his father had all the while so wholly given up himself to the exercises of religion, and divine contemplation, that he scarce took the least notice of any outward accident which befel him during that whole time; so that there could be nothing in such a relation to entertain our curiosity: Here, therefore, we were disappointed, but we were, in some measure, compensated by what we met with afterwards, before we returned again to the rest of our company.

The aged duke expressed no small satisfaction with his new guests; and on purpose to detain us, he asked, if we had heard any thing since our arrival concerning the amphitheatre? —We answered him, No; we never imagined that they of that country would put themselves to the expense of such buildings, nor could we devise for what purpose they should erect one so far from their capital city, since we had heard of no such thing there.—He, smiling at our ignorance, told us, that it was no building he meant, but a work of nature, and such a work, he supposed, as we had never met with in all our travels.—We asked him then, how far this wonder was from his own habitation?—He told us, about four hours ride over the water to the north, and if we would consent to tarry out the week with him afterwards, he promised that his son Automathes should be our guide, with one or two of his companions. This courteous offer we could not refuse, when he further assured us, that he would send one of his servants to acquaint our company upon what account we were detained.

The next morning, betimes, Automathes,

with two other young gentlemen of his acquaintance, set out with us, each of us being provided with a very good horse, upon which we mounted when we had crossed the river; and as soon as we had ascended the top of the hill on the other side, which reached to a considerable height, Automathes showed us at a distance the amphitheatre which his father had spoken of, without giving any further description of it, to make our surprise the more agreeable. What he called an amphitheatre, then, seemed to be nothing but a long high mountain, about twenty miles before us, which appeared through a spy-glass to be mostly covered with trees; and the country, for some distance around it, being nearly level, afforded a spacious show, from the eminence we now stood upon, of many delightful villages, and gentlemen's seats. When we came to the foot of the mountain, we ascended above a mile by a plain beaten road; and then, dismounting our horses at a shepherd's cottage, we had a boy of his for our guide, proceeding the remaining part of the way, with each his horse in his hand, by a nearer cut through the woods. After we had climbed thus for about half an hour, the mountain above was all open ground, without so much as a shrub of wood to be seen growing upon it; and within a few minutes more we reached the height.

But how agreeably were we surprised at the sight which now presented itself. Here we stood some time contemplating upon what we saw. The mountain appeared in the form of a circular verdant bank, or terrace, of exactly the same height, making the same regular bending descent inwards with the ground upon which we stood; in such sort, that a green trench, or valley, just below us, of about forty perches over, extended itself like an inner border quite round the whole circuit; and the interior limb of this valley was all along edged with a kind of rampart, or bulwark, of solid rock of a crimson colour, which reached above the height of a man on horseback. But what mixed this delightful scene with a kind of pleasing horror, was an amazing precipice, which showed itself on the opposite side, falling down directly below the rocky rampart to such a depth, as made the head turn giddy: and what made this awful and uncommon prospect have more effect upon us, was because its regular tendency on each side towards us, and the artful congruity of the whole, made us rightly conclude, that the like dreadful descent extended quite round; and, consequently, was the same on the other side of the rocky wall just below us.

This precipice was, doubtless, the most stupendous work of nature which could be found upon the face of the whole earth; and had it not been that each part of it was of a size too monstrously enormous, and beyond all possibility of being any way conceived manageable by human art, we must necessarily have concluded the whole to be the effect of that. The rocky bulwark I spoke of, jutted out in the form of a balcony faced with balustrades of black upon a crimson-coloured ground, for the height of many fathoms all along the top of the precipice; and this was supported by a cornice of fret-work of due proportion in the same colours; the bottom of all seeming to rest upon a surface answerable, the face of which was curiously chequered all around with a sort of green, yellow, and red: but still the most astonishing thing was, the intermediate space between the cornice and surface, the ground of which was of a light blue, and could not but be much higher than the dome of St Peter's Church at Rome. Upon this, as a field, there seemed carved an innumerable multitude of grotesque figures in basso-relievo, all in their natural colours, which made one of the most magnificent appearances I ever saw.

This prodigious wall enclosed a circular space of ground, perfectly level, of about four miles diameter, upon which grew nothing but grass, affording a most delightful verdure; and our new acquaintance, dismissing the shepherd's boy with a reward for his trouble, soon found us a way into it, after the following manner: We remounted our horses, and, after we had rode some distance along the trench, we came to the mouth of a large cave, in which ten men might ride abreast, and seemed to be cut out of the rock: here we descended gradually for above a mile under ground, upon a fine gravelly road, having always sufficient light through the crevices of the precipice on our left hand, which served as so many windows. When we came to the bottom, we spent a considerable time in riding about, and viewing the monstrous figures, which appeared on every side of the shocking precipice which surrounded us; but we had the best prospect from the centre, the whole group seeming chiefly to consist of trees, woods, and houses, with beasts, serpents, and fowls of the strangest shapes, and here and there an huge giant in armour.

When we were sufficiently tired with gazing, we returned out of this place the same way we came; and, when we had reached again the top of the mountain, we spent some time longer in viewing the country to the north, where we had a fair prospect of a large hilly country, over all which we could distinctly behold the lofty ridge of inaccessible mountains before-mentioned, which separated the whole kingdom from the desart.

And now we took a different route down

the mountain for our return, in a road less frequented; but, before we were descended half-way, we found ourselves stopped by the fall of a great number of tall trees, occasioned by a furious hurricane, which had happened there some days before. This obliged us to seek our way through the unfrequented woods; where, after we had travelled some distance, we were surprised with the loud shrieks and cries, as we thought, of a woman suffering some violence pretty near, in the thickest part of the wood. This made us all quit our horses, leaving them with three of our company; our three guides, with their drawn swords, followed by myself and the rest, making our way through the thickets, as directed by the voice, with what expedition we could, to rescue the person whom we supposed in distress. The cry still continuing, we presently came to a little opening, in which we discovered a kind of tent, or pavilion, from whence it seemed to proceed. Into this we rushed, and, to our great surprise, found a young lady sitting upon a couch, to which she was fast tied with cords from the middle downwards; but we could perceive never a soul near her. At this piteous spectacle one of Automathes's young companions, named Eustathes, immediately knowing who she was, dropped his sword, and ran to her assistance, embracing her with the utmost tokens of tenderness and deep affliction; and, as soon as she discovered her deliverer, she cried out, O! my Eustathes! and swooned away in his arms, being quite overcome with the sudden torrent of joy which broke in upon her. We quickly cut asunder the rude cords, by which this fair one was confined, and used our utmost endeavours to bring her to herself, which, in a short time, we had the pleasure to see effected. In the mean time, we especially, who were strangers, wondered among ourselves to what this odd adventure would tend; but our wonder was much increased, when we came to understand that this young lady was no other than Eustathes's espoused wife, whose marriage together, according to the custom of the country, was within a few days designed to be consummated. Her name was Dorothea, the only daughter of a widow lady, who lived about one quarter of the distance between this place and the house of Eugenius, some miles out of the road. Her affections, it seemed, had been placed upon Eustathes even from her childhood, and were not to be removed by all the efforts which were afterwards made by another young cavalier, named Phlegon, who loved her even to distraction; and, consequently, bore all the hatred to Eustathes which is too common in like cases against an over-powerful rival; and they were not without violent suspicions that all this was done by some villainous contrivance of Phlegon, since they were not unacquainted with the wickedness of his disposition, and knew this secret recess to stand upon his ground, at scarce half an hour's ride from his house; but by what means he had got the young lady thus transported hither, this was beyond their comprehension. She herself could give no other account of it than this; that the day before, her mother was gone to visit an aunt of hers, who was lying dangerously sick, and had left her at home with her governess, who in the evening went with her into a summer-house in the garden, where she fell asleep upon the very couch upon which we found her bound; that it was not much above an hour since she first waked out of that sleep, in the utmost fright to find herself alone, thus confined in a strange place; that, with violent struggling, she had got herself so far released, as to be able to sit upright; and that, presently after, hearing our horses feet at a distance, she set up that cry, in hopes it might bring some to her rescue, as it happily did.

At the hearing of this strange relation, we could not but lift up our eyes to heaven, and bless God for the wonderful interposition of his providence, in thus preventing the mischiefs which we had no reason to doubt were that day designed against this young couple. We looked upon the motion which Eugenius made of our visiting the amphitheatre that day, as the first spring of this happy accident, and the different route we took upon our return, with the barricado of trees, which blocked up the way before us, we esteemed as so many kind directions of Heaven, to guide us to this place in so critical a juncture.

And in the very moment, while Eustathes and Dorothea were expressing their gratitude for this signal instance of the divine care over them, they had so full a confirmation how nearly they were escaped from the very brink of ruin, as made their hearts to tremble; for Automathes, casting his eyes through the trees, observed Phlegon himself, at some distance, making towards us on foot all alone, which we doubted not was to take possession of his innocent prey, and perpetrate his villainous designs upon her. This we all fairly beheld, and waited with silence till we should have him within our reach; but before this could happen, either through some discovery he made of us, or our companions with the horses, he thought fit to make his escape, with the utmost precipitancy, through the woods, where we thought it not worth our time to pursue him.

Satisfied with the discovery we had made, we conveyed the rescued captive to our horses, where, after we had placed her behind Eusta-

thes, we all remounted, and began our return by the way of her house with what expedition we could. It will be easy to conceive with what transports the young lady was received by her mother, who had not been long hurried from her sick relation's with this dreadful news of the loss of her daughter in so strange a manner. The house was in the utmost confusion, and people had been sent in vain into all parts in search of her. It appeared, that she had not been missed till the morning, at which time all the servants were at home, as it seemed, without the least suspicion of harm; they wondered that neither she nor her governess appeared as usual, and going up to their chambers, found both fast locked, nor could all their calling make any to hear. Upon this, one of the maids, recollecting that she had seen them pretty late together in the summer-house in the garden, ran thither, and finds the door open, with the governess fast asleep upon a couch, but no lady: she then jogs the governess; but, in short, neither she, nor any in the house, could make her wake by all the endeavours they could use. This put the family into the greatest fright, concluding for certain, that both, by some treacherous means, had been cast into that sleep, by advantage of which their young lady was stolen, and perhaps ravished; and they were confirmed in this belief, when they observed the horses feet all along upon the gravelly walks of the garden to the gate, and missed another couch in the summer-house, upon which they supposed the young lady to have been laid: but they were put beyond all doubt that this was the case, when, upon breaking open the door of Dorothea's chamber, she was not to be found there. Upon this, the servants alarmed the whole neighbourhood, sending messengers to acquaint Eustathes and her mother with the dire catastrophe; and dispersed some to one place, and some to another, in quest of her, all round the country.

This account of the behaviour and condition of the servants, especially of the governess, who, it seemed, could not yet be awaked out of her sleep, made us not know what to think; for we all along had a shrewd suspicion that she must have been an accomplice with Phlegon in this hellish stratagem; nor could we be persuaded but some other of the servants had also an hand in it: however, no notice was then taken to the old lady of the discovery made of Phlegon.

The evening now drawing on, we took our leave of Eustathes, and his other companion, who thought it proper to take up their abode that night there; and Automathes proceeded homeward with us. A little before sun-set we returned again to our lodgings, where we surprised Eugenius with an account of the strange adventure we had met with in our journey; and the day following Eustathes sent us a dismal account of the discovery of the whole plot, which was as follows:

Phlegon, it seems, being mad with disappointment, after the espousals of Eustathes and Dorothea, was resolved to satisfy his brutish desires at any rate. To this purpose, he some time before had engaged one of his own servants, with all privacy, to erect the beforementioned pavilion, and furnish it with such necessaries as he required; at the same time, not letting him know that it was designed for any other use than to be a place of retirement, when he was inclined, as he pretended, to sequester himself from the noise of the world. This recess he afterwards found an opportunity to discover to a man-servant belonging to Dorothea's mother, when he had sufficiently prepared him and her treacherous governess, by large presents, to go any lengths with him. His nefarious aim was to have Dorothea secretly transported thither, before the consummation of her marriage with Eustathes, which, he said, he could easily instruct them how to accomplish, without the least fear of discovery afterwards to themselves. And this was the result of his diabolical instructions, wherein he was not a little assisted by the politic governess.

The evening before we took our journey, this wicked governess, taking the opportunity of the old lady's absence, found means to inveigle Dorothea into the summer-house, and gave her such a sleeping potion as she thought would answer her design, from what she had experimented upon the innocent young lady before. And she, with her accomplice, had so managed, as to get a sufficient quantity of the like conveyed into the drink of the whole family for that night; by which stratagem all the servants, except those two partners in wickedness, were no sooner gone to rest, than all their senses were buried in a profound sleep. In confidence, therefore, of having thus made sure of all their fellow-servants till the morning at least, in the dead of night they go about their black design; and, while he makes two horses ready with a litter, she ties Dorothea down with cords upon the couch where she lay. Then having, by joint strength, got her laid upon the litter, they transported her, as a dead corpse, to the place where she was found; and this being effected, they returned home with all expedition, restoring the horses and litter to their former places; after which he slunk to his bed, without the least discovery. But the governess's part being to be acted in the summer-house, where she knew her lady was last seen, she retired thither; and, to prevent all

suspicion of her having had the least hand in this flagitious act, took a like dose of the same narcotic she had given her lady, and laid herself upon another couch in the same posture, in which she was found the next morning. And thus was the young lady left all alone by these caitifs, without the least possibility of defending herself, to fall a victim to the burning lust of an abandoned monster, whose intent they knew was to ravish, if not afterwards murder her, for his own security: for they took it for certain, that the baneful drug would not cease operating till late the next day.

Before morning came, those soporific potions, being taken by the rest of the family in smaller proportions, had spent all their force; so that they were not hindered from rising at the usual time. And, among the rest, he who had been a principal actor in carrying on this villainy, seemed as much surprised as the most innocent, at the misfortune which had befallen his mistress, and was as eager to go in quest of her: but, in this last pretence, he had a farther reach than the bare concealment of his guilt; for it was part of the crafty governess's policy, that by such means he should more effectually conceal all, and establish Phlegon in the full possession of his capture. He, therefore, having at that time the most command in the family, makes sure of another, in the first place, to do the errand of acquainting the old lady with the disaster which had happened in her absence; while, with piteous lamentations, he raises the neighbourhood, and sends them every way but the right one, reserving that for himself, who, it could not be doubted, would be less diligent than the most zealous.

After he had made a feint for some hours in ranging this unfrequented wood, he returns slily by a gentleman's house, where he knew Phlegon was to dine, on purpose to let him understand, by the same token, how far their accursed business had succeeded. Here he sat on horseback before the gates, and, as if he knew nothing of Phlegon's being there, called out, with all the signs of a man in raging despair, acquainting the family with the sad catastrophe which had happened, not without letting fall some bitter expressions, as if he suspected it to be all a villainous contrivance of Phlegon; and so rode furiously off. But neither had Phlegon been wanting on his own part to stave off all suspicion of this foul fact, as much as possible, from himself; for, being conscious that this must happen of consequence, he therefore rode the day before to a town above half a day's journey from Dorothea's habitation, and took care to have sufficient evidence of his lodging there all night, as also of his return to the house where he dined. All therefore he had now to do, was to make what expedition he fairly could after dinner, to take possession of his prize.

And now one would think, that a plot, thus deeply laid, and successfully carried on, could no way have miscarried, without a miracle to prevent it; but how it did miscarry you have already heard. Nor had many hours passed afterward, before all its dark scenes were laid open to the world, notwithstanding the art and subtilty that had been used to keep it concealed.

A little after our departure from Eustathes and Dorothea, the same evening, the watch which was set over the governess, while she slept, observed her to move; but when they expected her to awake, they beheld her seized with the pangs of death, and presently heard her breathe her last. This new accident struck the family with fresh surprise, which, within an hour after, was much increased by the news of the dead body of Phlegon found in the river by his own house; but whether his death came by himself, or by accident, was not known. And now that which seemed to take away all hopes of ever having the actors of this villainy detected, proved to be the only means of having the whole mystery of iniquity unveiled; for the report of these dire events, coming so suddenly one upon the neck of another, struck such an horror upon the conscience of the surviving accomplice, that the swelling secret could no longer be confined within his bosom, but he discovered the whole, as above related; and so deep was the sense of his crime, that he begged with tears to be delivered up to justice, esteeming all he could suffer in this life as too little to atone for the foulness of his guilt.

The visible judgments of Heaven, executed upon these two offenders, were indeed dreadful; and the last infamy, which the survivor had brought upon himself, with the convincing tokens of his sincere repentance, were judged, by the civil magistrate, a sufficient punishment for a crime only in the intention. There was great reason to suspect that Phlegon, when he saw himself so unexpectedly frustrated of his design, concluding himself also discovered, had been his own executioner, to avoid the shame he must undergo; and the general opinion was, that the potion taken by the governess, was too powerful for one of her gross corpulency; so that the very thing proved her destruction, which had been the principal instrument in carrying on her treachery.

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Thus far, and no farther, could I make any sense of what was contained in this manu-

script; here therefore I am forced to conclude, without being able to give any other account of it, than what you have already heard concerning the strange means by which it fell into my hands. If the publication of so much as I could pick out, may be of any service to the cause of religion and virtue, as I am not without hopes in some measure it may, I am satisfied.

THE END.

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